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ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE, & MURDER OF DE L

THE HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

1789—1800

BY

LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, BY

FREDERICK SHOBERL



NEW EDITION, WITH UPWARDS OF FORTY ILLUSTRATIONS ON STEEL ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM GREATBATCH

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR

I PURPOSE writing the history of a memorable Revolution, which has profoundly agitated the minds of men, and which still continues to divide them. I disguise not from myself the difficulties of the undertaking; for passions which were supposed to have been stifled under the sway of military despotism have recently revived. All at once men bowed down by age and toil have felt resentments which, according to appearance, were appeased, awaken within them, and they have communicated them to us, their sons and heirs. But if we have to uphold the same cause, we have not to defend their conduct, for we can separate liberty from those who have rendered it service or disservice; whilst we possess the advantage of having observed those veterans, who, still full of their recollections, still agitated by their impressions, reveal to us the spirit and the character of parties, and teach us to comprehend them.* Perhaps the moment when the actors are about to expire is the most proper for writing this history; we can collect their evidence without participating in all their passions.

Be this as it may, I have endeavoured to stifle within my own bosom every feeling of animosity: I alternately figured to myself that, born in a cottage, animated with a just ambition, I was resolved to acquire what the pride of the higher classes had unjustly refused me; or that, bred in palaces, the heir to ancient privileges, it was painful to me to renounce a possession which I regarded as a legitimate property. Thenceforward I could not harbour enmity against either party; I pitied the combatants, and I indemnified myself by admiring generous deeds wherever I found them.

* "The people never revolt from fickleness, or the mere desire of change. It is the impatience of suffering which alone has this effect."—*Sully's Memoirs.*

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

SOME years have elapsed since M. Thiers' "History of the French Revolution" was first introduced to readers in an English translation. The value of such a work can only be tested by time and popularity. The subject, although of the deepest interest, had been so often touched upon by previous writers, that novelty, either in fact or inference, was scarcely to be expected. In France the book was received with enthusiasm, and adopted without hesitation as the standard authority. This might have been looked for, from the impulsive character of the people, the known abilities of the author, and his political eminence. It was felt at once that he was able to grapple with the question, and examine its minute details with searching fidelity. His mind was practical more than speculative. He was a man of business rather than a dreaming philosopher; an adroit, keen, clear-headed, worldly statesman, with no strong passions or prejudices to mislead his judgment, and entirely uninfluenced by fanciful theories to obscure his meaning. His history is a narrative of facts, seldom interrupted by episodes or parenthetical reflections. He has no tendency to enter into long investigations of causes, which he leaves the reader to discover for himself. In his delineations of character he seizes obvious points and prominent features. In this he is directly contrasted with Mignet, who refines with metaphysical nicety, and halts to dissect a feeling when he should hasten on to relate an event. Mignet is subtle, and frequently obscure. Thiers is frank, and always intelligible. Hence the secret of his superior attraction; and on this ground, independent of others, his work has established itself as a classic, and increases in estimation on repeated perusal. It may justly be pronounced the best that has been

written on a very momentous period: the safest, as well as the most entertaining; and when we refer to the long list of eminent authors who have employed their pens in the description of this gigantic moral earthquake, it is no slight commendation to be placed at the head of the phalanx. We have said why we prefer Thiers to Mignet—although in literary composition their merits are equally balanced. In England the reputation of M. Thiers' History has increased gradually. Received at first with caution, perhaps with distrust, it has made its way by intrinsic weight, and obtains with each succeeding year a wider popularity. A new edition has therefore become necessary, which we now present in a more convenient form, and, as we trust, with some additional recommendations. It has been objected that Thiers is a partial historian, and writes with a natural bias in favour of his own country. If so, a reasonable allowance must be made for a fault inseparable from humanity. But this tendency, when it occurs, is compensated for in this edition by a series of illustrative notes from the most important authorities on the subject, so that the reader is thereby enabled to balance conflicting opinions, and regulate his own judgment on a comparison of evidence.

Lord Byron has said, "It has long been the fashion to ascribe everything to the French Revolution, and the French Revolution to everything but the real cause. That cause is obvious. The government exacted more than the people could bear, and the people neither could nor would bear any longer." There is truth in this short summary; but the question is too complicated to be dismissed merely in a sentence. The storm had long been brewing, and many agencies were concerned in bringing it to a head. The catastrophe was foreseen and predicted, not only by profound thinkers, but by casual observers. Many were the warning voices, but all were unheeded until the explosion took place. The successive causes, immediate and secondary, have been amply discussed; but it is to be regretted that an author so well versed in the annals of France as M. Thiers has not entered more into detail in his introductory dissertation. After a few brief paragraphs, he breaks at once into his subject, as if he took it for granted that all his readers were as well acquainted as himself with the origin

of that memorable event. The climax was gradual of approach, and long in preparation. What Dr. Johnson says in his tragedy of "Irene" of the fall of Constantinople, applies strongly to the destruction of the French monarchy :—

> "A thousand horrid prodigies foretold it;
> A feeble government, eluded laws,
> A factious populace, luxurious nobles,
> And all the maladies of sinking states."

As in more recent times the decay of authority is accompanied by the outrages of anarchists and the tyranny of trades' unions. Foremost in the list, the deficiency of the public revenue, the preposterous salaries of the officers of the Crown, and the unbridled speculations of the Encyclopædists—brilliant but dangerous sophists, who promulgated visionary doctrines, utterly subversive of religion, law, policy, or morality—were the most formidable pioneers of the Revolution. As soon as they were listened to, the end became certain. They exposed the wrongs and pointed out the privileges of all classes; but while they did this, they at the same time advocated principles incompatible with the interests of civilized society. The executive energy of Cromwell, and the financial ability of Colbert, might even at a late hour have opposed an effectual barrier; but Bonaparte rose to power too late and Mirabeau passed away before his career was completed. The lesson was intended to be taught; and well will it be for future generations if they lay it to their hearts, and imbibe wisdom from the study.

Foremost amongst those whose writings tended to inflame and pervert the public mind were Voltaire and Rousseau. The first of these had every possible requisite for such a task. Shrewd, calculating, and cunning as a fox; a wit without heart, an innovator without conscience, an expert handler of paradoxes, the light thin soil of whose mind could not nourish the tree of knowledge; acquainted with society in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest; a contemner, less from sound conviction than from the instincts of overweening self-conceit, of all systems of religion, government,

man to precipitate the great crisis of the Revolution. All who read could understand him. There was no affected mysticism in his manner; he was uniformly concise, lucid, and plausible, and set off his style by all the graces of the most sparkling wit and cutting sarcasm. His favourite mode of commencing an attack is by insinuation. He sneers away a moral system in a sentence, and disturbs faith in religion and humanity by a terse and sparkling allegory. That he effected some good in his generation is unquestionable. He denounced the avarice and negligence of the higher orders of the priesthood; lashed the insane rage for war, then so general on the continent; exposed the vices and imbecility of the noblesse; and did not spare even the throne itself. Had he stopped here, he would have deserved praise; but his restless intellect spurned all decent restraints, perversely confounding the distinctions between truth and falsehood, absurdity and common-sense. Cynical by nature, the crimes and utter callousness which he observed amongst the higher classes made him a sceptic to all generous emotions; as the corruption of the privileged clergy made him reject all belief in Christianity. Hazlitt, who of all men in the world was the least likely to underrate him, has well observed that "the poisoned wound he inflicted was so fine as scarcely to be felt, until it rankled and festered in its mortal consequences; and he loved to reduce things below their level, making them all alike seem worthless and hollow!"

Of a far different order of intellect, but in his way equally influential, was Voltaire's great rival, Rousseau. The object of this insidious sentimentalist was—in politics, to bring about republicanism; in ethics, to subvert the entire framework of society, and introduce universal licence; in religion, to do away with faith grounded on the convictions of reason, and to substitute in its stead the cant of instinct and sensibility. His specious, shallow, tinsel eloquence, which was mistaken for the sterling ore of thought, turned the brain of all France. Because his ideas were eccentric, they were accounted profound; and his studied indecency was received as the prompting of a healthy and impassioned temperament. We who live in more enlightened times, when the public

mind is able to detect the true from the false, and if crazed for a season by some pet crotchet, never fails soon to right itself, can scarcely imagine the effect which Voltaire and Rousseau, assisted by the Encyclopædists, produced in their day. That a convulsion would have taken place, even without their aid, is unquestionable; but equally certain is it that they greatly contributed to hurry on the crisis. The effects of their writings may easily be traced in the wild speculations of the unworldly Girondins, the republican cant of the Dantonists, and the unblushing atheism of the worshippers of the Goddess of Reason.

The radical defect of all Rousseau's writings was the substitution of sentiment for principle. Never was man so glaringly deficient in what may be called the moral sense. His mind "wore motley," and was made up of inconsistencies. While he professed to inculcate a system of the purest ethics, he lived in avowed adultery with a woman old enough to be his mother; and wrote upon the duties owing by parents to their children, while he sent his own to the Foundling Hospital! That he was actuated throughout his literary career by no better feeling than a mere morbid craving for notoriety, is evident from one of his published conversations with Burke, wherein he observes, that finding that the ordinary vehicle of literature was worn out, he took upon himself the task of renewing the springs, repainting the panels, and gilding the whole machine afresh. In other words, he was solely anxious to create a sensation, no matter how eccentric were the means which he employed for that purpose.

Voltaire and Rousseau lived and wrote exclusively for effect. Yet it has been urged by those who, seduced by their talents, would fain make excuses for their sophistries, that both acted from the best intentions. This is pure cant—the plea urged by every knave for his offences against society. The bar of the Old Bailey is filled every session with the best intentions; they figure unequivocally in the police-offices, people the vast pasturages of Australia, and form—says the quaint old Spanish proverb—the pavement of hell itself!

While these and other malign influences were at work,

the grand struggle for independence took place in America. This event startled France like a thunder-clap. Adieu now to all hope of escape from revolution! The heather is on fire, and nothing can check the progress of the conflagration. Within the precincts of the palace, in the salons of fashion, and universally among the *tiers-état*, nothing is talked of but the gallantry of the transatlantic patriots. Washington is the hero—Franklin the philosopher of the day. Carried away by the general enthusiasm, and glad, no doubt, of such an opportunity of humbling the pride and increasing the difficulties of England—although his private correspondence would seem to show otherwise—Louis XVI. took the desperate resolution of supplying the revolted colonies with funds and troops. It was the misfortune of this Prince, who possessed many excellent private and public qualities, to do everything with the best intentions, and to succeed in nothing. "As for the King," says Mr. Carlyle, in his eloquent analytical history of the Revolution, "he, as usual, will go wavering cameleon-like, changing colour and purpose with the colour of his environment—good for no kingly use." This is well observed of Louis. He was as "infirm of purpose" as Macbeth, swayed now by the counsels of the Queen, now by those of the Assembly, and giving a tenacious adhesion to neither. In assisting the American insurgents he took the most suicidal step that it was possible for monarch, situated as he was, to take; for when his troops returned home—and they constituted the flower of the young noblesse and the army—they brought back with them opinions and feelings until then proscribed in France; talked loudly of the duty of resistance to despotic authority; and thus communicated an irreparable shock to the tottering throne of Louis. The final blow, however, was given by the collapse of the national finances, the annual deficit of which, amounting to above seven millions sterling, compelled the reluctant monarch to summon the States-general, and thus admit the necessity of a radical change in the government—in other words, to sanction those innovations which could not terminate otherwise than in revolution.

And now the work appeared to be complete. The monarchy was abolished, the aristocracy annihilated; religious and moral responsibility was denounced as an empty chimera, and the new system universally proclaimed. But the elements of which it was compounded were discordant, and already, like the armed men produced by the dragon's teeth of Cadmus, they had begun to war on each other. There was hope yet if the disciples of liberty and equality, who refused to fraternize, had been left to themselves. Nothing could give them strength and permanence but unity; and unity could only come by a pressure from without. In evil hour that pressure was resorted to. The invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick, and subsequently by the allied armies of Austria and England, under Prince Cobourg, with the avowed objects of conquest and partition, settled the question definitively, and combined all parties in one blended feeling of national patriotism. From that moment the restoration of the monarchy became impossible, and the republic was firmly consolidated. A struggle of twenty years was the consequence of this fatal mistake!

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EDUCATED AT THE LYCÉE AT MARSEILLES,

AVOCAT,

STARTED THE *NATIONAL* NEWSPAPER, JANUARY 1830,

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MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR,

MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND PUBLIC WORKS,

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL,

PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,

1871–1873,

DIED AT SAINT GERMAIN,

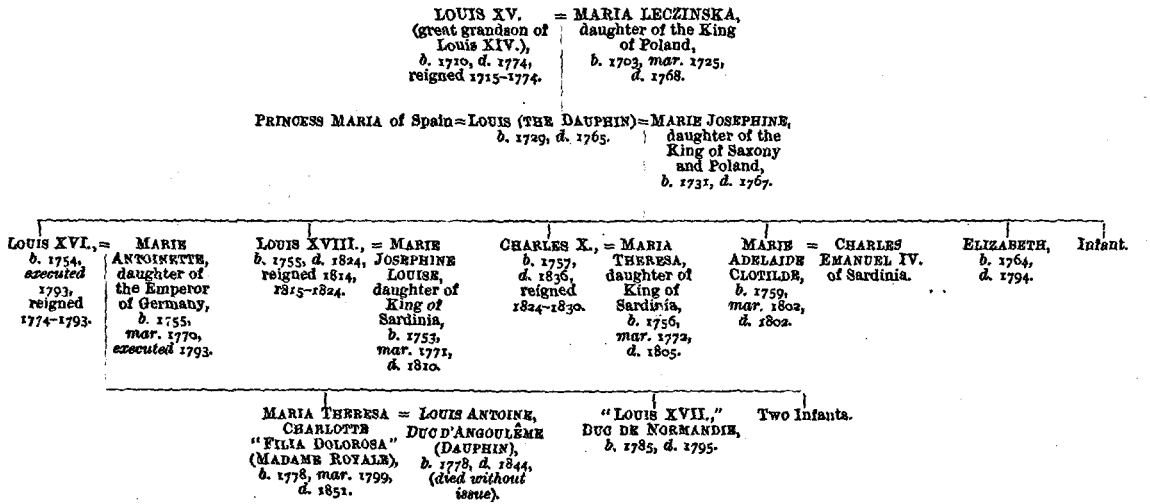
SEPTEMBER 3, 1877.

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THE RELATIVES OF THE KING



CHRONOLOGY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1789.

May 5. OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL AT VERSAILLES—The *tiers-état*, 661 deputies; nobles, 285; clergy, 308; total, 1254.

6. Division between the different orders respecting the mode of verifying their powers.

10. The electors of Paris declare themselves in permanent session.

23. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *tiers-état*, the different orders meet separately. The clergy and nobility communicate to the *tiers-état* the renunciation of their privileges, and submit to pay their proportion of the public burdens.

June 17. The deputies of the *tiers-état*, already joined by some of the clergy, declare their assembly to be the only legal one, and constitute themselves as *The National Assembly*. The Assembly declares all the taxes illegally imposed, but it authorizes the levy of them provisionally, *only till the day of its first separation*, from whatever cause that separation may proceed.

20. The oath of the tennis-court.

23. Royal session of the States-general.

27. The union of the several Orders in the National Assembly.

30. The Parisians set at liberty the French guards imprisoned in the Abbaye.

July 2–9. A great number of troops collected around Paris.

11. Change of the ministry. Dismissal of Necker.

12. Riots in Paris. The Prince de Lambesc at the head of the German dragoons charges the populace in the Tuileries. Camille Desmoulins, in the garden of the Palais Royal, recommends an appeal to arms. The green cockade is assumed. Conflict between the French guards and a detachment of the Royal German regiment.

13. First organization of the militia of Paris. The barriers attacked and burnt.

14. STORMING OF THE BASTILLE. Massacre of the governor de Launay and Flesselles, *prévôt des marchands*. The red and blue cockade (the city colours) substituted for the green cockade.

15. The King and his brothers repair to the National Assembly. The troops collected round Paris dismissed. Approval of the institutions of the national guard. The electors nominate Bailly mayor of Paris, and Lafayette general-in-chief of the national guard.

July 16. Recall of Necker—Comte d'Artois and the Prince de Condé emigrate.

17. The King proceeds to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris. Bailly thus addresses him: "Sire, I bring you the keys of the city of Paris; they are the same which were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people; the people have reconquered their King." The assembled multitude applauded this address; the King assumed the red and blue cockade. His presence quiets the tumult.

22. Fresh disturbances on account of the dearness of corn. Massacre of Foulon and of Berthier de Sauvigny.

26. The tricoloured cockade adopted. On presenting it to the electors Lafayette predicts that it will make the tour of the world.

Aug. 1. The cannon of Chantilly and of the Ile-Adam taken possession of and brought to Paris.

4. The National Assembly decrees that the constitution shall be preceded by the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. Spontaneous abolition of the feudal system and of all privileges in France.

18. Democratic insurrection at Liege.

23. Decree proclaiming liberty of opinions, religious as well as political.

31. Suppression and dissolution of the French guards.

Sept. 9. The National Assembly declares itself to be permanently assembled.

10. It adopts as a principle that the Legislative Body shall consist of only one chamber.

Oct. 1. Declaration of the rights of man in society.

2. Entertainment given by the life-guards at Versailles.

5, 6. The populace at Versailles. The King and all his family are brought to Paris.

14. The Duc d'Orleans quits Paris for a time and goes to England.

19. The first sitting of the National Assembly at the archbishop's palace.

21. Decree conferring upon the tribunal of the Châtelet the cognizance of the crime of *high treason against the nation*. Martial law introduced.

Nov. 2. Ecclesiastical property declared national property. The Abbé Maury, being threatened with death *à la lanterne*, escapes by saying to those who have come to attack him, "Well, and shall you see any the clearer for that, do you think?"

6. Institution of the society of "The Friends of the Constitution," which subsequently became "The Society of the Jacobins." The National Assembly transfers its place of meeting to the riding-house of the Tuileries.

Dec. 19. Creation of territorial assignats.

24. Decree declaring Frenchmen who are not Catholics admissible to all offices both civil and military.

1790.

Jan. 15. Division of France into eighty-three departments.
21. Equality of punishments enacted, whatever the rank of the culprits.
26. The Assembly forbids its members to accept any office under government.
Feb. 13. Abolition of monastic vows. Suppression of the religious orders.
19. Execution of the Marquis de Favras, declared guilty of high treason.
20. Lafayette proclaims, in the National Assembly, that *when oppression renders a revolution necessary, insurrection is the most sacred of duties.*
Mar. 16. Abolition of "*lettres de cachet.*"
17. Appropriation of ecclesiastical property to the repayment of the assignats.
28. Suppression of the salt-tax.
April 1. Publication of the "Red Book." The secret expenses of the Court had annually been at the lowest, in 1787, 82,000,000 livres, at the highest, in 1783, 145,000,000 livres.
29. Free trade in corn.
30. Institution of the jury.
May 10. Massacre of the patriots at Montauban.
12. Institution, by Lafayette and Bailly, of the Society of 1789 (afterwards the club of the Feuillans) to counterbalance the influence of the Jacobin club.
22. The Assembly decrees that the right of declaring war and making peace belongs to the nation.
June 3. Insurrection of the blacks in Martinique.
9, 10. The civil list fixed at 25,000,000 livres.
19. Abolition of nobility.
July 10. Decree restoring to the heirs of dissenters expelled by the Edict of Nantes their confiscated property not yet sold.
14. First National Federation.
Aug. 6. Abolition of the *droits d'aubaine* (seizing the property of aliens).
16. Justices of the peace instituted.
31. Revolt of the Swiss soldiers of Château-Vieux.
Sept. 4. Dismissal and retreat of Necker.
6. Suppression of the parliaments.
10. Funding of the public debt.
29. Creation of 800,000,000 of forced assignats.
Oct. 9. Insurrection of the mulattoes in St. Domingo.
Nov. 4. Insurrection in the Isle of France.
27. Civil constitution of the clergy. Institution of the Tribunal of Cassation.
Dec. 30. Institution of patents for inventions.

1791.

Jan. 28. The French army is increased to the war establishment.
Feb. 12. Abolition of the monopoly for the cultivation of tobacco.
19. Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.) gratifies the populace who surround his palace by assuring them that he will never emigrate.
28. The leaders of the populace proceed to Vincennes and attempt to massacre the prisoners. The day of the Daggers. The nobles with concealed arms assemble at the Tuileries. The King, in order to prevent a conflict between them and the national guards, commands them to lay down their arms. They obey, and are afterwards insulted and ill-used.
April 2–4. DEATH AND FUNERAL OF MIRABEAU.
23. Louis apprizes the Foreign Courts that he has taken the oath to observe the *future* constitution.
May 4. Annexation of Avignon and of the Comtat-Venaissin to France.
15. Admission of the free people of colour to an equality of political rights with the whites.
June 2. Louis XVI., being intimidated, gives his consent to many decrees from which he had previously withheld it.
5. The decree passed, wresting from the King the privilege of pardoning criminals.
10. Louis XVI. secretly protests against the sanctions which he has given to decrees, and also against those which he may hereafter give.
19. Robespierre is elected public accuser for the tribunal of the Seine.
21–25. FLIGHT TO AND RETURN FROM VARENNES. The emigration of Monsieur.
26. The life-guards disbanded.
July 6. Appeal of the Emperor Leopold to the sovereigns of Europe to unite for the deliverance of Louis XVI.
7. Louis XVI. disavows the armaments equipping by the emigrants.
11. Petition for the King's dethronement. The remains of Voltaire transferred to the Pantheon.
17. The unfurling of the red flag.
21. Institution for the deaf and dumb established.
25. Treaty of Berlin against France between Prussia and Austria.
30. Suppression of decorations and orders of knighthood.
Aug. 17. Decree enjoining emigrants to return to France.
27. Treaty of Pilnitz intended to consolidate the coalition.
Sept. 3–13. Completion and presentation of the constitution to the King.
14. Louis XVI. accepts the constitution and swears to maintain it.
29. Decree relative to the national guard.
30. Last sitting of the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly during the three years of its existence enacted 1309 laws and decrees relative to legislation or to the general administration of the State.
Oct. 1. FIRST SITTING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.
5. Commencement of the famine. The farmers refuse to take assignats in payment for corn. Decree taking from the King the titles of Sire and Your Majesty.

Oct. 14. The King issues a proclamation to the emigrants exhorting them to rally round the constitution.
16. He writes to his brothers to induce them to return to France. All the men of talent in Europe are invited by the Assembly to communicate their opinions on the civil code. The minister at war announces that 1900 officers have left their regiments and emigrated.
28. Decree requiring Monsieur to return to France within two months, upon the penalty of being deprived of his right to the regency.
30. Massacres at Avignon. The slaughtered prisoners are thrown into an ice-pit.

Nov. 12. The King refuses to sanction the decree against the emigrants.
17. Petion is elected mayor of Paris.
22. Port-au-Prince (St. Domingo) burnt.
26. Chabot enters the King's presence with his hat on.
29. The Assembly requires the King to call upon the princes of the empire not to allow the assembling of emigrants in their territories.

Dec. 2. Manuel elected *procureur-syndic* of the commune.
14. The King announces to the Assembly that he will declare war if the Foreign Courts disregard his declarations in favour of the Revolution.
19. The King puts his veto to the decrees relative to priests who refuse to take the civic oath.
20. Notification, in the name of the King, to the Elector of Trèves to disperse the emigrants collected in his States.
31. The Assembly suppresses the ceremony usual on New Year's Day.

1792.

Jan. 1. The King's brothers, as emigrants, are decreed under accusation.
23, 24. First pillage of the grocers of Paris.

Feb. 7. Treaty between Austria and Prussia to *quell the disturbances in France.*
9. The property of emigrants sequestrated.

Mar. 1. Death of Leopold II. His son Francis succeeds him.
2. Institution of the King's constitutional guard.
3. Murder of the mayor of Etampes in the execution of his duty.
19. Amnesty granted to the assassins of Avignon.
28. Decree admitting men of colour and free negroes to the exercise of political rights.
29. Assassination of Gustavus III., King of Sweden.
30. Appropriation of the property of emigrants to defray the expenses of the war.

April 6. Suppression of religious communities. Prohibition of ecclesiastical costumes.
20. Declaration of war against Austria.
28. First hostilities and reverses in Belgium. General Theobald Dillon murdered by his soldiers.

May 3. Decrees of accusation passed against Royou, author of *L'Ami du Roi*, and Marat, author of *L'Ami du Peuple*.
29. The King's paid guard disbanded. The National Assembly constitutes itself in permanent session.
June 8. Decree ordaining the formation of a camp of 20,000 men near Paris. Opposed by the King.
12, 13. Dismissal of the ministers Servan, Roland, and Clavières.
20. The populace at the Tuileries.
26. First continental coalition against France.
28. Lafayette appears at the bar to demand, *in the name of his army*, the punishment of the authors of the outrage of the 20th.
July 7. Francis II. elected Emperor of Germany.
9. All the ministers of Louis XVI. resign.
11. Decree declaring the country in danger.
14. Third Federation.
30. Arrival of the Marseillais in Paris.
Aug. 10. The Tuileries attacked and stormed.
11. SUSPENSION OF THE ROYAL AUTHORITY. An executive council formed.
13. Imprisonment of the King and the royal family in the Temple.
13–21. The foreign ambassadors leave Paris.
14. Decree directing the sale of the property of the emigrants.
18. Flight of Lafayette after attempting in vain to induce his army to rise in favour of Louis XVI., and the constitution.
28, 29. Law ordaining domiciliary visits.
Sept. 2. Confiscation of the property of the emigrants.
2–6. Massacres in the prisons of Paris.
9. Massacre of the prisoners from Orleans at Versailles.
16. The Garde-Meuble robbed of the jewels and precious stones belonging to the crown.
20. Battle of Valmy.
21. Closing of the Legislative Assembly, after passing, between the 1st of October 1791 and this date, 2140 decrees relative to administration or legislation. Opening of the National Convention. Abolition of royalty. Proclamation of the republic.
22. Commencement of the republican era. Decree ordaining the renewal of all the administrative, municipal, and judicial bodies, *as suspected of being gangrened with royalism*.
23. Entry of the French into Chambery. Conquest of Savoy.
28. Nice taken.
29. Louis XVI. separated from his family and removed to the great tower of the Temple.
Oct. 8. The siege of Lille raised, after an heroic defence by its inhabitants.
9. Law ordaining the *immediate death* of every emigrant taken in arms.
10. The titles of *citoyen* and *citoyenne* adopted instead of *monsieur* and *madame*.
15. Suppression o the order of St. Louis.
22. Entire evacuation of the French territory by the allies.

Oct. 23. Law banishing the emigrants in mass and for ever, and decreeing the penalty of death against all, without distinction of age or sex, who shall return to France. Confiscation of their property.
Nov. 6. Victory of Jemappes.
7. Decree for putting Louis XVI. upon his trial.
19. The Convention, by a decree, promises aid and succour to all those nations which may desire to overthrow their governments.
20. Discovery of the Iron Chest.
Dec. 4. Decree pronouncing the penalty of death against all who shall propose or attempt to restore royalty in France.
11. First examination of Louis XVI.
16. Decree banishing the Bourbons, with the exception of the prisoners in the Temple and Philip Egalité (the Duc d'Orleans), respecting whom the Convention reserves to itself the right of deciding hereafter. Philip Egalité continues to sit in the Convention.
25. Louis XVI. writes his will.
26. Defence of Louis XVI. delivered by Desèze.
27. Commencement of the debates in the National Convention.
31. England refuses to recognize the minister of the French republic.

1793.

Jan. 13. Basseville murdered at Rome.
14. End of the debates in the Convention relative to Louis XVI.
15–20. Votes and scrutinies for the sentence on Louis XVI., the appeal to the people, the reprieve, &c.
20. Notification to Louis XVI. of the sentence of death pronounced upon him. Last interview of the King with his family. Murder of Lepelletier St. Fargeau.
21. EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.
24. The Convention in a body attends the funeral of Lepelletier, to whose remains are awarded the honours of the Pantheon.
28. Louis Xavier (Monsieur) assumes the title of Regent of France, and proclaims Louis XVII. King.
31. Incorporation of the county of Nice with France.
Feb. 1. The Convention declares war against England and Holland.
24. Decree ordaining the levy of 300,000 men.
25, 26. Plunder of the grocers' shops in Paris.
Mar. 5. The colonies declared in a state of siege.
7. The Convention declares war against Spain.
9. Commissioners of the Convention sent with unlimited powers into the departments. Abolition of imprisonment for debt. First coalition against France formed by England, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, the Roman States, Sardinia, and Piedmont.
10, 11. Institution of the revolutionary tribunal.
12. Committees of *surveillance* established in Paris.
11–15. Insurrection in La Vendée. Cholet taken by the insurgents.

Mar. 18. Battle of Neerwinden.
21. Decree ordaining the punishment of death against all who shall propose an agrarian law.
25. Institution of the committee of general safety.
April 1. Defection of Dumouriez.
6. The committee of public welfare instituted by a law.
9. Apprehension of the Duc d'Orleans (Egalité), and imprisonment at Marseilles of all the members of the family of the Bourbons not confined in the Temple. Representatives of the people sent to the republican armies.
13. Marat decreed under accusation by the Convention.
17. The Spaniards overrun Roussillon.
24. Marat acquitted, and carried in triumph to the hall of the Convention.
May 4. A *maximum* fixed for the price of corn and flour.
10. First meeting of the Convention at the Tuileries.
18. The Girondins obtain the institution of the commission of the twelve to watch the motions of agitators.
20. Forced loan of 1000 millions imposed upon the rich.
26. Insurrection in Corsica.
29. Insurrection in Lyons against the Jacobins.
30, 31. } Revolution of May 31. Downfall of the Girondins.
June 1, 2. }
5. Federalist insurrection at Marseilles and Caen.
8. Blockade of the ports of France by England.
9. Protest of 73 deputies against the acts of the Convention on the 31st of May and the 2nd of June.
10. Saumur taken by the Vendeans. A decree that absolute necessaries shall not be taxed.
21–24. Insurrection in St. Domingo. The Cape burned.
23. Martial law repealed.
29. The constitution submitted to the primary assemblies.
28, 29. Nantes attacked by the Vendeans.
July 3. Decree commanding the siege of Lyons.
4. Foundlings named the children of the country.
13. MARAT ASSASSINATED BY CHARLOTTE CORDAY.
24. Capitulation of Mayence.
26. Establishment of telegraphs.
27. Robespierre nominated a member of the committee of public welfare.
28. Capitulation of Valenciennes.
Aug. 1. Marie Antoinette removed to the Conciergerie.
7. Decree declaring Pitt an enemy of mankind.
8. Suppression of all academies and literary societies.
10. The constitution of 1793 accepted by the deputies of 44,000 communes of the republic.
15. Institution of the great book of the public debt.
22. Adoption of the first eight heads of the civil code.
23. Law ordaining the levy *en masse*.
Sept. 5. Decree enacting that a revolutionary army shall travel over the departments with artillery and a guillotine.
7, 8. Victory gained over the English at Hondschoote.

Sept. 11. Establishment of the *maximum* for corn and flour.
15. Investment and siege of Toulon.
17. Law of the suspected.
Oct. 10. Lyons taken by the army of the Convention. The government declared revolutionary till a peace.
15, 16. Victory of Wattignies. The blockade of Maubeuge raised.
16. MARIE ANTOINETTE CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED.
17–19. Defeat of the Vendeans at Chollet. Passage of the Loire.
31. The Girondins executed.
Nov. 6. The Duc d'Orleans (Philip Egalité) executed.
10. The Catholic worship superseded by that of Reason. Revolutionary massacres at Lyons.
11. Bailly executed.
16. Lotteries suppressed.
Dec. 4. Organization of the revolutionary government.
12, 13. The Vendeans defeated at Mans.
20. Toulon retaken.
22. The Vendeans defeated at Savenay.
26, 27. The lines of Weissenburg retaken. The blockade of Landau raised.

1794.

Jan. 1. Decree enacting that every condemned general shall be executed at the head of his army.
4. Noirmoutiers taken. D'Elbée executed.
16. Marseilles declared rebellious and to have lost its name.
21. Decree enacting that the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. shall be celebrated as a national festival. Drownings (*noyades*) at Nantes.
Feb. 4. Decree abolishing slavery in the colonies. The negroes declared French citizens. Decree enacting that sentences upon ecclesiastics shall be executed without appeal.
15. The Convention determines that the national flag shall be composed of three vertical stripes of equal breadth—red, white, and blue.
22. A *maximum* fixed for articles of ordinary consumption.
24. Decree qualifying denouncers to be heard as witnesses.
Mar. 5. Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, &c., executed.
22. Decree proclaiming justice and integrity the order of the day.
April 1. The executive council suppressed and succeeded by twelve commissions composed of members of the Convention, and subordinate to the committee of public welfare.
4. Decree enacting that accused persons brought before the revolutionary tribunal *who resist the national justice* shall not be allowed to plead, and sentenced forthwith.
5. Decree that every member of the Convention shall give an account of his conduct, moral and political, and of his circumstances.
14. Decree that the remains of J. J. Rousseau shall be removed to the Pantheon.

April 16. Decree that all those who live without doing anything, and complain of the Revolution, shall be transported to Guiana.

May 7. The Convention acknowledges the existence of the Supreme Being.

10. MADAME ELIZABETH, SISTER OF LOUIS XVI., EXECUTED.

18. Victory of Turcoing.

22. Execution of young women at Verdun.

26. Decree that no quarter be given to the English and Hanoverians. Collioure, St. Elme, and Port-Vendres retaken.

June 1. Establishment of the School of Mars in the plain of Sablons. Sea-fight of the 13th of Prairial. Heroism of the crew of the *Vengeur*.

8. Festival of the Supreme Being.

10. Decree that any moral document may be used as evidence against a person accused before the revolutionary tribunal; and that there shall be in future no official defenders.

23. Battle of Croix-des-Bouquets.

25. Charleroi taken.

26. Decree that corn and forage of this year's growth be put in requisition. Victory of Fleurus.

July 4. Decree that the foreign garrisons in French fortresses, which refuse to surrender within twenty-four hours after the first summons, shall be put to the sword.

6. Landrecies retaken.

26 (8th of Thermidor). Robespierre at the Jacobin club.

27, 28 (9th and 10th of Thermidor). DOWNFALL OF ROBESPIERRE.

29. Execution of eighty-three members of the general council of the commune outlawed on the 27th.

Aug. 1. Fouquier-Tinville apprehended.

12. A new revolutionary tribunal installed.

16. Quesnoy retaken.

23. All persons of seventy in confinement set at liberty.

24. Decree limiting the powers of the committee of public welfare.

27–30. Valenciennes and Condé retaken.

31. Explosion of the powder magazine at Grenelle, by which fifteen hundred persons lose their lives. Decree for checking the progress of Vandalism. The monuments of the arts and sciences placed under the care of the authorities.

Sept. 1. Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot-d'Herbois, turned out of the committee of public welfare. That committee had been prorogued and re-elected fourteen times successively.

10. Attempt to assassinate Tallien.

24. Destruction of the English settlements at Sierra Leone.

Oct. 2. Victory of Aldenhoven.

7. Lyons resumes its name.

10. Institution of the Conservatory of Arts and Trades.

12. The Convention forbids all political correspondence between popular societies in their collective name.

20. The Normal School instituted.

23. The School of Mars suppressed.

Nov. 1. Great dearth. The inhabitants of Paris receive but two ounces of bread per day. The busts of Marat and Lepelletier destroyed. The body of Marat dragged from the Pantheon and thrown into a sewer.
9. The Jacobins attacked by the Gilded Youth.
12. Decree suspending the meetings and closing the hall of the Jacobin club.
17–20. Battle of Montagne Noire, in which the two commanders-in-chief, Dugommier and La Union, are slain.
Dec. 2. Amnesty offered to the Vendeans and Chouans who shall lay down their arms within a month.
8. The deputies proscribed on the 31st of May 1793, readmitted into the Convention.
9. Decree that *in future the secrecy of letters shall not be violated in the interior.*
16, 17. Carrier condemned and executed.
24. The laws of the *maximum* repealed.
30. The decree enacting that no quarter shall be given to the English and Hanoverians repealed.

1795.

Jan. 19. Declaration of Russia that "there is no longer either a kingdom or republic of Poland." The French enter Amsterdam. Conquest of Holland.
20. A Dutch fleet taken by French cavalry.
Feb. 2. Repeal of the penal laws issued against Lyons.
6. Holland abolishes the stadtholdership, and constitutes itself a republic.
9. Treaty of peace between France and Tuscany.
15. First pacification of La Vendée, called the pacification of La Jaunaie.
Mar. 2. The late members of the committee of public welfare placed under accusation.
8. The outlawed deputies readmitted into the Convention.
15. Decree that each inhabitant of Paris shall be allowed but one pound of bread per day; labouring people only to have a pound and a half.
21. Institution of the Central School of Public Works (afterwards the Polytechnic School). Law against seditious assemblies.
April 1 (12th Germinal). Transportation of the late members of the committee of public welfare.
5. Treaty of peace between the French republic and the King of Prussia.
7. Establishment of the uniformity of weights, measures, and coins, upon the decimal system.
4. Massacres in the prisons of Lyons.

May 7. Execution of Fouquier-Tinville and fifteen jurors of the revolutionary tribunal.
16. Alliance between the French and the Batavian republics.
17–19. Jacobin insurrection at Toulon.
20. Disturbances of the 1st of Prairial.
22. Insurrection of the Faubourg St. Antoine.
24. Disarming of the Faubourg St. Antoine and the sections of Paris.
30. The public exercise of the Catholic religion authorized.
31. The extraordinary revolutionary criminal tribunal suppressed.
June 1–5. Insurrection at Toulon quelled.
2. Funeral honours paid to Féraud, the deputy, murdered on the 1st of Prairial.
8. DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN, SON OF LOUIS XVI.
17. Death of Romme, Goujon, Soubrani, &c.
24. Charette again takes up arms in La Vendée.
27. Institution of a police legion for the safeguard of Paris.
July 21. The emigrants lay down their arms at Quiberon.
22. Treaty of peace between France and Spain signed at Basle.
Aug. 3. Institution of the Conservatory of Music.
22. The new constitution, called the constitution of the year III., adopted.
23. Decree definitely dissolving the popular societies.
30. Decree enacting that two-thirds of the members of the new Legislative Assemblies shall be, for the first time only, exclusively chosen from the National Convention.
Sept. 23. Proclamation of the acceptance of the constitution of the year III. by the people.
Oct. 1. Belgium and all the conquered countries on the left bank of the Rhine incorporated with the republic.
2. Landing of Comte d'Artois in Ile-Dieu.
5. Insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire.
25. Formation of the Institute decreed.
26. End of the National Convention, after passing 8370 decrees.
28. First meeting of the Council of the Ancients and the Council of the Five Hundred.
Nov. 1. FORMATION OF THE DIRECTORY. Laréveillère-Lepaux le Tourneur, Rewbel, Barras, and Carnot, chosen directors.
4. The Directory establishes itself at the Luxembourg.
17. Evacuation of the Ile-Dieu.
23–27. Battle and victory of Loano.
Dec. 26. The daughter of Louis XVI. exchanged for—(1) The representatives and General Beurnonville, delivered up to the Austrians by Dumouriez; (2) Maret and Semonville, diplomatic envoys, seized by the Austrians in 1793; (3) Drouet, the ex-conventionalist, made prisoner in 1792.

1796.

Jan. 1. Institution of the ministry of the police.
Feb. 2. The twelve municipalities of Paris installed.
24. Stofflet, again in arms in La Vendée, taken and shot.
Mar. 29. Charette shot at Nantes.
April 2–9. Insurrection in Berry, which is quelled immediately.
11, 12. Battle of Montenotte.
13, 14. Battle of Millessimo.
22. Battle of Mondovi.
May 10. Battle at the bridge of Lodi.
15. Treaty of peace between the French republic and the King of Sardinia. The French enter Milan.
June 4. Battle of Altenkirchen gained by Jourdan.
21. Armistice granted to the Pope by Bonaparte.
23. Moreau crosses the Rhine at Kehl.
29. The castle of Milan taken.
July 9. Battle of Ettlingen gained by Moreau.
Aug. 5. Victory of Castiglione.
15. Definitive pacification of La Vendée.
18. Offensive and defensive alliance between France and Spain.
Sept. 5. The French enter Trent.
8. Battle of Bassano.
15. Battle of St. George. Wurmser blockaded in Mantua.
Oct. 2. Battle of Biberach gained by Moreau.
8. Spain declares war against England.
10. Treaty of peace between the republic and the King of the Two Sicilies.
22. Corsica retaken from the English.
Nov. 15–17. Victory of Arcole.
Dec. 20. Rupture of the conferences opened at Paris with Lord Malmesbury.
24–27. Expedition to Ireland; productive of no result.

1797.

Jan. 9. Capitulation of Kehl, after the trenches had been opened forty-eight hours.
14, 15. Battle of Rivoli.
16. Battle of La Favorita. Capitulation of Provera.
Feb. 2. Mantua taken.
5. Surrender of the *tête de pont* of Huninguen.
19. Treaty of peace of Tolentino between the French republic and the Pope.

Mar. 16. Passage of the Tagliamento.
April 15. Preliminaries of peace between France and Austria signed at Leoben.
18. Battle of Neuwied gained by Hoche.
20, 21. Passage of the Rhine at Diersheim, by Moreau.
May 16. The French enter Venice. Overthrow of the old Venetian government.
31. Revolution at Genoa. Creation of the Ligurian republic.
June 28. Occupation of Corfu.
July 9. Establishment of the Cisalpine republic.
Aug. 24. Repeal of all the laws relative to the exile or confinement of priests refusing to take the oath.
Sept. 4. Violent proceeding of the 18th of Fructidor.
17. Rupture of the conferences at Lille opened for peace with England.
19. Death of General Hoche.
30. Law for dividing the public debt into three thirds, of which one only is consolidated.
Oct. 17. Treaty of peace signed at Campo Formio between France and Austria.
Dec. 9. Opening of the congress of Rastadt.
10. Solemn reception of General Bonaparte by the Directory.
18. Riot at Rome. Murder of General Duphot—The French legation leaves the Papal territories.

1798.

Jan. 1. Law concerning the constitutional organization of the colonies.
5. Forced loan of eighty millions to defray the expense of the preparations for an invasion of England.
27. Invasion of Switzerland.
Feb. 10. Abolition of the Papal government. The Roman republic proclaimed.
Mar. 1. The Rhine acknowledged by the congress of Rastadt as the boundary of the French republic.
5. Berne taken.
April 17. Organization of the national gendarmerie.
19. Landing of the English near Ostend: all killed or taken.
26. Incorporation of Geneva with France.
May 1. Holland reconstitutes itself by the name of the Batavian republic.
9. The English evacuate St. Domingo.
19. Sailing of the expedition for Egypt.
June 10–13. Taking of Malta.
July 1–3. Landing in Egypt.
21. Battle of the Pyramids.
27. Suspension of commercial relations between France and America.
Aug. 1, 2. Sea-fight of Aboukir.
21. Creation of the Institute of Egypt.

Aug. 22. Landing in Ireland of 1150 French under the command of Humbert, to join the Irish rebels.
Sept. 5. Establishment of the conscription.
8. Humbert, attacked by the English army, is forced to surrender.
12. The Porte declares war against France.
Oct. 8. Battle of Sedyman.
22–24. Insurrection at Cairo.
Nov. 24. Imposition of a tax on doors and windows.
Dec. 5. Battle of Civita Castellana. Defeat of 40,000 Neapolitans under General Mack, by 6000 French under Macdonald.
6. Declaration of war against the Kings of Naples and Sardinia.
9. Ratification of the treaty of peace between the French and Helvetic republics.
8–10. Occupation of Turin by General Joubert. The King of Sardinia cedes Piedmont to France.
15. Reoccupation of Rome by Championnet.
18. Treaty of alliance between England and Russia against France.

1799.

Jan. 23. Naples taken by Championnet.
Mar. 1–4. Hostile movements of the French and Austrian armies on the Rhine.
7. Coire taken. Conquest of the country of the Grisons by the French.
10. Expedition to Syria. Jaffa taken.
25. Defeat of the French at Stockach.
27. Seizure of Pope Pius VI., who is carried to France.
16. Victory of Mount Tabor.
April 27. Defeat of the French at Cassano.
28. Murder of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt.
May 21. The army of the East raises the siege of Acre.
24. The citadel of Milan taken by Suwarrow.
June 8. Zurich taken by the Archduke Charles.
17, 18. Events of the 30th of Prairial. Three of the directors are turned out by the Legislative Body.
17–19. Defeat of the French at the Trebbia.
July 12. Law authorizing the relatives of emigrants and nobles to be seized as hostages.
25. Victory of the French at Aboukir.
30. Mantua taken by the Austrians.
Aug. 15. Defeat of the French at Novi.
22. General Bonaparte quits Egypt.
29. Death of Pope Pius VI., detained a captive at Valence.
Sept. 19. Defeat of the Anglo-Russian army at Bergen in Holland.
25–29. Battle of Zurich. Defeat of the united Austrians and Russians.

Oct. 16. Arrival of Bonaparte in Paris.
18. Capitulation of Anglo-Russians at Alkmaer.
Nov. 9, 10. Revolution of the 18th Brumaire—Bonaparte proclaimed provisional Consul.
Dec. 15. Law organizing the Polytechnic School.
26. Constitution of the year VIII.—BONAPARTE NOMINATED FIRST CONSUL, Cambacérès and Lebrun associated with him as Second and Third Consuls.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

EVERYBODY is acquainted with the revolutions of the French monarchy. It is well known that the Greeks, and afterwards the Romans, introduced their arms and their civilization among the half savage Gauls; that subsequently the Barbarians established their military hierarchy among them; that this hierarchy, transferred from persons to lands, struck root, as it were, and grew up into the feudal system. Authority was divided between the feudal chief called king, and the secondary chiefs called vassals, who in their turn were kings over their own dependents. In our times, when the necessity for preferring mutual accusations has caused search to be made for reciprocal faults, abundant pains have been taken to teach us that the supreme authority was at first disputed by the vassals, which is always done by those who are nearest to it; that this authority was afterwards divided among them, which constituted feudal anarchy; and that at length it reverted to the throne, where it concentrated itself into despotism under Louis XI., Richelieu, and Louis XIV.

The French population had progressively enfranchised itself by industry, the primary source of wealth and liberty. Though originally agricultural, it soon devoted its attention to commerce and manufactures, and acquired an importance that affected the entire nation. Introduced as a supplicant into the States-general, it appeared there in no other posture than on its knees, in order to be grievously abused. In process of time even Louis XIV. declared that he would have no more of these cringing assemblies; and this he declared to the parliaments, booted and whip in hand. Thenceforth were seen at the head of the State a King clothed with a power ill defined in theory,

but absolute in practice; grandees who had relinquished their feudal dignity for the favour of the monarch, and who disputed by intrigue what was granted to them out of the substance of the people; beneath them an immense population, having no other relation to the Court and the aristocracy than habitual submission and the payment of taxes. Between the Court and the people were parliaments invested with the power of administering justice, and registering the royal decrees. Authority is always disputed. If not in the legitimate assemblies of the nation, it is contested in the very palace of the prince. It is well known that the parliaments by refusing to register the royal edicts rendered them ineffective: this terminated in a "bed of justice" and a concession when the King was weak, but in entire submission when the King was powerful. Louis XIV. had no need to make concessions, for in his reign no parliament durst remonstrate; he drew the nation along in his train, and it glorified him with the prodigies which itself achieved in war and in the arts and sciences. The subjects and the monarch were unanimous, and their actions tended towards one and the same point. But no sooner had Louis XIV. expired than the Regent afforded the parliaments occasion to revenge themselves for their long nullity. The will of the monarch, so profoundly respected in his lifetime, was violated after his death, and his last testament was cancelled. Authority was then thrown into litigation, and a long struggle commenced between the parliaments, the clergy, and the Court, in sight of a nation worn out with long wars, and exhausted by supplying the extravagance of its rulers, who gave themselves up alternately to a fondness for pleasure and for arms. Till then it had displayed no skill but for the service and the gratification of the monarch: it now began to apply its intelligence to its own benefit and the examination of its interests.

The human mind is incessantly passing from one object to another. From the theatre and the pulpit, French genius turned to the moral and political sciences: all then became changed. Figure to yourself, during a whole century, the usurpers of all the national rights quarrelling about a worn-out authority; the parliaments persecuting the clergy, the clergy persecuting the parliaments; the latter disputing the authority of the Court; the Court, careless and calm amid this struggle, squandering the substance of the people in the most profligate debauchery; the nation, enriched and roused, watching these disputes, arming itself with the allegations of one party against the other, deprived of all political action, dogmatizing boldly and ignorantly because it was confined to theories; aspiring,

above all, to recover its rank in Europe, and offering in vain its treasure and its blood to regain a place which it had lost through the weakness of its rulers. Such was the eighteenth century.*

The scandal had been carried to its height when Louis XVI., an equitable prince, moderate in his propensities, carelessly educated, but naturally of a good disposition, ascended the throne at a very early age. He called to his side an old courtier, and consigned to him the care of his kingdom, and divided his confidence between Maurepas and the Queen, an Austrian princess, young, lively, and amiable,† who possessed a complete ascendency over him. Maurepas and the Queen were not good friends. The King, sometimes giving way to his minister, at others to his consort, began at an early period the long career of his vacillations. Aware of the state of his kingdom, he believed the reports of the philosophers on that subject; but brought up in the most Christian sentiments, he felt the utmost aversion for them. The public voice, which was loudly expressed, called for Turgot, one of the class of economists, an honest, virtuous man, endowed with firmness of character, a slow genius, but obstinate and profound. Convinced of his probity, delighted with his plans of reform, Louis XVI. frequently repeated, "There are none besides myself and Turgot who are friends of the people." Turgot's reforms were thwarted by the opposition of the highest orders in the State, who were interested in maintaining all kinds of abuses, which the austere minister proposed to suppress. Louis XVI. dismissed him with regret. During his whole life, which was only a long martyrdom, he had the mortification to discern what was right, to wish it sincerely, but to lack the energy requisite for carrying it into execution.‡

The King, placed between the Court, the parliaments, and

* "Since the reign of the Roman emperors profligacy had never been conducted in so open and undisguised a manner as under Louis XV. and the Regent Orleans. The reign of Louis XV. is the most deplorable in French history. If we seek for the characters who governed the age, we must search the antechambers of the Duc de Choiseul, or the boudoirs of Madame Pompadour or Du Barri. The whole frame of society seemed to be discomposed. Statesmen were ambitious to figure as men of letters; men of letters as statesmen; the great seigneurs as bankers; the farmers-general as great seigneurs. The fashions were as ridiculous as the arts were misplaced."—*Alison's French Revolution.*

† "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France at Versailles, and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision! I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, glittering like the morning star, full of life, splendour, and joy."—*Burke's Reflections.*

‡ "Turgot, of whom Malesherbes said, 'He has the head of Bacon and the heart of L'Hôpital,' aimed at extensive reforms, and laboured to effect that which the Revolution ultimately completed, the suppression of every species of

the people, exposed to intrigues and to suggestions of all sorts, repeatedly changed his ministers. Yielding once more to the public voice, and to the necessity for reform, he summoned to the finance department Necker, a native of Geneva, who had amassed wealth as a banker, a partisan and disciple of Colbert, as Turgot was of Sully; an economical and upright financier, but a vain man, fond of setting himself up for arbitrator in everything—philosophy, religion, liberty; and misled by the praises of his friends and the public, flattering himself that he could guide and fix the minds of others at that point at which his own had stopped.*

Necker re-established order in the finances, and found means to defray the heavy expenses of the American war. With a mind more comprehensive but less flexible than that of Turgot, possessing more particularly the confidence of capitalists, he found for the moment unexpected resources, and revived public credit. But it required something more than financial artifices to put an end to the embarrassments of the exchequer, and he had recourse to reform. He found the higher orders not less adverse to him than they had been to Turgot; the parliaments, apprized of his plans, combined against him and obliged him to retire.

The conviction of the existence of abuses was universal; everybody admitted it; the King knew and was deeply grieved at it. The courtiers, who derived advantage from these abuses, would have been glad to see an end put to the embarrassments of the exchequer, but without its costing them a single sacrifice. They descanted at Court on the state of affairs, and there retailed philosophical maxims; they deplored, whilst hunting, the oppressions inflicted upon the farmer; nay, they were even seen to applaud the enfranchisement of the Americans, and to receive with honour the young Frenchmen who returned from the New World.† The parliaments also talked of the interests of the people, loudly insisted on the sufferings of the poor,

servitude and exclusive privilege. But he had excited the jealousy of the courtiers by his reforms, of the parliaments by the abolition of the *corvées*, and of Maurepas by his ascendency over the monarch."—*Mignet.*

* *See* Appendix A.

† "The American war was the great change which blew into a flame the embers of innovation. Such was the universal enthusiasm which seized upon France at its commencement, that nobles of the highest rank, princes, dukes, and marquises, solicited with impatient zeal commissions in the regiments destined to aid the insurgents. The passion for republican institutions increased with the successes of the American war, and at length rose to such a height as to infect even the courtiers of the palace. The philosophers of France used every method of flattery to bring over the young nobles to their side; and the profession of liberal opinions became as indispensable a passport to the saloons of fashion as to the favour of the people."—*Alison's French Revolution.*

and yet opposed the equalization of the taxes, as well as the abolition of the remains of feudal barbarism. All talked of the public weal, few desired it; and the people, not yet knowing who were its true friends, applauded all those who resisted power, its most obvious enemy.

By the removal of Turgot and Necker the state of affairs was not changed; the distress of the treasury remained the same. Those in power would have been willing to dispense, for a long time to come, with the intervention of the nation; but it was absolutely necessary to subsist—it was absolutely necessary to supply the profusion of the Court. The difficulty, removed for a moment by the dismissal of a minister, by a loan, or by the forced imposition of a tax, appeared again in an aggravated form, like every evil injudiciously neglected. The Court hesitated, just as a man does who is compelled to take a dreaded but an indispensable step. An intrigue brought forward M. de Calonne, who was not in good odour with the public, because he had contributed to the persecution of La Chalotais. Calonne, clever, brilliant, fertile in resources, relied upon his genius, upon fortune, and upon men, and awaited the future with the most extraordinary apathy. It was his opinion that one ought not to be alarmed beforehand, or to discover an evil till the day before that on which one intends to set about repairing it. He seduced the Court by his manners, touched it by his eagerness to grant all that it required, afforded the King and everybody else some happier moments, and dispelled the most gloomy presages by a gleam of prosperity and blind confidence.*

That future which had been counted upon now approached; it became necessary at length to adopt decisive measures. It was impossible to burden the people with fresh imposts, and yet the coffers were empty. There was but one remedy which could be applied—that was, to reduce the expenses by the suppression of grants; and if this expedient should not suffice, to extend the taxes to a greater number of contributors, that is, to the nobility and clergy. These plans, attempted successively by Turgot and Necker, and resumed by Calonne, appeared to the latter not at all likely to succeed unless the consent of the privileged classes themselves could be obtained. Calonne therefore proposed to collect them together in an Assembly, to be called the Assembly of the Notables, in order to lay his plans before them, and to gain their consent either by address or by

* "To all the requests of the Queen, M. Calonne would answer, 'If what your Majesty asks is possible, the thing is done; if it is impossible, it shall be done.'"—*Weber, Memoirs.*

conviction. The Assembly was composed of distinguished members of the nobility, clergy, and magistracy, of a great number of masters of requests, and some magistrates of the provinces. By means of this composition, and still more by the aid of the chief popular gentry and philosophers, whom he had taken care to introduce into this Assembly, Calonne flattered himself that he should be able to carry his point.

The too confident minister was mistaken. Public opinion bore him a grudge for occupying the place of Turgot and Necker. Delighted in particular that the minister was obliged to render an account, it supported the resistance of the Notables. Very warm discussions ensued. Calonne did wrong in throwing upon his predecessors, and partly on Necker, the existing state of the exchequer. Necker replied, was exiled, and the opposition became the more obstinate. Calonne met it with presence of mind and composure. He caused M. de Miromel, keeper of the seals, who was conspiring with the parliaments, to be dismissed. But his triumph lasted only two days. The King, who was attached to him, had, in engaging to support him, promised more than he could perform. He was shaken by the representations of the Notables, who promised to sanction the plans of Calonne, but on condition that a minister more moral and more deserving of confidence should be appointed to carry them into execution. The Queen, at the suggestion of the Abbé de Vermont, proposed to the King and prevailed on him to accept a new minister, M. de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, and one of the Notables who had contributed most to the ruin of Calonne, in hopes of succeeding him.

The Archbishop of Toulouse, a man of weak mind and obstinate disposition, had from boyhood set his heart upon becoming minister, and availed himself of all possible means in pursuing this object of his wishes. He relied principally on the influence of women, whom he strove to please, and in which he succeeded. He caused his administration of Languedoc to be everywhere extolled. If, on attaining the post of minister, he did not obtain the favour which Necker had enjoyed, he had, at least in the eyes of the public, the merit of superseding Calonne. At first he was not prime minister, but he soon became so. Seconded by M. de Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, an inveterate enemy to the parliaments, he commenced his career with considerable advantages. The Notables, bound by the promises which they had made, readily consented to all that they had at first refused: land-tax, stamp-duty, suppression of the gratuitous services of vassals (*corvées*), provincial

assemblies, were all cheerfully granted. It was not these measures themselves, but their author, whom they pretended to have resisted. Public opinion triumphed. Calonne was loaded with execrations; and the Notables, supported by the public suffrage, nevertheless regretted an honour gained at the cost of the greatest sacrifices. Had M. de Brienne known how to profit by the advantages of his position; had he actively proceeded with the execution of the measures assented to by the Notables; had he submitted them all at once and without delay to the parliament, at the instant when the adhesion of the higher orders seemed to be wrung from them—all would probably have been over: the parliament, pressed on all sides, would have consented to everything, and this concession, though partial and forced, would probably have retarded for a long time the struggle which afterwards took place.

Nothing of the kind, however, was done. By imprudent delays occasion was furnished for relapses; the edicts were submitted only one after another; the parliament had time to discuss, to gain courage, and to recover from the sort of surprise by which the Notables had been taken. It registered, after long discussions, the edict enacting the second abolition of the *corvées*, and another permitting the free exportation of corn. Its animosity was particularly directed against the land-tax; but it feared lest by a refusal it should enlighten the public, and show that its opposition was entirely selfish. It hesitated, when it was spared this embarrassment by the simultaneous presentation of the edict on the stamp-duty and the land-tax, and especially by opening the deliberations with the former. The parliament had thus an opportunity of refusing the first without entering into explanations respecting the second; and in attacking the stamp-duty, which affected the majority of the payers of taxes, it seemed to defend the interest of the public. At a sitting which was attended by the peers, it denounced the abuses, the profligacy, and the prodigality of the Court, and demanded statements of expenditure. A councillor, punning upon the *états* (statements), exclaimed, "*Ce ne sont pas des états, mais des états-généraux qu'il nous faut.*" "It is not statements, but States-general that we want." This unexpected demand struck every one with astonishment. Hitherto people had resisted because they suffered; they had seconded all sorts of opposition, favourable or not, to the popular cause, provided they were directed against the Court, which was blamed for every evil. At the same time they did not well know what they ought to demand: they had always been so far from possessing any influence over the government,

they had been so habituated to confine themselves to complaints, that they complained without conceiving the idea of acting, or of bringing about a revolution. The utterance of a single word presented an unexpected direction to the public mind: it was repeated by every mouth, and States-general were loudly demanded.

D'Espréménil, a young councillor, a vehement orator, an agitator without object, a demagogue in the parliaments, an aristocrat in the States-general, and who was declared insane by a decree of the Constituent Assembly—d'Espréménil showed himself on this occasion one of the most violent parliamentary declaimers. But the opposition was secretly conducted by Duport, a young man of extraordinary abilities, and of a firm and persevering character, the only one perhaps who amid these disturbances had a specific object in view, and was solicitous to lead his company, the Court, and the nation to a very different goal from that of a parliamentary aristocracy.

The parliament was divided into old and young councillors. The first aimed at forming a counterpoise to the royal authority, in order to give consequence to their company. The latter, more ardent and more sincere, were desirous of introducing liberty into the State, yet without overturning the political system under which they were born. The parliament made an important admission: it declared that it had not the power to grant imposts, and that to the States-general alone belonged the right of establishing them; and it required the King to communicate to it statements of the revenues and the expenditure.

This acknowledgment of incompetence and usurpation—for the parliament had till then arrogated to itself the right of sanctioning taxes—could not but excite astonishment. The prelate minister, irritated at this opposition, instantly summoned the parliament to Versailles, and caused the two edicts to be registered in "a bed of justice." The parliament, on its return to Paris, remonstrated, and ordered an inquiry into the prodigalities of Calonne. A decision in council instantly annulled its decrees, and exiled it to Troyes.

Such was the state of affairs on the 15th of August 1787. The King's two brothers, Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois, were sent, the one to the Court of Accounts, and the other to the Court of Aids, to have the edicts registered there. The former, who had become popular on account of the opinions which he had expressed in the Assembly of the Notables, was hailed with acclamations by an immense multitude, and conducted back to the Luxembourg amidst universal plaudits. The Comte d'Artois, who was known to have supported Calonne, was

received with murmurs; his attendants were attacked, and it was found necessary to have recourse to the armed force.

SOCIETY POONA

The parliaments had around them numerous dependents, composed of lawyers, persons holding situations in the courts, clerks, and students; an active, bustling class, ever ready to bestir themselves in their behalf. With these natural allies of the parliaments were united the capitalists, who dreaded a bankruptcy; the enlightened classes, who were devoted to all the opposers of power; and lastly, the multitude, which always sides with agitators. Serious disturbances took place, and the supreme authority had great difficulty to suppress them.

The parliament sitting at Troyes met every day and called causes. Neither advocates nor solicitors appeared, and justice was suspended, as it had been so many times during the preceding century. Meanwhile the magistrates became weary of their exile, and M. de Brienne was without money. He boldly maintained that he did not want any, and tranquillized the Court, uneasy on this single point; but destitute of supplies, and incapable of putting an end to his difficulties by an energetic resolution, he entered into negotiation with some of the members of the parliament. His conditions were a loan of four hundred and forty millions (of livres), payable by instalments in four years, at the expiration of which the States-general should be convoked. At this rate Brienne was willing to renounce the two imposts, the objects of so much discord. Having made sure of some members, he imagined that he was sure of the whole company, and the parliament was recalled on the 10th of September.

A royal sitting was held on the 20th of the same month. The King went in person to present the edict enacting the creation of the successive loan, and the convocation of the States-general in five years. No explanation had been given respecting the nature of this sitting, and it was not known whether it was "a bed of justice" or not. The looks of the members were gloomy, and a profound silence prevailed, when the Duc d'Orleans rose with agitated countenance and all the signs of strong emotion: he addressed the King, and asked him if this sitting were "a bed of justice" or a free deliberation. "It is a royal sitting," replied the King. The councillors Freteau, Sabatier, and d'Espréménil spoke after the Duc d'Orleans, and declaimed with their usual violence. The registration was immediately enforced: Freteau and Sabatier were exiled to the Hieres Islands, and the Duc d'Orleans to Villers-Cotterets. The States-general were postponed for five years.

Such were the principal events of the year 1787. The year

1788 commenced with fresh hostilities. On the 4th of January the parliament passed a decree against *lettres de cachet*, and for the recall of exiled persons. The King cancelled this decree; the parliament confirmed it anew.

Meanwhile the Duc d'Orleans, banished to Villers-Cotterets, could not endure his exile. This prince, in quarrelling with the Court, had reconciled himself with public opinion, which was at first unfavourable to him. Destitute alike of the dignity of a prince and the firmness of a tribune,* he was incapable of enduring so slight a punishment, and in order to obtain his recall, he descended to solicitations even to the Queen, his personal enemy.

Brienne was exasperated by obstacles, without possessing energy to overcome them. Feeble in Europe against Prussia, to which he sacrificed Holland, feeble in France against the parliament and the grandees of the State, he had now no supporter but the Queen, and, moreover, was frequently checked in his operations by ill health. He neither knew how to suppress insurrection, nor how to enforce the retrenchments decreed by the King; and notwithstanding the rapidly approaching exhaustion of the exchequer, he affected an inconceivable security. Meanwhile, amidst all these difficulties, he did not neglect to obtain new benefices for himself, and to heap new dignities upon his family.

Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, a man of a stronger mind, but possessing less influence than the Archbishop of Toulouse, concerted with him a new plan for accomplishing the principal object, that of destroying the political power of the parliaments. It was of importance to keep it secret. Everything was prepared in silence: private letters were sent to the commandants of the provinces; the office where the edicts were printed was surrounded with guards. It was intended that the plan should not be known till the moment of its communication of the parliaments. That moment approached, and it was rumoured that an important political act was in preparation. D'Espréménil, the councillor, contrived to procure a copy of the edicts by bribing one of the printer's men; he then repaired to the palace, summoned his colleagues to assemble, and boldly denounced the plan of the minister.

According to this plan the too extensive authority of the parliament of Paris was to be abridged by the establishment of six great *baillages* in its jurisdiction. The power of judging without appeal, and of registering the laws and edicts, was to be transferred to a plenary court, composed of peers, prelates,

* *See* Appendix B.



Louis Joseph Philippe

DUKE OF ORLEANS.

(EGALITÉ)

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1895.

magistrates, and military officers; all appointed by the King. Even the captain of the guard was to have a deliberative voice in it. This plan attacked the judicial authority of the parliament, and utterly annihilated its political power. The company, struck with consternation, knew not what course to pursue. It could not deliberate upon a plan which had not been submitted to it; at the same time it was of importance that it should not suffer itself to be taken by surprise. In this embarrassment it had recourse to an expedient at once firm and adroit—that of recapitulating and confirming in a decree all that it called constitutional laws of the monarchy, taking care to include in the number its own existence and rights. By this general measure it by no means forestalled the supposed projects of the government, and secured all that it wished to secure.

In consequence, it was declared, on the 5th of May, by the parliament of Paris:—

"That France was a monarchy governed by a King, according to the laws; and that among these laws several, which were fundamental, embraced and consecrated: 1. The right of the reigning house to the throne, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture; 2. The right of the nation to grant subsidies freely through the organ of the States-general, regularly convoked and composed; 3. The customs and capitulations of the provinces; 4. The irremovability of the magistrates; 5. The right of the courts to verify in each province the edicts of the King, and not to order the registration of them, unless they were conformable to the constitutive laws of the province, as well as to the fundamental laws of the State; 6. The right of each citizen not to be tried in any manner by other than his natural judges, who were those appointed by the law; and 7. The right, without which all the others were useless, of not being arrested by any order whatever, unless to be delivered without delay into the hands of competent judges. The said court protested against all attacks which might be made upon the principles above expressed."

To this energetic resolution the minister replied in the usual way, always injudicious and ineffectual: he adopted violent measures against some of the members of the parliament. D'Espréménil and Goislart de Monsalbert, being apprized that they were threatened, sought refuge amidst the assembled parliament. An officer, Vincent d'Agoult, repaired thither at the head of a company; and not knowing the persons of the magistrates designated, he called them by their names. The deepest silence at first pervaded the Assembly: all the councillors then cried out that they were d'Espréménil. At

length the real d'Espréménil declared who he was, and followed the officer ordered to arrest him. The tumult was then at its height; the populace accompanied the magistrates, hailing them with shouts of applause. Three days afterwards the King, in a bed of justice, caused the edicts to be registered, and the assembled princes and peers exhibited an image of that plenary court which was to succeed the parliaments.

The Châtelet immediately issued a decree against the edicts. The parliament of Rennes declared all who should belong to the plenary court infamous. At Grenoble the inhabitants defended their magistrates against two regiments. The troops themselves, excited to disobedience by the military noblesse, soon refused to act. When the commandant of Dauphiné assembled his colonels to inquire if their soldiers were to be relied upon, all of them kept silence. The youngest, who was to speak first, replied that no reliance was to be placed on his, from the colonel downwards. To this resistance the minister opposed decrees of the great council, which cancelled the decisions of the sovereign courts, and he punished eight of them with exile.

The Court, annoyed by the higher orders, which made war upon it in espousing the interests of the people and calling for their interference, had recourse on its part to the same means. It resolved to summon the *tiers-état* (the third estate) to its aid, as the kings of France had formerly done, to break up the feudal system. It then urged, with all its might, the convocation of the States-general. It ordered investigations respecting the mode of their assembling; it called upon writers and learned bodies to give their opinions; and whilst the assembled clergy declared on its part that a speedy convocation was desirable, the Court, accepting the challenge, suspended at the same time the meeting of the plenary court, and fixed the opening of the States-general for the 1st of May 1789. Then followed the retirement of the Archbishop of Toulouse, who, by bold plans feebly executed, had provoked a resistance which he ought either not to have excited or to have overcome. And on quitting office he left the exchequer in distress—the payment of the *rentes* of the Hôtel de Ville suspended—all the authorities in hostility—all the provinces in arms. As for himself, possessing an income of eight hundred thousand francs from benefices, the archbishopric of Sens, and a cardinal's hat, if he did not make the public fortune, he at least made his own. By his last piece of advice he recommended to the King to recall Necker to the ministry of the finances, that he might fortify himself with his popularity against oppositions which had become unconquerable.

It was during the two years 1787 and 1788 that the French were desirous to pass from vain theories to practice. The struggle between the highest authorities excited the wish, and furnished the occasion, to do so. During the whole course of the century the parliament had attacked the clergy, and exposed its ultramontane predilections. After the clergy, it had attacked the Court, condemned its abuses of power, and denounced its extravagance. Threatened with reprisals, and attacked, in its turn, in its existence, it had at length just restored to the nation prerogatives which the Court would have wrested from it for the purpose of transferring them to an extraordinary tribunal. After having thus apprized the nation of its rights, it had exerted its energies in exciting and protecting insurrection. On the other hand, the high clergy in delivering their charges, the nobility in fomenting the disobedience of the troops, had joined their efforts to those of the magistracy, and summoned the people to arms in behalf of their privileges.

The Court, pressed by these various enemies, had made but a feeble resistance. Aware of the necessity of acting, yet always deferring the moment for doing so, it had at times abolished some abuses, rather for the benefit of the exchequer than of the people, and then sunk again into inactivity. At length, finding itself attacked on all sides, observing that the higher orders were calling the people into the lists, it resolved to introduce them there itself by convoking the States-general. Hostile during the whole of the century to the philosophic spirit, it now appealed to the latter, and submitted the constitutions of the kingdom to its investigation. Thus the first authorities of the State exhibited the singular spectacle of usurpers disputing the possession of an object before the face of the rightful owner, and at last even calling upon him to act as judge between them.

Such was the state of affairs when Necker returned to the ministry. Confidence followed him; credit was instantly restored; the most urgent difficulties were removed. He provided, by means of expedients, for indispensable expenses till the meeting of the States-general, the remedy that was universally called for.

The great questions relative to their organisation began to be discussed. It was asked what part the *tiers-état* would have to act there; whether it would appear as an equal or a supplicant; whether it would obtain a representation equal in number to that of the two higher orders; whether the discussions would be carried on by individuals or by orders; and whether

the *tiers* would not have merely a single voice against the two voices of the nobility and clergy.

The first question discussed was that relative to the number of the deputies. Never had philosophic controversy of the eighteenth century excited such agitation. People's minds became warmed by the positive importance of the question. A keen, concise, energetic writer took in this discussion that place which the greatest geniuses of the age had occupied in the philosophical discussions. The Abbé Sièyes, in a book which gave a powerful impulse to the public mind, asked this question, "What is the *tiers-état?*" And he answered, "Nothing." "What ought it to be?" "Everything." *

The States of Dauphiné assembled in spite of the Court. The two higher orders, more adroit and more popular in that country than anywhere else, decided that the representation of the third estate should be equal to that of the nobility and the clergy. The parliament of Paris, foreseeing already the consequence of its improvident provocations, perceived plainly that the *tiers-état* was not coming in as auxiliary, but as master; and in registering the edict of convocation it enjoined, as an express clause, the maintenance of the forms of 1614, which reduced the third order to a mere cipher. Having already rendered itself unpopular by the difficulties which it had thrown in the way of the edict that restored civil rights to Protestants, it was on that day completely unmasked, and the Court fully revenged. It was the first to experience the instability of popular favour; but if at a later period the nation might appear ungrateful towards chiefs whom it forsook one after another, on this occasion it had good reason to turn its back on the parliament, for that body stopped short before the nation had recovered any of its rights.

The Court, not daring to decide these important questions

* "Bonaparte said to me one day, 'That fool Sièyes is as credulous as a Cassandra.' In the intercourse, not very frequent certainly, which I had with him, he appeared to be far beneath the reputation which he had acquired. He reposed a blind confidence in a multitude of agents, whom he had sent into all parts of France. Sièyes had written in his countenance, 'Give me money.' I recollect that I one day alluded to this expression in the anxious face of Sièyes to the First Consul. 'You are right,' observed he to me, smiling, 'when money is in question, Sièyes is quite a matter-of-fact man. He sends his ideology to the right-about, and thus becomes easily manageable. He readily abandons his constitutional dreams for a good round sum, and that is very convenient.' M. de Talleyrand, who is so capable of estimating men, and whose admirable sayings well deserve to occupy a place in history, had long entertained an indifferent opinion of Sièyes. One day when he was conversing with the Second Consul concerning him, Cambacérès said, 'Sièyes, however, is a very profound man.' 'Profound!' said Talleyrand, 'yes, he is a cavity, a perfect cavity as you would say.'"—*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon.*

itself, or rather desirous of depriving the two higher orders of their popularity for its own benefit, asked their opinion, with the intention of not adopting it, as it was probable that opinion should be unfavourable to the *tiers-état*. It summoned, therefore, a new Assembly of Notables, in which all the questions relative to the holding of States-general were brought forward. The discussions were warm: on the one hand, great stress was laid on ancient traditions; on the other, on natural rights and reason. Even in going back to traditions, the cause of the *tiers-état* still had the advantage; for in opposition to the forms of 1614 demanded by the higher orders, forms yet more ancient were adduced. Thus, in certain assemblies, and on certain points, the members had voted individually; sometimes they had deliberated by provinces, not by orders; frequently the deputies of the *tiers* had equalled in number the deputies of the nobility and clergy. Why then refer to ancient usages? Had not the powers of the State been in a continual revolution? The royal authority, at first sovereign, then vanquished and despoiled, raising itself again with the aid of the people, and again uniting all the powers in its own hands, exhibited a perpetual conflict and an ever-changing position. The clergy were told that if they were to take ancient times for their standard, they would cease to be an order; the nobles, that the possessors of fiefs only were qualified to be elected, and that thus most of them would be excluded from the deputation; the parliaments themselves, that they were but unfaithful officers of royalty; lastly, all were assured that the French constitution had been but one long revolution, during which each power had successively predominated; that everything had been innovation, and that amid this vast conflict it was for reason alone to decide.

The *tiers-état* comprehended nearly the whole nation, all the useful, industrious, enlightened classes. If it possessed but a portion of the lands, at least it wrought them all; and according to reason, it was not too much to allow to it a number of deputies equal to that of the two other orders.

The Assembly of Notables declared itself against what was called the doubling of the third estate. One of the government offices, that over which Monsieur, the King's brother, presided, voted for this doubling.* The Court then taking, as it said, into consideration the opinion of the minority, the

* "This resolution was carried by the single casting vote of Monsieur, who was afterwards Louis XVIII. When it was reported to Louis XVI., he observed 'Let them add mine; I give it willingly.'"—*Labaume.*

sentiments expressed by several princes of the blood, the wishes of the three orders of Dauphiné, the demand of the provincial assemblies, the example of several countries of the kingdom, *the opinion of various public writers*, and the recommendations contained in a great number of addresses—the Court ordained that the total number of the deputies should be at least a thousand; that it should be formed in a ratio composed of the population and the amount of taxes paid by each *baillage*, and that the number of the deputies of the *tiers-état* should be equal to that of the other two orders united.

This declaration excited universal enthusiasm. As it was attributed to Necker, it raised him in the favour of the nation, and gained him the increased enmity of the great.* Still it decided nothing as to the vote by individuals or by orders, but it included it by implication; for it was useless to augment the number of votes if they were not to be counted; and it left the *tiers-état* to seize by main force what was refused to it at the moment. It therefore conveyed an idea of the weakness of the Court, and of Necker himself. That Court included an assemblage of inclinations which rendered any decisive result impossible. The King was moderate, equitable, studious, and too distrustful of his own abilities; loving the people, and readily listening to their complaints. He was nevertheless seized at times with superstitious terrors, and fancied that he beheld anarchy and impiety marching hand in hand with liberty and toleration. The philosophic spirit in its first flights could not but commit extravagances, and a timid and religious King could not help being alarmed at them. Overcome at every step by weakness, terror, and uncertainty, the unfortunate Louis XVI. resolved for his own part to make every sacrifice. Not knowing how to impose such conduct on others, the victim of his indulgence for the Court, of his condescension to the Queen, he expiated all the faults which he had not committed, but which became his own because he winked at their commission. The Queen, engrossed by pleasure, dazzling all around her by her charms, was desirous that her husband should enjoy tranquillity, that the exchequer should be full, that the Court and her subjects should adore her.†

* "The concessions of Necker were those of a man ignorant of the first principles of the government of mankind. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Marat, Danton, Robespierre himself, did less mischief to France. Necker was the author of all the evils which desolated France during the Revolution: all the blood that was shed rests on his head."—*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon.*

† Madame le Brun, the celebrated painter, in her *Memoirs*, written by herself, draws the following picture of this princess:—

Sometimes she concurred with the King for the purpose of effecting reforms, when the necessity for them appeared urgent; at others, on the contrary, when she conceived the supreme authority to be threatened, and her Court friends despoiled, she stopped the King, removed the popular ministers, and destroyed at once the means and the hopes of improvement. She yielded more especially to the influence of a portion of the nobility who lived around the throne, fattening on favours and abuses. This Court nobility was solicitous, no doubt, like the Queen herself, that the King should have wherewithal to supply a lavish profusion; and from this motive it was inimical to the parliaments when they refused taxes, but became their ally when they defended its privileges, by refusing, under specious pretexts, the territorial impost. Amidst these contrary influences the King, not daring to face difficulties, to condemn abuses, or to suppress them authoritatively, gave way by turns to the Court and to public opinion, without satisfying either.

If during the course of the eighteenth century, when the philosophers, assembled in an alley of the Tuileries, wished success to Frederick and the Americans, to Turgot and Necker —if when they did not yet aspire to govern the State, but merely to enlighten princes, and foresaw at most the distant revolutions which the signs of disquiet and the absurdity of

"It was in the year 1779 that I painted for the first time the portrait of the Queen, then in the flower of her youth and beauty. Marie Antoinette was tall, exquisitely well made, sufficiently plump without being too much so. Her arms were superb, her hands small, perfect in form, and her feet charming. Her gait was more graceful than that of any woman in France; she held her head very erect, with a majesty which enabled you to distinguish the sovereign amidst all her Court, and yet that majesty did not in the least detract from the extreme kindness and benevolence of her look. In short, it is extremely difficult to convey to any one who has not seen the Queen any idea of all the graces and all the dignity that were combined in her. Her features were not regular; she derived from her family that long, narrow oval peculiar to the Austrian nation. Her eyes were not large, their colour was nearly blue, and they had an intellectual and mild expression; her nose was thin and handsome, her mouth not too large, though the lips were rather thick. But the most remarkable thing about her face was the brilliancy of her complexion. I never saw any so brilliant—yes, brilliant is the word—for her skin was so transparent that it took no shade. Hence I never could render its effect so as to please myself; I lacked colours to represent that freshness, those delicate tones, which belonged exclusively to that fascinating face, and which I never observed in any other woman. As for her conversation, it would be difficult for me to describe all its grace, all its benevolence. I do not think that Queen Marie Antoinette ever missed an occasion to say an agreeable thing to those who had the honour to approach her. During the first sitting that I had of her Majesty on her return from Fontainebleau, I ventured to remark to the Queen how much the erectness of her head heightened the dignity of her look. She answered in a tone of pleasantry, 'If I were not a Queen, people would say that I have an insolent look—would they not?'"

existing institutions fully authorized them to expect—if the King had spontaneously established some equality in the official appointments, and given some guarantees, all discontent would have been appeased for a long time, and Louis XVI. would have been as much adored as was Marcus Aurelius.* But when all the authorities had been debased by a long struggle, and all the abuses unveiled by an Assembly of Notables; when the nation, called into the quarrel, had conceived the hope and the will to be something, that will became imperative. The States-general was promised to the nation, it demanded that an early time should be fixed for their convocation; when that time was near at hand, it insisted on the preponderance in them: this was refused; but in the doubling of the representation it was furnished with the means of conquering that preponderance. Thus the government never yielded but partially, and when it could no longer resist; but then the strength of the nation had increased; it was aware of its power, and required all that it conceived itself capable of accomplishing. A continual resistance, irritating its ambition, must soon have the effect of rendering it insatiable. But even then, if a great minister, communicating somewhat of energy to the King, conciliating the Queen, bridling the privileged classes, had anticipated and satisfied at once the national expectations by giving of his own accord a free constitution; if he had gratified the impulse to act which the nation then felt, by summoning it immediately, not to reform the State, but to discuss its annual interest in a ready constituted State—perhaps the conflict would not have taken place. But it would have been absolutely necessary to meet the difficulty instead of giving way to it, and, above all, to sacrifice numerous pretensions. It would have required a man of a strong conviction, and possessing a resolution equal to his conviction; and this man, no doubt, bold, energetic, perhaps passionate, would have alarmed the Court, which desired no such person. In order to spare at one and the same time the public opinion and the old interests the King had recourse to half-measures. He selected, as we have seen, a half-philosophic, half-energetic minister, and who possessed immense popularity, because at that time demi-popular intentions in an agent of power surpassed all the

* "The life of Marcus Aurelius was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfection of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature. His memory was revered by grateful posterity, and above a century after his death many persons preserved his image among those of their household gods."—*Gibbon's Rome.*

hopes and excited the enthusiasm of a people whom the demagogue spirit of its leaders was very soon afterwards incapable of satisfying.

Men's minds were in a universal ferment. Assemblies were formed throughout France, like those of England, and called by the same name, that of clubs. Nothing was discussed in them but the abuses to be abolished, the reforms to be effected, and the constitution to be established. A rigid inquiry into the state of the country produced irritation. Its state, political and economical, was in truth intolerable. There was nothing but privileges belonging to individuals, towns, provinces, and to trades themselves; nothing but shackles upon the industry and genius of man. Civil, ecclesiastical, and military dignities were exclusively reserved for certain classes, and in those classes for certain individuals. A man could not embrace a profession unless upon certain titles and certain pecuniary conditions. The towns possessed their privileges for the apportioning, the assessment, and the levying of taxes, and for the choice of magistrates. The very pensions, converted by the survivors into family properties, scarcely allowed the monarch to show any preferences. He had nothing left at his disposal but a few pecuniary gifts, and he had even been obliged to quarrel with the Duc de Coigny about the abolition of a useless place.* All was therefore monopolized by a few hands, and the burdens bore upon a single class. The nobility and the clergy possessed nearly two-thirds of the landed property. The other third, belonging to the people, paid taxes to the King, a multitude of feudal dues to the nobility, the tithe to the clergy, and was, moreover, liable to the devastations of noble sportsmen and their game. The taxes on consumption weighed heavily on the great mass, and consequently on the people. The mode in which they were levied was vexatious: the gentry might be in arrear with impunity; the people, on the other hand, ill-treated and imprisoned, were doomed to suffer in body, in default of goods. It subsisted therefore by the sweat of the brow; it defended with its blood the upper classes of society, without being able to subsist itself. The bourgeoisie, industrious, enlightened, less miserable certainly than the peasantry, but enriching the kingdom by its industry, reflecting lustre upon it by its talents, obtained none of the advantages to which it had a right. Justice, administered in some of the provinces by the gentry, in the royal jurisdictions by magistrates who purchased their offices, was slow, frequently partial,

* See Bouillé's *Mémoires*.

always ruinous, and particularly atrocious in criminal cases. Individual liberty was violated by *lettres de cachet*, and the liberty of the press by the royal censors. Lastly, the State, ill-defended abroad, betrayed by the mistresses of Louis XV., compromized by the weakness of the ministers of Louis XVI., had recently been dishonoured in Europe by the disgraceful sacrifice of Holland and Poland.

The popular masses began already to put themselves in motion; disturbances had several times broken out during the struggle of the parliaments, and especially on the retirement of the Archbishop of Toulouse. That minister had been burned in effigy; the armed force had been insulted and even attacked; the magistracy had been backward in prosecuting the rioters, who supported their cause. The public mind, agitated by these events, full of the confused idea of a speedy revolution, was in a continual ferment. The parliaments and the higher orders already saw the arms which they had given to the people directed against themselves. In Bretagne the nobility had opposed the doubling of the third estate, and had refused to elect deputies; the bourgeoisie, who had so powerfully served against the Court, then turned against them, and sanguinary conflicts ensued. The Court, conceiving itself not sufficiently revenged on the Breton nobility,* refused them its aid, and, on the contrary, imprisoned some of their number who came to Paris for the purpose of remonstrating.

The elements themselves seemed to be let loose. A hail-storm on the 13th of July had made havoc among the crops, and was likely to increase the difficulty of supplying Paris, especially amidst the troubles that were preparing. All the activity of commerce was scarcely sufficient to collect the quantity of provisions necessary for that great capital; and it might naturally be expected that it would soon be very difficult to subsist it, when confidence should be shaken, and the communications interrupted by political disturbances. Ever since the cruel winter which had succeeded the disasters of Louis XIV., and immortalized the charity of Fénélon, so severe a season had not been known as that of 1788–1789. The beneficence which was then displayed in the most affecting manner was not sufficient to alleviate the wretchedness of the people. A great number of vagabonds, without profession and without resources, thronged from all parts of France, and paraded their indigence and their nakedness from Versailles to Paris. At the slightest rumour they eagerly came forward to profit by

* See Bouillé's *Mémoires.*

chances, which are always favourable to those who have everything to gain, even to the subsistence for the passing day.*

Thus everything concurred to produce a revolution. An entire century had contributed to unveil abuses and to carry them to excess; two years, to stir up insurrection and to exasperate the popular masses by making them interfere in the quarrel of the privileged orders. In short, natural disasters, and a fortuitous concurrence of various circumstances, brought on the catastrophe, the epoch of which might have been deferred, but which was sure to happen sooner or later.

It was amidst these circumstances that the elections took place. They were tumultuous in some provinces, active everywhere, and very quiet in Paris, where great unanimity prevailed. Lists were distributed, and people strove to promote concord and a good understanding. Tradesmen, lawyers, literary men, astonished to find themselves assembled together for the first time, raised themselves up by degrees to liberty. In Paris they reappointed themselves the bureaux formed by the King, and without changing the persons, asserted their power by confirming them. The learned Bailly quitted his retreat at Chaillot: a stranger to intrigues, and deeply impressed with his noble mission, he proceeded alone and on foot to the Assembly. He paused by the way on the terrace of the Feuillans. A young man, whom he did not know, respectfully accosted him. "You will be returned," said he. "I cannot tell," replied Bailly; "that honour ought neither to be solicited nor refused." The modest academician resumed his walk, repaired to the Assembly, and was chosen successively elector and deputy.

The election of the Comte de Mirabeau was stormy: rejected by the nobility, supported by the *tiers-état*, he agitated Provence, his native country, and it was not long before he showed himself at Versailles.

The Court had no wish to influence the elections. It was not displeased to see a great number of curés returned, reckoning upon their opposition to the high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and at the same time upon their respect for the throne. It is true that it did not foresee all that was to happen; and in the

* "The charity of Fénélon, which immortalized the disastrous epoch of Louis XIV., was now equalled by the humane beneficence of the clergy of Paris; but all their efforts could not keep pace with the immense mass of indigence, which was swelled by the confluence of dissolute and abandoned characters from every part of France. These wretches assembled round the throne, like the sea-birds round the wreck, which are the harbingers of death to the sinking mariner, and already appeared in fearful numbers in the streets on occasion of the slightest tumult. They were all in a state of destitution, and for the most part owed their life to the charity of the ecclesiastics, whom they afterwards massacred in cold blood in the prison of Carmes."—*Alison's French Revolution.*

deputies of the *tiers* it perceived rather adversaries to the nobility than to itself. The Duc d'Orleans was accused of taking active steps to procure the nomination of himself and his partisans. Already numbered among the enemies of the Court, the ally of the parliaments, and called for as leader, with or without his consent, by the popular party, he was accused of various underhand practices. A deplorable scene took place in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and as people are fond of giving an author to all events, it was laid to his charge. Reveillon, a manufacturer of stained paper, who had an extensive manufactory, improving our industry, and furnishing employment to three hundred workmen, was accused of an intention to reduce their wages to one-half. The populace threatened to burn his house. Means were found to disperse them; but they returned on the following day; the house was broken into, set on fire, and destroyed. Notwithstanding the threats held out on the first day by the assailants, notwithstanding the meeting agreed upon for the second, the authorities were very late before they began to act, and then they acted with extreme severity. They waited till the people had made themselves masters of the house; they then attacked them with fury, and were obliged to slaughter a great number of those ferocious and intrepid men, who afterwards showed themselves on all occasions, and received the name of *brigands*.

All the parties which were already formed accused each other; the Court was reproached with its at first tardy and afterwards cruel proceedings; it was supposed that it wished to leave the people time to act that it might make an example and exercise its troops.

The money found on the destroyers of Reveillon's house, and the expressions that dropped from some of them, led to the conjecture that they were urged on by a secret hand. The enemies of the popular party accused the Duc d'Orleans of a wish to try his revolutionary bands.

That prince had been endowed with excellent qualities. He had inherited immense wealth; but addicting himself to dissolute habits, he had abused all these gifts of nature and of fortune. Without consistency of character, alternately regardless of public opinion and greedy of popularity, he was bold and ambitious one day, docile and absent on the morrow. Having quarrelled with the Queen, he had become an enemy to the Court. When parties began to form themselves, he had suffered his name to be employed, and, it is said, his wealth also. Flattered with the vague prospect before him, he was active enough to draw accusation on himself, though

not to ensure success; and his partisans, if they entertained any serious plans, must have been driven to despair by his inconstant ambition.

The moment of the convocation at length arrived. In this common danger the higher orders, creeping close to the Court, had grouped themselves around the princes of the blood and the Queen. They strove by flattery to gain the country gentlemen, and in their absence they ridiculed their clownishness. The clergy endeavoured to gain over the plebeians of its order, and the military noblesse those belonging to the same class with itself. The parliaments, which had expected to play the principal part in the States-general, began to apprehend that their ambition had miscalculated. The deputies of the *tiers-état*, strong in the superiority of their talents, in the energetic eloquence of their speeches, encouraged by continual intercommunication, nay, spurred on by the doubts which many had conceived respecting the success of their efforts, had taken the firm resolution not to yield.

The King alone, who had not enjoyed a moment's repose since the commencement of his reign, regarded the States-general as the termination of his embarrassments. Jealous of his authority, rather for the sake of his children, to whom he deemed it his duty to transmit this patrimony intact, than for his own, he was not displeased to restore a portion of it to the nation, and to throw upon it the difficulties of the government. Accordingly it was with joy that he made preparations for this grand assemblage. A hall had been hastily got ready; the costumes were determined upon, and an humiliating badge had been imposed on the *tiers-état*. Men are not less jealous of their dignity than of their rights: with a very just pride, the instructions forbade the deputies to condescend to any degrading ceremonial. This new fault of the Court originated, like many others, in the desire to preserve at least the symbols when the realities had ceased to exist. It could not but produce a deep irritation at a moment when, before attacking, the parties began to measure one another with their eyes.

On the 4th of May, the day of the opening, a solemn procession took place. The King, the three orders, all the great dignitaries of the State, repaired to the church of Notre-Dame. The Court had displayed extraordinary magnificence. The two higher orders were splendidly dressed. Princes, dukes and peers, gentlemen, prelates, were clad in purple, and wore hats with plumes of feathers. The deputies of the *tiers-état*, covered with plain black cloaks, came next; and notwithstanding their modest exterior, they seemed strong in their number and their

prospects. It was remarked that the Duc d'Orleans, placed in the rear of the nobility, chose rather to lag behind, and to mingle with the foremost deputies of the third estate.

This national, military, and religious pomp—those pious chants—those martial instruments—and, above all, the importance of the event—deeply moved all hearts. The discourse delivered by the Bishop of Nanci, full of generous sentiments, was enthusiastically applauded, notwithstanding the sacredness of the place, and the presence of the King. Great assemblages elevate us. They detach us from ourselves, and attach us to others. A general intoxication was diffused, and all at once many a heart felt its animosities subside, and became filled for a moment with humanity and patriotism.*

The opening of the States-general took place on the following day, May 5, 1789. The King was seated on an elevated throne, the Queen beside him, the Court in stalls, the two higher orders on both sides, the *tiers-état* at the farther end of the hall, and on lower seats. A movement arose at the sight of the Comte de Mirabeau; but his look, his step, awed the Assembly.† The *tiers-état* remained covered like the other orders, notwithstanding the established custom. The King delivered an address, in which he recommended disinterestedness to some, prudence to others, and professed to all his love for his people. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, then spoke, and was followed by Necker, who read a memorial on the state of the kingdom, in which he treated at great length of the finances, admitted a

* *See* Appendix C.

† "Excluded from the rank to which his birth entitled him, Mirabeau determined to recover it at any price. He vowed vengeance against his enemies, and with this bitterness of feeling did Mirabeau take his seat in the Assembly of the States-general. As he entered the hall he cast a threatening glance on the ranks which he was not allowed to approach. A bitter smile played on his lips, which were habitually contracted by an ironical and scornful expression. He proceeded across the hall, and seated himself on those benches from which he was to hurl the thunderbolts which shook the throne. A gentleman strongly attached to the Court, but likewise a friend of Mirabeau, who had observed the rancorous look which he darted round him when he took his seat, entered into conversation with him, and pointed out to him that his peculiar position in the world closed against him the door of every salon in Paris. 'Consider,' said he, 'that society, when once wounded, is not easily conciliated. If you wish to be pardoned, you must ask pardon.' Mirabeau listened with impatience; but when his friend used the word 'pardon,' he could contain himself no longer, but started up and stamped with violence on the floor. His bushy hair seemed to stand on end, his little piercing eyes flashed fire, and his lips turned pale and quivered. This was always the way with Mirabeau when he was strongly excited. 'I am come hither,' cried he, in a voice of thunder, 'to be asked, not to ask, pardon.'"—*Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantès.*

"Hardly any of the deputies had hitherto acquired great popular reputation. One alone attracted general attention. Born of noble parents, he had warmly espoused the popular side, without losing the pride of aristocratic connection.

deficit of fifty-six millions, and wearied by his prolixity those whom he did not offend by his lessons.

On the next day the deputies of each order were directed to the place allotted to them. Besides the common hall, which was sufficiently spacious to hold the three orders united, two other halls had been erected for the nobility and the clergy. The common hall was assigned to the *tiers;* and it thus had the advantage, whilst in its own place of meeting, of being in that of the States. The first business was the verification of the powers of the members. It became a question whether this should take place in common or by separate orders. The deputies of the *tiers*, alleging that it was of importance to each portion of the States-general to satisfy itself of the legitimacy of the two others, insisted on the verification in common. The nobility and the clergy, desirous of keeping up the division of orders, maintained that each ought to constitute itself apart. This question had nothing to do with that of individual votes, for they might verify their powers in common, and afterwards vote separately, but it nearly resembled it; and on the very first day it produced a division, which it was easy to foresee, and which might have been as easily prevented by putting an end to the dispute beforehand. But the Court never had the courage either to deny or to grant what was just, and besides, it hoped to reign by dividing.

The deputies of the *tiers-état* remained assembled in the general hall, abstaining from taking any measure, and waiting, as they said, to be joined by their colleagues. The nobility and the clergy, retiring to their respective halls, proceeded to deliberate on the verification. The clergy voted the separate verification by a majority of 133 to 114, and the nobility by a majority of 188 to 114. The *tiers-état*, persisting in its inaction, pursued on the morrow the same course as on the preceding day. It made a point of avoiding any measure which could

His talents, universally known, and his integrity, generally suspected, rendered him the object of painful anxiety; harsh and disagreeable features, a profusion of black hair, and a commanding air, attracted the curiosity even of those who were unacquainted with his reputation. His name was MIRABEAU, future leader of the Assembly! Two ladies of rank, from a gallery, with very different feelings, beheld the spectacle. The one was Madame de Montmorin, wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; the other, the illustrious daughter of M. Necker, Madame de Staël. The latter exulted in the boundless prospect of national felicity which seemed to be opening under the auspices of her father. 'You are wrong to rejoice,' said Madame de Montmorin; 'this event forebodes much misery to France and to ourselves.' Her presentiment turned out too well founded: she herself perished on the scaffold with one of her sons; another was drowned; her husband was massacred in the prisons on September 2nd; her eldest daughter was cut off in gaol; her youngest died of a broken heart before she had attained the age of thirty years."—*Alison's French Revolution.*

cause it to be considered as constituting a separate order. For this reason, in sending a deputation of its members to the other two chambers, it abstained from giving them any express mission. These members were sent to the nobility and clergy to inform them that the *tiers-état* was waiting for them in the common hall. The nobility were not sitting at the moment; the clergy were assembled, and offered to appoint commissioners to settle the differences that had arisen. They actually appointed them, and invited the nobility to do the same. In this contest the clergy manifested a very different spirit from the nobility. Among all the privileged classes it had suffered most from the attacks of the eighteenth century. Its political existence had been disputed; it was divided, owing to the great number of its curés; besides, its professional character was that of moderation and the spirit of peace. Accordingly, as we have just seen, it offered a sort of mediation.

The nobility, on the contrary, declined it by refusing to appoint commissioners. Less prudent than the clergy, more confident in its rights, conceiving itself not bound to moderation but to valour, it vented itself in refusals and threats. These men, who never excused any passion in others, gave the reins to all their own passions, and, like all assemblies, they yielded to the domination of the most violent spirits. Casalés and d'Espréménil, recently ennobled, made the most indiscreet motions, and after preparing them in a private meeting, procured their adoption in general assembly. In vain did a minority, composed of men more prudent or more prudently ambitious, strive to enlighten these nobles. They would not listen to anything. They talked of fighting and dying, and they added, for the laws and justice. The *tiers-état*, immovable, endured with patience every insult. Though irritated, it was silent, conducted itself with the prudence and firmness of all powers which are commencing their career, and received the applause of the tribunes, originally destined for the Court, but soon taken possession of by the public.

Several days had already elapsed: the clergy had laid snares for the *tiers-état* by inciting it to certain acts which would have given it the character of a constituted order. It had, however, constantly refused to comply; and taking only indispensable measures of internal police, it had confined itself to the election of a dean and assistants for the purpose of collecting opinions. It refused to open the letters addressed to it, and it declared that it formed not an order, but *a meeting of citizens assembled by a legitimate authority to wait for other citizens.*



MIRABEAU.

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The nobility, after refusing to appoint conciliatory commissioners, at length consented to send deputies to arrange matters with the other orders. But their mission was rendered useless, since it charged them at the same time to declare that it persisted in its decision of the 6th of May, which enjoined the separate verification. The clergy, on the contrary, adhering to its part, had suspended the verification which it had at first commenced in its own chamber, and declared itself not constituted, awaiting the conferences of the conciliatory commissioners. The conferences were opened: the clergy was silent; the deputies of the commons argued their point with calmness; those of the nobility, with warmth. Both parties returned soured by the dispute; and the *tiers-état*, determined not to give way, was doubtless not displeased to learn that all compromise was impossible. The nobility was assured every day by its commissioners that they had the advantage, and this served to heighten its exaltation. By a transient gleam of prudence the first two orders declared that they renounced their pecuniary privileges. The *tiers-état* accepted the concession, but persisted in its refusal to proceed to business, still requiring the common verification.

The conferences yet continued, when it was at length proposed, by way of accommodating the matter, that the powers should be verified by commissioners chosen from the three orders. The deputies of the nobility declared in its name its dissent from this arrangement, and retired without appointing any new conference. Thus the negotiation was broken off. The same day the nobility passed a resolution by which it declared anew that for this session the verification should take place separately, and that it should be left for the States to determine upon some other mode in future.

This resolution was communicated to the commons on the 27th of May. They had been assembled ever since the 5th; twenty-two days had consequently elapsed, during which nothing had been done. It was high time to come to a determination. Mirabeau, who gave the impulse to the popular party,* observed that it was time to decide upon something, and to commence their labours for the public welfare, which had been too long delayed. He proposed, therefore, in consequence of the resolution passed by the nobility, to send a message to the clergy, in order to obtain an immediate explanation from it, and to ascertain whether it would or would not meet the commons. The proposal was immediately adopted. Target, the deputy, proceeded, at the head

* *See* Appendix D.

of a numerous deputation, to the hall of the clergy. "The gentlemen of the commons," said he, "invite the gentlemen of the clergy, IN THE NAME OF THE GOD OF PEACE, and for the national interest, to meet them in the hall of the Assembly, to consult upon the means of effecting the concord so necessary at this moment for the public welfare." The clergy was struck with these solemn words. A great number of its members answered them with acclamations, and would have instantly complied with this invitation had they not been prevented; and the reply given to the deputies of the commons was, that it would deliberate on the subject. On the return of the deputation, the inexorable *tiers-état* determined to await, without breaking up, the answer of the clergy. As this answer did not arrive, a message was sent that the commons were waiting for it. The clergy complained of being hurried, and requested to be allowed the necessary time. The *tiers-état* replied with moderation that the clergy might take its own time, and that the commons would wait, if requisite, the whole day and the whole night.

The situation was difficult. The clergy knew that after its answer the commons would fall to work and adopt a decisive course. It wished to temporize, in order to concert with the Court. It required time till the following day, which was granted with regret. Next day the King resolved, in accordance with the wishes of the higher orders, to interfere. At this moment all the animosities between the Court and the higher orders began to be forgotten at the sight of that popular power which rose with such rapidity. The King at length appeared, and invited the three orders to resume their conferences in the presence of the keeper of the seals. The *tiers-état*, notwithstanding all that has been said of its projects upon judgments formed after the events, did not extend its wishes beyond moderate monarchy. Knowing the intentions of Louis XVI., it was full of respect for him; and unwilling to injure its cause by any wrong step, it replied, that out of deference to the King, it consented to renew the conferences, though in consequence of the declaration of the nobility it could not but consider them as useless. To this reply it annexed an address which it charged its Dean to deliver to the Prince. This Dean was Bailly, a simple and virtuous man, an illustrious and modest cultivator of the sciences, who had been suddenly transported from the quiet studies of his closet into the midst of civil broils. Elected to the presidency over a great Assembly, he had been alarmed at his new office, had deemed himself unworthy to fill it, and undertaken it solely

from a sense of duty. But raised all at once to liberty, he found within him an unexpected presence of mind and firmness. Amid so many conflicts, he caused the majesty of the Assembly to be respected, and represented it with all the dignity of virtue and of reason.

Bailly had the greatest difficulty to penetrate to the King. As he insisted on being introduced, the courtiers reported that he had not even paid respect to the grief of the monarch, afflicted by the death of the Dauphin. He was at length presented, contrived to avoid every humiliating ceremonial, and displayed equal firmness and respect. The King received him graciously, but without entering into any explanation of his intentions.

The government having decided on making some sacrifices to obtain money, designed, by opposing the orders, to become their umpire, to wrest from the nobility its pecuniary privileges with the assistance of the *tiers-état*, and to check the ambition of the latter by means of the nobility. As for the nobility having no need to concern itself about the embarrassments of the administration, caring only for the sacrifices which were likely to be wrung from it, it hoped to bring about a dissolution of the States-general, and thus to frustrate the object of their convocation. The commons, whom the Court and the higher orders would not recognize by that title, were incessantly acquiring fresh strength, and being resolved to brave all dangers, were anxious not to let slip an opportunity which might never occur.

The conferences demanded by the King took place. The commissioners of the nobility raised all sorts of difficulties about the title of commons which the *tiers-état* had assumed, and about the form and signature of the minutes (*procès-verbal*). At length they entered upon discussion, and they were almost reduced to silence by the reasons urged against them, when Necker, in the name of the King, proposed a new mode of conciliation. Each order was to examine the powers separately, and to communicate them to the others. In case difficulties should arise, commissioners should report upon them to each chamber, and if the decision of the different orders disagreed, the King was to judge definitively. Thus the Court would settle the dispute to its own advantage. The conferences were immediately suspended to obtain the adhesion of the orders. The clergy accepted the plan purely and simply. The nobility at first received it favourably; but urged by its usual instigators, it rejected the advice of its most discreet members, and modified the project of conciliation. From that day must be dated all its disasters.

The commons, apprized of this resolution, waited till it should be communicated to them, in order to explain themselves in their turn; but the clergy, with its ordinary cunning, desirous of bringing them into bad odour with the nation, sent them a deputation to invite them to take into consideration, along with it, the distress of the people, which was daily increasing, that they might lose no time in providing together against the dearth and high price of provisions. The commons, who would have exposed themselves to the popular odium if they had appeared indifferent to such a proposal, opposed craft with craft, and replied, that deeply impressed with the same duties, they awaited the clergy in the great hall, in order to deliberate with it on this important subject. The nobility then arrived, and solemnly communicated its resolution to the commons. It adopted, it said, the plan of conciliation, persisting, however, in the separate verification, and referring to the united orders and to the supreme jurisdiction of the King such difficulties only as might arise respecting the entire deputations of a whole province.

This resolution put an end to all the embarrassments of the commons. Obliged either to yield or to declare war single-handed against the higher orders and the throne, if the plan of conciliation had been adopted, they were relieved from the necessity of explanation, as the plan had been accepted only with important alterations. The moment was decisive. To give way on the separate verification was not indeed giving way on the vote by order; but to betray weakness once was to be weak for ever. They must submit to act nearly the part of a cipher, give money to power, be content with the abolition of a few abuses, when they saw the possibility of regenerating the State, or take a strong resolution and seize by force a portion of the legislative power. This was the first revolutionary act; but the Assembly did not hesitate. In consequence, all the minutes (*procès-verbaux*) being signed and the conferences finished, Mirabeau rose: "Any plan of conciliation rejected by one party," said he, "can no longer be examined by the other. A month is past; it is time to take a decisive step: a deputy of Paris has an important motion to make—let us hear him." Mirabeau, having opened the deliberation by his audacity, introduced to the tribune Sièyes, a man of a comprehensive mind, systematic and rigorous in his deductions. Sièyes in a few words recapitulated and explained the motives of the conduct of the commons. They had waited, and had acceded to all the conciliations proposed; their long condescension was unavailing; they could

delay no longer without failing in their duty; they ought consequently to send a last invitation to the other two orders, to join them for the purpose of commencing the verification. This proposition, based on sufficient motives,* was received with enthusiasm; it was even in contemplation to summon the two orders to meet within an hour. The period, however, was prorogued. The following day, Thursday, being devoted to religious solemnities, it was postponed till Friday. On Friday the last invitation was communicated. The two orders replied that they would consider it, and the King, that he would make known his intentions. The call of the *baillages* began: on the first day three curés attended, and were hailed with applause; on the second, six arrived; and on the third and fourth, ten, among whom was the Abbé Gregoire.

During the call of the *baillages* and the verification of the powers, a serious dispute arose concerning the title which the Assembly was to assume. Mirabeau proposed that of *Representatives of the French People;* Mounier, that of *Deliberative Majority in the absence of the Minority;* Legrand, that of *National Assembly.* This last was adopted, after a very long discussion, which lasted till the night of the 16th of June. It was one o'clock in the morning, and it became a question whether the Assembly should constitute itself before it broke up, or should defer that business till the following day. One portion of the deputies wished that not a moment should be lost, that they might acquire a legal character which should command the respect of the Court. A small number, wishing to impede the operations of the Assembly, became extremely violent, and uttered furious cries. The two parties, ranged on the two sides of a long table, reciprocally threatened each other. Bailly, placed at the centre, was called upon by the one to adjourn the Assembly; by the other, to put the motion for constituting themselves to the vote. Unshaken amidst shouts and abuse, he continued for more than an hour motionless and silent. The weather was tempestuous; the wind blew with violence into the hall, and added to the tumult. At length the brawlers withdrew. Bailly, then addressing the Assembly, which had recovered its tranquillity on the retirement of those by whom it had been disturbed, recommended it to defer till daylight the important act which was proposed. His advice was adopted, and the Assembly broke up, applauding his firmness and prudence.

Accordingly, on the 17th, the proposition was taken into consideration, and by a majority of 491 votes against 90

* *See* Appendix E.

the commons constituted themselves the National Assembly. Sièyes, again charged to report the motives of this determination, did it with his accustomed precision.

"The Assembly, deliberating after the verification of the powers, ascertains that it is already composed of representatives sent directly by ninety-six hundredths at least of the nation. Such a mass of deputation could not remain inactive on account of the deputies of certain *baillages* or of certain classes of citizens; for the absent, *who have been called*, cannot prevent the present from exercising the plenitude of their rights, especially when the exercise of those rights is an urgent, an imperative duty.

"Moreover, as it belongs only to the verified representatives to concur in the national will, and as all the verified representatives are to be admitted into this Assembly, it is further indispensable to conclude that it belongs to it, and to it alone, to interpret and to represent the general will of the nation.

"There cannot exist any *veto*, any negative power, between the throne and the Assembly.

"The Assembly therefore declares that the general labour of the national restoration can and ought to be begun by the deputies present, and that they ought to prosecute it without interruption and without impediment.

"The denomination of National Assembly is the only one suitable to the Assembly in the present state of things, as well because the members who compose it are the only representatives legitimately and publicly known and verified, as because they are sent by nearly the whole of the nation; and lastly, because the representation being one and indivisible, none of the deputies, for whatever order or class he has been elected, has a right to exercise those functions separately from this Assembly.

"The Assembly will never relinquish the hope of collecting in its bosom all the deputies that are now absent; it will not cease to call them to fulfil the obligation imposed upon them, to concur in the holding of the States-general. At whatever moment the absent deputies present themselves during the session that is about to be opened, it declares beforehand that it will be ready to receive them, and to share with them, after the verification of their powers, the series of important labours which are to accomplish the regeneration of France."

Immediately after passing this resolution (*arrêté*), the Assembly, desiring at once to perform an act of its power, and to prove that it had no intention to impede the course of the administration, legalized the levy of the taxes, though imposed

without the national consent. With a presentiment of its separation, it added that they should cease to be levied from the day on which it should be broken up: foreseeing, moreover, a bankruptcy, the expedient left to power for putting an end to the financial embarrassments, and dispensing with the national concurrence, it satisfied prudence and honour by placing the creditors of the State under the safeguard of French integrity. Lastly, it announced that it should immediately direct its attention to the causes of the dearth and of the public distress.

These measures, which displayed equal courage and ability, produced a deep impression. The Court and the higher orders were alarmed at such courage and energy. Meanwhile the clergy was tumultuously deliberating whether it should join the commons. The multitude awaited outside the hall the result of its deliberation. The curés at length carried the point, and it was learnt that the union had been voted by a majority of 149 votes to 115. Those who had voted for the junction were received with transports of applause; the others were abused and insulted by the populace.

This moment was destined to bring about a reconciliation between the Court and the aristocracy. The danger was equal for both. The last revolution was as prejudicial to the King as to the two higher orders themselves, whom the commons declared that they could dispense with. The aristocracy immediately threw itself at the feet of the King. The Duc de Luxembourg, the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, the Archbishop of Paris, implored him to repress the audacity of the *tiers-état*, and to support their rights, which were attacked. The parliament proposed to him to do without the States, promising to assent to all the taxes. The King was surrounded by the princes and the Queen; this was more than was requisite for his weakness: they hurried him off to Marly, in order to extort from him a vigorous measure.

Necker, the minister, attached to the popular cause, confined himself to useless remonstrances, which the King thought just when his mind was left free, but the effect of which the Court soon took care to destroy. As soon as he perceived the necessity for the interference of the royal authority, he formed a plan which to his courage appeared very bold. He proposed that the monarch, in a royal sitting, should command the union of the orders, but only for measures of general interest; that he should assume to himself the sanction of all resolutions adopted by the States-general; that he should condemn beforehand every institution hostile to moderate monarchy, such as that of

a single assembly; lastly, that he should promise the abolition of privileges, the equal admission of all Frenchmen to civil and military appointments, &c. As Necker had not had the energy to outstrip time for such a plan, so likewise he had not sufficient to ensure its execution.

The council had followed the King to Marly. There Necker's plan, at first approved, was subjected to discussion; all at once a note was delivered to the King; the council was suspended, resumed, and adjourned till the following day, in spite of the necessity for the utmost despatch. On the morrow fresh members were added to the council; the King's brothers were of the number. Necker's plan was modified; he resisted, made some concessions, but finding himself vanquished, returned to Versailles. A page came three times bringing him notes containing new modifications; his plan was wholly disfigured, and the royal sitting was fixed for the 22nd of June.

It was as yet but the 20th, and already the hall of the States was shut up, under the pretext that preparations were requisite for the presence of the King. These preparations might have been made in half a day; but the clergy had deliberated the day before upon joining the commons, and it was desirable to prevent this junction. An order from the King instantly adjourned the sittings till the 22nd. Bailly, conceiving that he was bound to obey the Assembly, which, on Friday the 19th, had adjourned to the next day, Saturday, repaired to the door of the hall. It was surrounded by soldiers of the French guard, who had orders to refuse admittance to every one. The officer on duty received Bailly with respect, and allowed him access to a court for the purpose of drawing up a protest. Some young hot-headed deputies would have forced their way through the sentries. Bailly hastened to the spot, appeased them, and took them with him, that the generous officer, who executed the orders of authority with such moderation, might not be compromized. The deputies collected tumultuously; they persisted in assembling; some proposed to hold a sitting under the very windows of the King, others proposed the tennis-court. To the latter they instantly repaired; the master cheerfully gave it up to them.

The hall was spacious, but the walls were dark and bare. There were no seats. An arm-chair was offered to the president, who refused it, and chose rather to stand with the Assembly; a bench served for a desk; two deputies were stationed at the door as doorkeepers, and were soon relieved by the keeper of the place, who came and offered his services. The populace thronged around, and the deliberation commenced. Complaints

were raised on all sides against this suspension of the sittings, and various expedients were proposed to prevent it in future. The agitation increased, and the extreme parties began to work upon the imaginations of their hearers. It was proposed to repair to Paris; this motion, hailed with enthusiasm, was warmly supported; and they began to talk of proceeding thither in a body and on foot. Bailly was apprehensive that violence might be offered to the Assembly by the way; dreading, moreover, a rupture, he opposed the scheme. Mounier then proposed to the deputies to bind themselves by oath not to separate before the establishment of a constitution. This proposal was received with transport; the form of the oath was soon agreed upon. Bailly claimed the honour of being the first to take it, and read the form, which was as follows: "You take a solemn oath never to separate, and to assemble wherever circumstances shall require, till the constitution of the kingdom is established and founded on a solid basis." This form, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, was heard outside the building. All lips instantly repeated the oath; all hands were outstretched towards Bailly, who, standing and motionless, received this solemn engagement to ensure by laws the exercise of the national rights. The crowd instantly raised loud shouts of *Vive l'Assemblée! vive le Roi!* as if to prove that, without any feeling of anger or animosity, but from duty, it reclaimed what was its due. The deputies then proceeded to sign the declaration which they had just made. One only, Martin d'Auch, added to his name the word opposer. A great tumult took place around him. Bailly, in order to be heard, mounted upon a table, addressed the deputy with moderation, and represented to him that he had a right to refuse his signature, but not to form an opposition. The deputy persisted; and the Assembly, out of respect for its liberty, allowed the word to stand and to be inserted in the minutes.

This new act of energy excited the apprehensions of the nobility, who went on the following day to lay their lamentations at the King's feet, to excuse themselves in some measure for the restrictions which they had introduced into the plan of conciliation, and to solicit his assistance. The noble minority protested against this step, maintaining with reason that it was no longer time to solicit the royal interference, after having so unseasonably refused it. This minority, too little attended to, was composed of forty-seven members, among whom were enlightened military officers and magistrates — the Duc de Liancourt, a generous friend to his King and to liberty; the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, distinguished for inflexible virtue

and great abilities; Lally-Tollendal, already celebrated for his father's misfortunes and his eloquent reclamations; Clermont-Tonnerre, remarkable for his eloquence; the brothers Lameth, young colonels, known for their intelligence and their bravery; Duport, already noticed for his extraordinary capacity and firmness of character; and lastly, the Marquis de Lafayette, the defender of American freedom, and combining with French vivacity the perseverance and the simplicity of Washington.

Intrigues retarded all the operations of the Court. The sitting, at first fixed for Monday the 22nd, was postponed till the 23rd. A note written very late to Bailly, and at the termination of the great council, acquainted him with this postponement, and proved the agitation which pervaded all minds. Necker had resolved not to attend the sitting, that he might not sanction by his presence plans which he disapproved.

Petty means, the ordinary resource of a feeble authority, were employed to prevent the meeting of Monday the 22nd. The princes hired the tennis-court for the purpose of playing on that day. The Assembly repaired to the church of St. Louis, where it received the majority of the clergy, with the Archbishop of Vienne at its head. This junction, marked by the utmost dignity, excited the greatest joy. The clergy came, it was said, to submit to the common verification.

The following day, the 23rd, was that fixed for the royal sitting. The deputies of the commons were to enter by a side-door, a different one from that reserved for the nobility and clergy. If violence could not be employed, they were not spared humiliations. They waited a long time exposed to the rain; the president was obliged to knock at the door; it was not opened. He knocked repeatedly, and was told that it was not yet time. The deputies were about to retire, when Bailly again knocked. The door was at length opened; the deputies entered, and found the two higher orders in possession of their seats, which they had been desirous to secure by occupying them beforehand. The sitting was not, like that of the 5th of May, at once majestic and touching from a certain effusion of sentiments and hopes. A numerous soldiery, a sullen silence, distinguished it from the former solemnity. The deputies of the commons had resolved to keep the most profound silence. The King addressed the Assembly, and betrayed his weakness by using expressions far too energetic for his character. He was made to launch reproaches, and to issue commands. He enjoined the separation into orders; annulled the preceding resolutions (*arrêtés*) of the *tiers-état*, promising to sanction the

abdication of the pecuniary privileges when they should be relinquished by the holders. He maintained all the feudal rights, both useful and honorary, as inviolable property. He did not order the meeting of the three estates on matters of general interest, but held out hopes of it from the moderation of the higher orders. Thus he enforced the obedience of the commons, and contented himself with presuming that of the aristocracy. He left the nobility and clergy judges of what specially concerned them, and concluded with saying, that if he met with fresh obstacles, he would singly establish the welfare of his people, and that he considered himself as its sole representative. This tone, this language, deeply incensed the minds of the commons, not against the King, who had feebly represented passions not his own, but against the aristocracy, whose instrument he was.

As soon as he had finished this address he ordered the Assembly to separate immediately. The nobility followed him, together with part of the clergy. The majority of the ecclesiastical deputies remained. The deputies of the commons, without moving, preserved profound silence. Mirabeau, who put himself forward on all occasions, then rose. "Gentlemen," said he, "I admit that what you have just heard might be the salvation of the country, if the gifts of despotism were not always dangerous. . . . The ostentatious display of arms, the violation of the national temple . . . to command you to be happy! . . . Where are the enemies of the nation? Is Catiline at our doors? I demand that, covering yourselves with your dignity, your legislative power, you adhere religiously to your oath: it forbids you to separate before you have framed the constitution."

The Marquis de Brézé, grand-master of the ceremonies, then returned. "You have heard the orders of the King," said he, addressing Bailly. Bailly replied, "I am going to take those of the Assembly." Mirabeau stepped forward. "Yes, sir," he exclaimed; "we have heard the intentions that have been suggested to the King; but you have neither voice, nor place, nor right to speak here. However, to avoid all delay, go and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." M. de Brézé retired. Sièyes then said, "We are to-day what we were yesterday; let us deliberate." The Assembly collected itself to deliberate on the maintenance of its preceding resolutions (*arrêtés*). "The first of these resolutions," said Barnave, "has declared what you are; the second relates to the taxes, which you alone have a right to grant;

the third is the oath to do your duty. None of these measures needs the royal sanction. The King cannot prevent that to which his assent is not required." At this moment workmen arrived to take away the benches; armed soldiers crossed the hall; others surrounded the outside; the life-guard advanced to the very door. The Assembly continued its proceedings without interruption: the members kept their seats, and the votes were collected. They were unanimous for upholding the preceding resolutions. That was not all: amidst the royal town, surrounded by the servants of the Court, without the aid of that populace since so formidable, the Assembly was liable to be threatened. Mirabeau repaired to the tribune, and proposed to decree the inviolability of every deputy. The Assembly, opposing to force but one majestic will, immediately declared each of its members inviolable, and proclaimed every one who should offer them violence a traitor, infamous, and guilty of a capital crime.

Meanwhile the nobility, who looked upon the State as saved by this "bed of justice," presented its congratulations to the Prince who had furnished the idea of it, and carried them from the Prince to the Queen. The Queen, holding her son in her arms, and showing him to these devoted servants, received their oaths, and unfortunately abandoned herself to a blind confidence. At this very moment shouts were heard; every one ran to inquire the meaning of them, and learned that the people, assembling in crowds, were applauding Necker, because he had not attended the royal sitting. Alarm instantly took the place of joy; the King and Queen sent for Necker, and those august personages were obliged to entreat him to retain his portfolio. The minister complied, and transferred to the Court a part of that popularity which he had acquired by absenting himself from that fatal sitting.

Thus was effected the first revolution. The *tiers-état* had recovered the legislative power, and its adversaries had lost it by attempting to keep it entirely to themselves. In a few days this legislative revolution was completely consummated. Recourse was still had to petty annoyances, such as interrupting the internal communications in the halls of the States; but they were unsuccessful. On the 24th the majority of the clergy proceeded to the Assembly, and demanded the verification in common, in order to deliberate afterwards on the proposals made by the King in the sitting of the 23rd of June. The minority of the clergy continued to deliberate in its own chamber. Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, a virtuous prelate and a benefactor of the people, but a stickler for privileges, was

pursued, and forced to promise to join the Assembly. He accordingly repaired to the National Assembly, accompanied by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a popular prelate, who was afterwards minister.

The nobility was in a state of the greatest agitation. Its ordinary instigators inflamed its passions; d'Espréménil proposed to prosecute the *tiers-état*, and to direct proceedings to be instituted against it by the attorney-general. The minority proposed the reunion. This motion was rejected amidst tumult. The Duc d'Orleans supported the motion, after having on the preceding day given a promise to the contrary to the Polignacs. Forty-seven members having determined to join the General Assembly, in spite of the decision of the majority, repaired to it in a body, and were received with demonstrations of public joy. But notwithstanding the rejoicing caused by their presence, their looks were sad. "We yield to our conscience," said Clermont-Tonnerre; "but it is with pain that we separate ourselves from our colleagues. We have come to concur in the public regeneration; each of us will let you know the degree of activity which his mission allows him."

Every day brought fresh accessions, and the Assembly saw the number of its members increase. Addresses poured in from all parts, expressing the good wishes and the approbation of the towns and provinces. Mounier prompted those of Dauphiné; Paris sent one; and even the Palais Royal despatched a deputation, which the Assembly, as yet encompassed with dangers, received, that it might not alienate the multitude. At that time it did not foresee the excesses of the populace; it had need, on the contrary, to presume its energy, and to hope for its support: many, however, doubted the courage of the people, which was as yet but a pleasing dream. Thus the plaudits of the tribunes, frequently annoying to the Assembly, had nevertheless supported it, and the Assembly durst not prevent them. Bailly would have complained, but his voice and his motion were drowned by thundering applause.

The majority of the nobility continued its sittings amidst tumult and the most violent animosities. Terror seized those who directed it, and the signal for reunion was made by those very persons who had previously preached resistance. But its passions, already too much excited, were not easily guided. The King was obliged to write a letter; the Court, the grandees, were humbled to entreaties. "The junction will be transient," it was said to the most obstinate; "troops are approaching; give way to save the King." Consent was extorted amidst [illegible] accompanied by the

minority of the clergy, proceeded on the 27th of June to the General Assembly. The Duc de Luxembourg, speaking in the name of all, said that they were come to pay a mark of respect to the King, and to give a proof of patriotism to the nation. "The family is complete," replied Bailly. Supposing that the assemblage was entire, and that the question was not to verify but to deliberate in common, he added, "We can now attend without intermission and without distraction to the regeneration of the kingdom and of the public weal."

Many petty artifices were still employed to avoid the appearance of having done what necessity imperatively required. The new-comers always entered after the opening of the sittings, all in a body, so as to give themselves the look of an order. They affected to stand behind the president, or at least not to appear to sit. Bailly, with great moderation and firmness, at length overcame all resistance, and prevailed on them to be seated. Attempts were also made to displace him from the presidency, not by main force, but sometimes by secret negotiation, at others by stratagem. Bailly retained it, not out of ambition, but out of duty; and a plain citizen, known only by his virtues and his talents, was seen presiding over all the grandees of the kingdom and the Church.

It was too evident that the legislative revolution was accomplished. Though the subject of the first dispute was solely the mode of verification, and not the manner of voting; though some had declared that they joined merely for the common verification, and others in obedience to the royal intentions as expressed on the 23rd of June—it was certain that the voting by individuals had become inevitable; all remonstrance therefore was useless and impolitic. The Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld nevertheless protested in the name of the minority, and declared that he had joined solely to deliberate on general subjects, still retaining the right to form an order. The Archbishop of Vienne replied with warmth that the minority had not had the power to decide anything in the absence of the majority of the clergy, and that it had no right to speak in the name of the order. Mirabeau inveighed strongly against this pretension, observing that it was strange any one should protest in the Assembly against the Assembly. "You must," said he, "either recognize its sovereignty or retire."

The question of imperative instructions was next brought forward. Most of the instructions expressed the wishes of the electors respecting the reforms to be effected, and rendered these wishes obligatory on the deputies. Before they stirred, it was necessary to ascertain to what point they could go: this

question, therefore, could not but be the first. It was taken up and resumed several times. Some were for returning to their constituents; others were of opinion that they could not receive from the constituents any other mission than that of voting for them after the subjects should have been discussed by the representatives of the whole nation, but they were not of opinion that deputies could receive instructions ready made beforehand. If we assume, in fact, that we have no power to make laws but in a general council, either because we meet with more intelligence the higher we rise, or because we cannot come to any decision but when all the parts of the nation have reciprocally understood one another, then indeed it is true that the deputies ought to be free and unshackled by obligatory instructions. Mirabeau, sharpening reason by irony, observed "that those who considered the instructions as imperative had done wrong to come; they had but to leave instructions on their benches, and those papers would fill the seats as well as they." Sièyes, with his usual sagacity, foreseeing that notwithstanding the perfectly just decision of the Assembly, a great number of members would fall back upon their oaths, and that by taking refuge in their consciences they would render themselves unassailable, moved the order of the day, upon the ground that each was the best judge of the validity of the oath which he had taken. "Those," said he, "who deem themselves bound by their instructions shall be considered as absent, just the same as those who refused to verify their powers in general assembly." This judicious opinion was adopted. The Assembly, by having recourse to constraint, would have furnished the opposers with pretexts; whereas, by leaving them free, it was sure to bring them over to its own way of thinking; for thenceforth its victory was certain.

The object of the new convocation was the reform of the State, that is, the establishment of a constitution, which France as yet had not, whatever may be said to the contrary. If any kind of relations between the governed and the government are to be so called, then indeed France possessed a constitution; a king had commanded and subjects obeyed; ministers had arbitrarily imprisoned; contractors had wrung the last *dénier* from the people; parliaments had sentenced unfortunate wretches to the wheel. The most barbarous nations have such kinds of constitutions. There had been States-general *

* Philippe le Bel was the first French monarch who convoked the States-general, in 1303. Jean le Bon, in 1355, also called together the National Assemblies, or "les Champs de Mars;" and these assemblies have since that period

in France, but without precise powers, without fixed times for meeting again, and always without results. There had been a royal authority, alternately null or absolute. There had been sovereign tribunals or courts, which frequently combined the legislative with the judicial power. But there was no law to ensure the responsibility of the agents of power, the liberty of the press, individual liberty; in short, all the guarantees which in the social state make amends for the fiction of natural liberty.*

The want of a constitution was acknowledged and generally felt; all the instructions had energetically expressed it, and entered into a formal explanation of the fundamental principles of that constitution. They had unanimously prescribed the monarchical government, hereditary succession from male to male, the exclusive attribution of the executive power to the King, the responsibility of all agents, the concurrence of the nation and the King in making the laws, the voting of the taxes, and individual liberty. But they were divided on the creation of one or two legislative chambers, on the permanence, the periods for the meeting, and the dissolution of the legislative body; on the political existence of the clergy and the parliaments; on the extent of the liberty of the press. All these questions, either solved or proposed in the instructions, plainly show to what a degree the public mind was at that time awakened in all parts of the kingdom, and how generally and decisively the wish for liberty was expressed in France.† But the founding of an entire constitution amid the rubbish of an ancient legislation in spite of all opposition and the wild flights of many minds, was a great and difficult work. Besides the disagreements which diversity of interests could not fail to produce, the natural divergence of opinions was also to be dreaded. An entire legislation to be given to a great people, excites their minds so powerfully, inspires them with plans so vast and hopes so chimerical, that measures either vague or exaggerated, and frequently hostile, are naturally to be expected from them. In order to give regularity to the proceedings a committee was appointed to measure their extent, and to arrange their distribution. This committee was composed of the most moderate members of the Assembly. Mounier, a cool-headed but obstinate man, was its most laborious and influential member; it was he who drew up the order of the proceedings.

always retained the title of States-general. The clergy had as their president the Archbishop of Rheims; Gauthier de Brienne was chosen by the nobles; and Marcel, the Mayor of Paris, was at the head of the *tiers-état*.

* *See* Appendix F. † *See* Appendix G.

SERVANTS SOCIETY

This difficulty of giving a constitution was not the only one that the Assembly had to surmount. Between an ill-disposed government and a starving populace which required speedy relief it was difficult for it to avoid interfering in the administration. Distrusting the supreme authority, and urged to assist the people, it could not help, even without ambition, encroaching by degrees on the executive power. The clergy had already set it the example by making to the *tiers-état* the insidious proposal to direct its immediate attention to the subject of the public subsistence. The Assembly, as soon as it was formed, appointed a committee of subsistence, applied to the ministry for information on the subject, proposed to favour the circulation of provisions from province to province, to convey them officially to the places where they were needed, and to defray the expense by loans and charitable contributions. The ministry communicated the efficacious measures which it had taken, and which Louis XVI., a careful administrator, had favoured to the utmost of his power. Lally-Tollendal proposed to issue decrees relative to free circulation; upon which Mounier objected that such decrees would require the royal sanction, and this sanction being not yet regulated, would be attended with serious difficulties. Thus all sorts of obstacles combined together. It was requisite to make laws, though the legislative forms were not fixed; to superintend the administration without encroaching on the executive authority; and to provide against so many difficulties, in spite of the ill-will of power, the opposition of interests, the jarring of opinions, and the urgency of a populace recently awakened and rousing itself, a few leagues from the Assembly, in the bosom of an immense capital.

A very small distance separates Paris from Versailles, and a person may traverse it several times in one day. All the disturbances in Paris were therefore immediately known at Versailles, both to the Court and to the Assembly. Paris then exhibited a new and extraordinary spectacle. The electors, assembled in sixty districts, refused to separate after the elections, and they remained assembled either to give instructions to their deputies, or from that fondness for agitation which is always to be found in the human heart, and which bursts forth with the greater violence the longer it has been repressed. They had fared just the same as the National Assembly: being shut out of their place of meeting, they had repaired to another; they had finally obtained admittance into the Hôtel de Ville, and there they continued to assemble and to correspond with their deputies. There were yet no

public prints that gave an account of the sittings of the National Assembly; people, therefore, felt it necessary to meet for the purpose of learning and conversing upon events. The garden of the Palais Royal was the theatre of the most numerous assemblages. This magnificent garden, surrounded by the richest shops in Europe, and forming an appurtenance to the palace of the Duc d'Orleans, was the rendezvous of foreigners, of debauchees, of loungers, and above all, of the most vehement agitators. The boldest harangues were delivered in the coffee-houses, or in the garden itself. There might be seen an orator mounted upon a table, collecting a crowd around him, and exciting them by the most furious language—language always unpunished—for there the mob reigned as sovereign. Here men, supposed to be the tools of the Duc d'Orleans, displayed the greatest violence. The wealth of that prince, his well-known prodigality, the enormous sums which he borrowed, his residence on the spot, his ambition, though vague, all served to point accusation against him.* History, without mentioning any name, is authorized at least to declare that money was profusely distributed. If the sound part of the nation was ardently desirous of liberty, if the restless and suffering multitude resorted to agitation for the purpose of bettering its condition, there were instigators who sometimes excited that multitude, and perhaps directed some of its blows. In other respects this influence is not to be reckoned among the causes of the Revolution, for it is not with a little money and with secret manœuvres that you can convulse a nation of twenty-five millions of souls.

An occasion for disturbance soon occurred. The French guards, picked men, destined to compose the King's guard, were at Paris; four companies were detached by turns to do duty at Versailles. Besides the barbarity of the new discipline, these troops had reason to complain also of that of their new colonel. At the pillage of Reveillon's house they had certainly shown some animosity against the populace; but they had subsequently been sorry for it, and mingling daily with the mob, they had yielded to its seductions. Moreover, both privates and

* "At this period, a report, which had long been circulated, assumed a semblance of truth. The Duc d'Orleans had been accused of being the head of a party, and the newspapers of the day employed his name in the hints which they daily set forth that France should follow the example of England. The Duc d'Orleans was fixed upon, because, in the English Revolution, the direct line of the royal family had been expelled in favour of the Prince of Orange. The thing was so often repeated, that the Duc d'Orleans began at last to believe that he might place himself at the head of a party, and become the leader of a faction, without the qualification for such an office."—*Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantès.*

subalterns were aware that the door to promotion was closed against them: they were mortified to see their young officers do scarcely any duty, showing themselves only on parade-days, and after reviews not even accompanying the regiment to the barracks. Here, as elsewhere, there had been a *tiers-état* which had to do all the work without receiving any share of the profit. Symptoms of insubordination manifested themselves, and some of the privates were confined in the Abbaye! *

The men assembled at the Palais Royal, shouting "To the Abbaye!" The mob instantly ran thither. The doors were broken open, and the soldiers brought out, and carried away in triumph. Whilst the populace guarded them at the Palais Royal, a letter was written to the Assembly, demanding their liberation. Placed between the people on the one hand, and the government on the other, which was suspected, since it was about to act in its own behalf, the Assembly could not help interfering and committing an encroachment by meddling with the public police. Taking a resolution at once prudent and adroit, it assured the Parisians of its desire for the maintenance of good order, exhorted them not to disturb it, and at the same time sent a deputation to the King to implore his clemency, as an infallible mode of restoring peace and concord. The King, touched by its moderation, promised his clemency when order should be re-established. The French guards were immediately sent back to prison, from which they were as immediately released by a pardon from the King.

So far all was well; but the nobility, in joining the other two orders, had yielded with regret, and only upon a promise that its union with them should be of short duration. It still continued to assemble every day, and protested against the proceedings of the National Assembly. Its meetings gradually became less numerous: on the 3rd of July 138 members attended; on the 10th, 93; and on the 11th, but 80. The most

* "The regiment of the French guards, consisting of 3600 men in the highest state of discipline and equipment, had for some time given alarming symptoms of disaffection. Their colonel had ordered them, in consequence, to be confined to their barracks, when three hundred of them broke out of their bounds, and repaired instantly to the Palais Royal. They were received with enthusiasm, and liberally plied with money by the Orleans party; and to such a height did the transport rise, that, how incredible soever it may appear, it is proved by the testimony of numerous witnesses above all suspicion, that women of family and distinction openly embraced the soldiers as they walked in the gardens with their mistresses. After these disorders had continued for some time, eleven of the ringleaders in the mutiny were seized and thrown into the prison of the Abbey; a mob of 6000 men immediately assembled, forced the gates of the prison, and brought them back in triumph to the Palais Royal. The King, upon the petition of the Assembly, pardoned the prisoners, and on the following day they were walking in triumph through the streets of Paris."—*Alison's French Revolution.*

obstinate, however, had persisted, and on the 11th they determined upon a protest, which succeeding events prevented them from drawing up. The Court, on its part, had not yielded without regret and without plan. On recovering from its alarm, after the sitting of the 23rd, it had approved the general union of the three estates, in order to impede the march of the Assembly by means of the nobles, and in the hope of soon dissolving it by main force. Necker had been retained merely to mask by his presence the secret plots that were hatching. Excepting a certain agitation and a degree of reserve that was employed towards him, he had no reason to suspect any grand machination. The King himself was not apprized of all, and there were persons who proposed no doubt to go further than he wished. Necker, who conceived that the whole activity of a statesman ought to confine itself to reasoning, and who possessed just so much energy as was necessary to remonstrate, did so without effect. Conjointly with Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and Clermont-Tonnerre, he meditated the establishment of the English constitution. The Court was meanwhile carrying on its secret preparations. The noble deputies having manifested an intention to withdraw, they were detained by hints thrown out to them of an event that would speedily happen.

Troops were approaching. Old Marshal de Broglie had been appointed to the chief command of them, and the Baron de Besenval to the particular command of those which were around Paris. Fifteen regiments, mostly foreign, were in the environs of the capital. The exultation of the courtiers revealed the danger; and these conspirators, too prompt to threaten, thus compromized their projects. The popular deputies apprized, not of all the particulars of a plan which is not yet entirely known, with which the King himself was but partially acquainted, but which certainly tended to employ violence, were irritated, and turned their attention to the means of resistance. We are ignorant, and shall probably ever remain so, of the share which secret means had in the insurrection of the 14th of July; but this is of no consequence. The aristocracy was conspiring; the popular party could conspire too. The means employed were equal, setting aside the justice of the cause, and justice was not on their side who would fain have broken up the union of the three orders, dissolved the national representation, and wreaked their vengeance upon its most courageous deputies.

Mirabeau was of opinion that the surest way of intimidating power was to force it to discuss publicly the measures which it was seen to take. To this end it was necessary to denounce

it openly. If it hesitated to reply, if it had recourse to evasion, it would be condemned; the nation would be warned and roused.

On the motion of Mirabeau the discussion of the constitution was suspended, and he proposed to solicit the King to remove the troops. In his language he combined respect for the monarch with the severest reproaches of the government. He stated that fresh troops were daily advancing; that all the communications were intercepted; that the bridges, the promenades, were converted into military posts; that circumstances public and secret, hasty orders and counter-orders, met all eyes, and were the heralds of war: to these facts he added bitter reproaches. "More threatening soldiers," said he, "are shown to the nation than hostile invaders would perhaps find to encounter, and a thousand times more, at least, than could be brought together to succour friends, the martyrs of their fidelity, and above all, to preserve that alliance of the Dutch, so valuable, so dearly bought, and so disgracefully lost."

His speech was received with applause; and the address which he proposed was adopted, with the exception of one article, in which, while invoking the removal of the troops, he demanded that they should be replaced by the civic guard: this article was suppressed. The address was voted, with only four dissentient voices. In this celebrated address, which, as it is said, was not written by Mirabeau, but all the ideas of which he had communicated to one of his friends, he foreboded almost everything that was about to happen—the explosion of the multitude, and the defection of the troops from their intermingling with the citizens. Not less acute than bold, he ventured to assure the King that his promises should not be vain. "You have summoned us," said he, "to regenerate the kingdom; your wishes shall be accomplished, in spite of snares, difficulties, dangers, &c."

The address was presented by a deputation of twenty-four members. The King, having resolved not to enter into explanations, replied that the assemblage of troops was for no other purpose than the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the protection due to the Assembly; that, moreover, if the latter still felt any apprehensions, he would remove it to Soissons or Noyon, and that he would himself repair to Compiègne.

The Assembly could not be satisfied with such an answer, and especially with the proposal to withdraw from the capital, and to place itself between two camps. The Comte de Crillon proposed that they should trust to the word of a King who

was an honest man. "The word of a King who is an honest man," replied Mirabeau, "is a bad security for the conduct of his ministers; our blind confidence in our kings has undone us: we demanded the withdrawal of the troops, and not permission to flee before them. We must insist again and again."

This opinion was not supported. Mirabeau insisted so strongly upon open means, that he may be forgiven any secret machinations, if it be true that he actually resorted to them.

The 11th of July had now arrived. Necker had several times told the King that if his services were not acceptable, he would retire with submission. "I take you at your word," replied the King. On the 11th, in the evening, Necker received a note in which Louis XVI. required him to keep his word, and urged him to set out, adding that he had sufficient confidence in him to hope that he would keep his departure a profound secret. Necker, justifying the honourable confidence of the monarch, set out without apprizing his friends or even his daughter, and in a few hours was at a considerable distance from Versailles. The following day, July 12th, was Sunday. A report was now circulated at Paris that Necker had been dismissed, as well as Messrs. de Montmorin, de la Luzerne, de Puisegur, and de St. Priest. As their successors, Messrs. de Breteuil, de la Vauguyon, de Broglie, Foulon, and Damécourt were mentioned, almost all known for their opposition to the popular cause, the alarm spread throughout Paris. The people hurried to the Palais Royal. A young man, since celebrated for his republican enthusiasm, endowed with a tender heart but an impetuous spirit, mounted a table, held up a pair of pistols, and shouting "To arms!" plucked a leaf from a tree, of which he made a cockade, and exhorted the crowd to follow his example. The trees were instantly stripped. The people then repaired to a museum containing busts in wax. They seized those of Necker and the Duc d'Orleans, who was threatened, it was said, with exile, and then spread themselves in the various quarters of Paris. This mob was passing through the Rue St. Honoré, when it was met, near the Place Vendôme, by a detachment of the Royal German regiment, which rushed upon it and wounded several persons, among whom was a soldier of the French guards. The latter, predisposed in favour of the people and against the Royal Germans, with whom they had a few days before had a quarrel, were in barracks near the Place Louis XV. They fired upon the Royal Germans. The Prince de Lambesc, who

commanded this regiment, instantly fell back upon the garden of the Tuileries, charged the people who were quietly walking there, killed an old man amidst the confusion, and cleared the garden. Meanwhile the troops surrounding Paris formed in the Champ de Mars and the Place Louis XV. Terror, before unbounded, was now changed into fury. People ran into the city, shouting "To arms!" The mob hurried to the Hôtel de Ville to demand weapons. The electors composing the General Assembly were there met. They delivered out the arms, which they could no longer refuse, and which, at the instant when they determined to grant them, the people had already begun to seize. These electors composed at the moment the only established authority. Deprived of all active powers, they assumed such as the occasion required, and ordered the districts to be convoked. All the citizens instantly assembled, to consult upon the means of protecting themselves at one and the same time against the rabble and the attack of the royal troops. During the night the populace, always ready for excitement, forced and burned the barriers, dispersed the gatekeepers, and afforded free access by all the avenues to the city. The gunsmiths' shops were plundered. Those brigands who had already signalized themselves at Reveillon's, and who on all occasions are seen springing up, as it were, out of the ground, again appeared armed with pikes and bludgeons, spreading consternation. These events took place on Sunday the 12th of July, and in the night between Sunday and Monday the 13th. On Monday morning the electors, still assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, thought it incumbent on them to give a more legal form to their authority: they accordingly summoned the attendance of the provost of the trades (*prévôt des marchands*), the ordinary administrator of the city. The latter refused to comply unless upon a formal requisition. A requisition was in consequence issued; a certain number of electors were appointed as his assistants, and thus was composed a municipality invested with all necessary powers. This municipality sent for the lieutenant of police, and drew up in a few hours a plan for arming the civic militia.

This militia was to consist of forty-eight thousand men, furnished by the districts. The distinctive sign was to be the Parisian cockade, red and blue, instead of the green cockade. Every man found in arms and wearing this cockade, without having been enrolled by his district in the civic guard, was to be apprehended, disarmed, and punished. Such was the primary origin of the national guards. This plan was adopted

by all the districts, which hastened to carry it into execution. In the course of the same morning the people had plundered the house of St. Lazare in search of grain; they had forced the armoury to obtain arms, and had rummaged out the ancient armour, and put it on. The rabble, wearing helmets and carrying pikes, were seen inundating the city. The populace now showed itself hostile to pillage; with its usual fickleness, it affected to be disinterested; it spared money, took nothing but arms, and itself apprehended the brigands. The French guards and the night-watch had offered their services, and they had been enrolled in the civic guard.

Arms were still demanded with loud shouts. Flesselles, the provost, who had at first resisted his fellow-citizens, now manifested great zeal, and promised twelve thousand muskets on that very day, and more on the following days. He pretended that he had made a contract with an unknown gunsmith. The thing appeared difficult, considering the short time that had elapsed. Meanwhile evening drew on; the chests of arms announced by Flesselles were carried to the Hôtel de Ville; they were opened, and found to be full of old linen. At this sight the multitude was fired with indignation against the provost, who declared that he had been deceived. To appease them, he directed them to go to the Carthusians, with the assurance that arms would there be found. The astonished Carthusians admitted the furious mob, conducted them into their retreat, and finally convinced them that they possessed nothing of the sort mentioned by the provost.

The rabble, more exasperated than ever, returned with shouts of "Treachery!" To satisfy them, orders were issued for the manufacture of fifty thousand pikes. Vessels with gunpowder were descending the Seine, on their way to Versailles; these were stopped, and an elector distributed the powder amidst the most imminent danger.

A tremendous confusion now prevailed at the Hôtel de Ville, the seat of the authorities, the headquarters of the militia, and the centre of all operations. It was necessary to provide at once for the safety of the town, which was threatened by the Court, and its internal safety, endangered by the brigands; it was requisite every moment to allay the suspicions of the people, who believed that they were betrayed, and to save from their fury those who excited their distrust. About this place were to be seen carriages stopped, waggons intercepted, travellers awaiting permission to proceed on their journey. During the night the Hôtel de Ville was once more menaced by the brigands. An elector, the courageous Moreau

de St. Mery, to whose care it had been committed, caused barrels of powder to be brought, and threatened to blow it up. At this sight the brigands retired. Meanwhile the citizens, who had gone to their homes, held themselves in readiness for every kind of attack: they had unpaved the streets, opened the trenches, and taken all possible measures for resisting a siege.

During these disturbances in the capital, consternation pervaded the Assembly. It had met on the morning of the 13th, alarmed by the events that were in preparation, and still ignorant of what was passing in Paris. Mounier, the deputy, first rose and censured the dismissal of the ministers. Lally-Tollendal, who took his place in the tribune, pronounced a splendid panegyric on Necker; and both joined in proposing an address for the purpose of soliciting the King to recall his disgraced ministers. M. de Virieu, a deputy of the nobility, even proposed to confirm the resolutions of the 17th of June by a new oath. M. de Clermont-Tonnerre opposed this motion as useless; and referring to the engagements by which the Assembly had already bound itself, he exclaimed, "The constitution shall be, or we will perish!" The discussion had lasted some time, when news arrived of the disturbances in Paris during the morning of the 13th, and the calamities with which the capital was threatened, between undisciplined Frenchmen, who, according to the expression of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, were not in any one's hand, and disciplined foreigners, who were in the hand of despotism. It was instantly resolved to send a deputation to the King, for the purpose of submitting to him a picture of the desolation of the capital, and beseeching him to order the removal of the troops, and the establishment of the civic guards. The King returned a cold, dry answer, which was far from according with his disposition, and alleged that Paris was not capable of guarding itself. The Assembly then, exalting itself to the noblest courage, passed a memorable resolution, in which it insisted on the removal of the troops, and the establishment of civic guards; declared the ministers and all the agents of power responsible; threw upon the counsellors of the King, *of whatever rank* they might be, the responsibility of the calamities that were impending; consolidated the public debt; forbade the mention of the infamous term bankruptcy; persisted in its preceding resolutions, and directed the president to express its regret to M. Necker and to the other ministers. After these measures, fraught alike with energy and prudence, the Assembly, in order to preserve its

members from all personal violence, declared itself permanent, and appointed M. de Lafayette vice-president, to relieve the worthy Archbishop of Vienne, whose age did not permit him to sit day and night.

Thus passed the night between the 13th and 14th in agitation and alarm. Fearful tidings were every moment brought and contradicted. All the plans of the Court were not known; but it was ascertained that several deputies were threatened, and that violence was to be employed against Paris and the most distinguished members of the Assembly. Having adjourned for a short time, the Assembly again met at five in the morning of the 14th of July: with imposing calmness it resumed the consideration of the constitution, and discussed with great propriety the means of accelerating its execution, and of conducting it with prudence. A committee was appointed to prepare the questions; it was composed of the Bishop of Autun, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Messrs. Lally, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, Sièyes, Chapelier, and Bergasse. The morning passed away. Intelligence more and more alarming continued to arrive. The King, it was said, was to set off in the night, and the Assembly would be left exposed to several foreign regiments. At this moment the princes, the Duchesse de Polignac, and the Queen were seen walking in the orangery, flattering the officers and the soldiers, and causing refreshments to be distributed among them. It appears that a grand plan had been devised for the night between the 14th and 15th: that Paris was to be attacked on seven points, the Palais Royal surrounded, the Assembly dissolved, the declaration of the 23rd of June submitted to the parliament, and finally, that the wants of the exchequer were to be supplied by bankruptcy and paper-money. So much is certain, that the commandants of the troops had received orders to advance in the night between the 14th and 15th, that the paper-money had been prepared, that the barracks of the Swiss were full of ammunition, and that the governor of the Bastille had disfurnished the fortress, with the exception of some indispensable articles. In the afternoon the terrors of the Assembly redoubled. The Prince de Lambesc was seen passing at full gallop. The report of cannon was heard, and people clapped their ears to the ground to catch the slightest sounds. Mirabeau then proposed to suspend the discussions, and to send another deputation to the King. The deputation set out immediately to make fresh remonstrances. At this moment two members of the Assembly, who had come from Paris in the utmost haste, declared that the people there were slaughtering one another; one of them affirmed that he had seen the headless body of a

man dressed in black. It began to grow dark. The arrival of two electors was announced. The most profound silence pervaded the hall; the sound of their footfalls was heard amid the darkness; and the Assembly learned from their lips that the Bastille was attacked, that cannon had been fired, that blood had been spilt, and that the city was threatened with the direst calamities. A fresh deputation was instantly despatched before the return of the preceding one. Just as it was about to depart, the first arrived, and brought the answer of the King. It reported that the King had ordered the troops encamped in the Champ de Mars to be withdrawn, and having been apprised of the formation of the civic guard, had appointed officers to command it.

On the arrival of the second deputation, the King, more agitated than ever, said, "Gentlemen, you rend my heart more and more by the account you give me of the calamities of Paris. It is not possible that the orders given to the troops can be the cause of them." Nothing had yet been obtained but the removal of the army. It was now two in the morning. The answer returned to the city of Paris was, "that two deputations had been sent, and that the applications should be renewed that day, until they had obtained the success which might justly be expected from the heart of the King when extraneous impressions did not counteract its impulses." The sitting was suspended for a short time, and in the evening intelligence of the events of the 14th arrived.

The populace ever since the night of the 13th had thronged about the Bastille. Some musket-shots had been fired, and it appears that ringleaders had repeatedly shouted "To the Bastille!" The wish for its destruction had been expressed in the instructions given to some of the deputies; thus the ideas of the public had beforehand taken that direction. A cry for arms was still kept up. A report was spread that the Hôtel des Invalides contained a considerable quantity. The mob instantly repaired thither. M. de Sombreuil, the governor, ordered admittance to be denied, saying, that he must send for orders to Versailles. The populace, turning a deaf ear to all expostulation, rushed into the hotel, and carried off the cannon and a great quantity of muskets. A large concourse of people were already besieging the Bastille. They declared that the guns of the fortress were pointed at the city, and that they must take care to prevent their firing upon them. The deputy of a district solicited admission into the place, and obtained it of the commandant. In going over it, he found thirty-two Swiss and eighty-two invalids, and received a promise from the

garrison not to fire unless it should be attacked. During this parley, the people, not seeing the deputy return, began to be exasperated, and the latter was obliged to show himself, in order to appease the multitude. At length he retired about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. Half-an-hour had scarcely elapsed before a fresh mob arrived with arms, shouting "Let us storm the Bastille!" The garrison summoned the assailants to retire, but they persisted. Two men, with great intrepidity, mounted the roof of the guard-house, and broke with axes the chains of the bridge, which fell down. The rabble rushed upon it, and ran to a second bridge, purposing to pass it in like manner. At this moment a discharge of musketry brought it to a stand; it fell back, but firing at the same time. The conflict lasted for a few moments. The electors, assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, hearing the report of musketry, became more and more alarmed, and sent two deputations, one on the heels of the other, to require the commandant to admit into the fortress a detachment of the Paris militia, on the ground that all the military force in the capital ought to be at the disposal of the city authorities. These two deputations arrived in succession. Amidst this siege by the populace, it was with great difficulty that they could make themselves heard. The sound of the drum, the sight of a flag, for a time suspended the firing. The deputies advanced; the garrison awaited them; but it was difficult to understand each other. Musket-shots were fired from some unknown quarter. The mob, persuaded that it was betrayed, then rushed forward to set fire to the building; on this the garrison fired with grape. The French guards thereupon came up with cannon, and commenced an attack in form.*

During these proceedings a note addressed by the Baron de Besenval to de Launay, governor of the Bastille, was intercepted and read at the Hôtel de Ville. Besenval exhorted de Launay to resist, assuring him that he should soon receive succour. It was, in fact, in the evening of that day that the plans of the Court were to be carried into execution. Meanwhile de Launay, seeing the desperation of the mob, and no succours having arrived, seized a lighted match with the intention of blowing up the fortress. The garrison opposed it, and obliged him to surrender: the signals were made, and a bridge lowered. The besiegers approached, promising not to do any mischief. The crowd, however, rushed in, and took possession of all the courts. The Swiss found means to escape. The invalids, attacked by the populace, were saved from their fury solely by the zealous interference of the French guards. At

* *See* Appendix H.

this moment a female, beautiful, young, and trembling, came forward; she was supposed to be the daughter of de Launay; she was seized and about to be burned, when a brave soldier rushed to the spot, wrested her from the hands of the enraged rabble, conducted her to a place of safety, and hurried back to the affray.

It was now half-past five o'clock. The electors were in the most painful anxiety, when they heard a dull and continuous murmur. A crowd approached, shouting "Victory!" They poured into the hall: a French guardsman, covered with wounds and crowned with laurels, was borne in triumph by the mob. The regulations and the keys of the Bastille were carried on the point of a bayonet: a bloody hand raised above the mob exhibited a bunch of hair; it was the queue of de Launay, the governor, whose head had just been stricken off. Two French guards, Elie and Hullin, had defended him to the last extremity. Other victims had fallen, though heroically defended against the ferocity of the mob. A strong animosity began to be expressed against Flesselles, the provost of the trades; he was accused of treason. It was alleged that he had deceived the people by repeatedly promising them arms which he never meant to give them. The hall was soon full of men heated with a long combat, and backed by a hundred thousand more outside the hotel, all eager to enter in their turn. The electors strove to justify Flesselles to the mob. His assurance began to forsake him, and already quite pale, he exclaimed, "Since I am suspected I will retire." "No," was the reply made to him; "come to the Palais Royal to be tried." Accordingly he descended to repair thither. The agitated multitude surrounded and pressed upon him. On reaching the Quai Pelletier, he was struck to the ground by a pistol-shot, fired by a person unknown. It is asserted that a letter had been found upon de Launay, in which Flesselles thus wrote to him: "Hold out while I amuse the Parisians with cockades."

Such were the disastrous events of that day. A feeling of terror speedily followed the intoxication of victory. The conquerors of the Bastille, astonished at their audacity, and expecting to find the hand of authority formidable on the following day, durst not make themselves known. Every moment rumours were spread that the troops were approaching to storm Paris. Moreau de St. Mery, the same person who on the preceding day had threatened the brigands to blow up the Hôtel de Ville, remained unshaken, and issued upwards of three thousand orders in a few hours. As soon as the capture of the Bastille was known at the Hôtel de Ville, the electors had sent

the intelligence to the Assembly, which received it about midnight. The sitting was suspended, and the tidings spread with rapidity. The Court, up to this moment conceiving no notion of the energy of the people, laughing at the efforts of a blind rabble to take a fortress which the great Condé had besieged in vain, was calmly cracking its jokes on the subject. The King nevertheless began to be uneasy; his last answers had betrayed his grief. He had retired to bed. The Duc de Liancourt, so well known for his generous sentiments, was the particular friend of Louis XVI., and by virtue of his office of grand-master of the wardrobe, he always had access to the King. On learning the occurrences in Paris, he repaired in all haste to the apartment of the monarch, awoke him in spite of the ministers, and informed him of what had happened. "What rebellion!" exclaimed the Prince. "Sire," replied the Duke, "rather say revolution." The King, enlightened by his representations, consented to go the next morning to the Assembly. The Court yielded also, and this act of confidence was resolved upon. During this interval the Assembly had resumed its sitting. Unacquainted with the new dispositions imparted to the King, it determined to send a last deputation, to try to move him, and to obtain from him what he had not yet been prevailed upon to grant. This deputation was the fifth since the commencement of those calamitous events. It was composed of twenty-four members, and was just setting out when Mirabeau, more vehement than ever, stopped it. "Tell the King," cried he, "be sure to tell him, that the foreign hordes by which we are invested were yesterday invited by the princes, the princesses, the he-favourites, and the she-favourites, and received their caresses, and their exhortations, and their presents. Tell him that the livelong night these foreign satellites, gorged with money and with wine, have been predicting in their impious songs the subjugation of France, and that their brutal wishes invoked the destruction of the National Assembly. Tell him that in his very palace the courtiers mingled with their dances the sound of that barbarous music, and that such was the prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Tell him that that Henry whose memory the whole world blesses, that one of his ancestors whom he meant to take for his pattern, allowed provisions to be conveyed into rebellious Paris, which he was besieging in person; whereas his ferocious counsellors are turning back the flour that commerce is sending to faithful and famished Paris."

The deputation was just about to proceed to the King, when news arrived that he was coming, of his own accord, without

guards and without escort. The hall rang with applause. "Wait," cried Mirabeau gravely, "till the King has made us acquainted with his good dispositions. Let a sullen respect be the first welcome paid to the monarch in this moment of grief. The silence of nations is a lesson for kings."

Louis XVI. then entered, accompanied by his two brothers. His simple and touching address excited the warmest enthusiasm. He spoke cheeringly to the Assembly, which he called for the first time the National Assembly. He mildly complained of the suspicions that had been conceived of him. "You have been afraid of me," said he; "now, for my part, I put my trust in you." These words were hailed with applause. The deputies immediately rose, surrounded the monarch, and escorted him back on foot to the palace. The throng pressed around him; tears started from every eye; and he could scarcely open himself a passage through this numerous retinue. The Queen, stationed at that moment with the Court in a balcony, contemplated from a distance this affecting scene. Her son was in her arms; her daughter, standing beside her, was sportively playing with her brother's hair. The princess, deeply moved, appeared to be delighted by this expression of the love of the French. Ah! how often has a reciprocal emotion reconciled hearts during these fatal dissensions! For a moment all seemed to be forgotten; but on the morrow, nay, perhaps the very same day, the Court had resumed its pride, the people their distrust, and implacable hatred recommenced its course.

Peace was made with the Assembly; but it had yet to be made with Paris. The Assembly first sent a deputation to the Hôtel de Ville to convey the tidings of the happy reconciliation brought about with the King. Bailly, Lafayette, and Lally-Tollendal were among its members. Their presence diffused the liveliest joy. The speech of Lally excited such transport that he was carried in triumph to a window of the Hôtel de Ville to be shown to the people. A wreath of flowers was placed on his head, and these honours were paid him facing the very spot where his father expired with a gag in his mouth. The death of the unfortunate Flesselles, the head of the municipality, and the refusal of the Duc d'Aumont to accept the command of the civic militia, left the appointments of provost and commandant-general to be filled up. Bailly was proposed, and amidst the loudest acclamations he was nominated successor to Flesselles, with the title of mayor of Paris. The wreath which had been placed on the head of Lally was transferred to that of the new mayor. He would have taken it off, but the Archbishop of Paris held it where it was, in opposition to his

wishes. The virtuous old man could not repress his tears, and he resigned himself to his new functions. A worthy representative of a great assembly, in presence of the majesty of a throne, he was less capable of withstanding the storms of a commonalty, where the multitude struggled tumultuously against its magistrates. With exemplary self-denial, however, he prepared to undertake the difficult task of providing subsistence, and feeding a populace who repaid him in the sequel with such base ingratitude. A commandant of the militia yet remained to be appointed. There was in the hall a bust sent by enfranchised America to the city of Paris: Moreau de St. Mery pointed to it with his finger; all eyes were directed towards it. It was the bust of the Marquis de Lafayette. A general cry proclaimed him commandant. A *Te Deum* was instantly voted, and the Assembly proceeded in a body to Notre-Dame. The new magistrates, the Archbishop of Paris, the electors, mingled with French guards and soldiers of the militia, walking arm-in-arm, repaired to the ancient cathedral, in a species of intoxication. By the way, the Foundlings threw themselves at the feet of Bailly, who had laboured zealously in behalf of the hospitals, and called him their father. Bailly clasped them in his arms, and called them his children. On reaching the church the ceremony was performed, and the congregation then dispersed in the city, where a delirious joy had succeeded the terrors of the preceding day. At this moment the people were flocking to see the den so long dreaded, to which there was now free access. They visited the Bastille with an eager curiosity, and with a sort of terror. They sought for the instruments of torture, for the deep dungeons. They went thither more particularly to see an enormous stone placed in the middle of a dark and damp prison, to the centre of which was fixed a ponderous chain.

The Court, as blind in its apprehensions as it had been in its confidence, felt such a dread of the populace, that it imagined every moment that a Parisian army was marching to Versailles. The Comte d'Artois, and the Polignac family, so dear to the Queen, quitted France at that time, and were the first emigrants. Bailly came to cheer the King, and persuaded him to return to Paris, which he resolved to do, in spite of the resistance of the Queen and the Court.*

* "The day of the King's entry into Paris was the first of the emigration of the noblesse. The violent aristocratic party, finding all their coercive measures overturned, and dreading the effects of popular resentment, left the kingdom. The Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conti, Marshal Broglie, and the whole family of the Polignacs, set off in haste, and arrived in safety at Brussels—a fatal example of defection, which, being speedily followed by the

The King prepared to set out. Two hundred deputies were directed to accompany him. The Queen took leave of him with profound grief. The bodyguard escorted him to Sèvres, where they stopped to await his return. Bailly, at the head of the municipality, received him at the gates of Paris, and presented to him the keys formerly offered to Henry IV. "That good King," said Bailly to him, "had conquered his people; at present it is the people who have reconquered their King." The nation, legislating at Versailles, was armed at Paris. Louis XVI., on entering, found himself surrounded by a silent multitude arrayed in military order. He arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, passing under an arch of swords crossed over his head as a mark of honour. His address was simple and touching. The people, unable to contain themselves, at length burst forth and lavished upon the King their accustomed applause. These acclamations somewhat soothed the heart of the Prince; nevertheless he could not disguise a feeling of joy on perceiving the bodyguard stationed on the heights of Sèvres; and at his return, the Queen, throwing herself into his arms, embraced him as though she had been afraid that she should never see him again.

Louis XVI., in order to satisfy completely the public wish, ordered the dismissal of the new ministers, and the reinstatement of Necker. M. de Liancourt, the friend of the King, and his most useful adviser, was elected president by the Assembly. The noble deputies, who, though they attended the deliberations, still refused to take any part in them, at length yielded and gave their votes. Thus was consummated the amalgamation of the orders. From that moment the Revolution might be looked upon as accomplished. The nation, possessed of the legislative power through the Assembly, and of the public force through itself, could henceforward carry into effect whatever was beneficial to its interest. It was by refusing the equality of imposts that the government had rendered the States-general necessary; it was by refusing a just division of authority among those States that it had lost all influence over them; finally, it was in attempting to recover that influence that it had driven Paris to insurrection, and provoked the whole nation to appropriate to itself the public force.

At this moment all was agitation in that immense capital,

inferior nobility, produced the most disastrous consequences. But it was the same in all the subsequent changes of the Revolution. The leaders of the royalist party, always the first to propose violent measures, were at the same time unable to support them when furiously opposed. They diminished the sympathy of the world at their fall from so high a rank, by showing that they were unworthy of it."—*Alison's French Revolution.*

where a new authority had just been established. The same movement which had impelled the electors to set themselves in action, urged all classes to do the same. The Assembly had been imitated by the Hôtel de Ville, the Hôtel de Ville by the districts, and the districts by all the corporations. Tailors, shoemakers, bakers, domestic servants, meeting at the Louvre, in the Place Louis XV., in the Champs Elysées, deliberated in form, notwithstanding the repeated prohibitions of the municipality. Amidst these contrary movements, the Hôtel de Ville, opposed by the districts, and annoyed by the Palais Royal, was encompassed with obstacles, and was scarcely adequate to the duties of its immense administration. It combined in itself alone the civil, judicial, and military authority. The headquarters of the militia were established there. The judges, at first uncertain respecting their powers, sent thither accused persons. It possessed even the legislative power, for it was charged to form a constitution for itself. For this purpose Bailly had demanded two commissioners for each district, who, by the name of representatives of the commune, were to draw up its constitution. The electors, in order that they might be able to attend to all these duties, had divided themselves into several committees. One, called the committee of research, superintended the police; another, called the committee of subsistence, directed its attention to the supply of provisions—the most difficult and dangerous task of all. It was in the latter that Bailly was obliged himself to labour night and day. It was necessary to make continual purchases of corn, then to get it ground, and afterwards carry it to Paris through the famished country. The convoys were frequently stopped, and it required numerous detachments to prevent pillage by the way and in the markets. Though the State sold corn at a loss that the bakers might keep down the price of bread, the multitude was not satisfied: it was found expedient to reduce the price still more; and the dearth of Paris was increased by this very diminution, because the country people flocked thither to supply themselves. Fears for the morrow caused all who could to lay in an abundant stock, and thus what was accumulated in some hands left nothing for others. It is confidence that accelerates the operations of commerce, that produces an abundant supply of articles of consumption, and that renders their distribution equal and easy. But when confidence disappears, commercial activity ceases; articles of consumption no longer arriving in sufficient quantity to meet the wants, those wants become importunate, add confusion to dearth, and prevent the proper distribution of

the little that is left. The supply of subsistence was therefore the most arduous duty of all. Bailly and the committee were a prey to painful anxieties. The whole labour of the day scarcely sufficed for the wants of the day, and they had to begin again on the morrow with the same perplexities.

Lafayette, commandant of the civic militia, had as many troubles to encounter as Bailly. He had incorporated into this militia the French guards, devoted to the cause of the Revolution, a certain number of Swiss, and a great quantity of soldiers who had deserted from their regiments in the hope of higher pay. The King had himself authorized this proceeding. These troops, collectively, formed what were called the companies of the centre. The militia assumed the name of the national guard, adopted a uniform, and added to the two colours of the Parisian cockade, red and blue, the white colour, which was that of the King. This was the tricoloured cockade, whose destinies Lafayette predicted when he declared that it would make the tour of the world.

It was at the head of these troops that Lafayette strove for two consecutive years to maintain the public tranquillity, and to enforce the execution of the laws which the Assembly daily enacted. Lafayette, the offspring of an ancient family which had remained uncontaminated amidst the corruption of the great, endowed with a firm and upright mind, and fond of true glory, had become weary of the frivolities of the Court, and of the pedantic discipline of our armies. As his own country offered nothing noble to be attempted, he decided in favour of the most generous enterprise of the age, and embarked for America, the day after that on which a report reached Europe that it was subdued. He there fought by the side of Washington, and decided the enfranchisement of the New World by the alliance of France. Returning to his own country with a European renown, welcomed at Court as a novelty, he showed himself there, simple and free as an American. When philosophy, which had been but a pastime for noble idlers, required sacrifices from them, Lafayette persisted almost alone in his opinions, demanded the States-general, contributed powerfully to the junction of the orders, and by way of recompense was appointed commandant-general of the national guard. Lafayette had not the passions and the genius which frequently lead to the abuse of power: with an equable mind, a sound understanding, and a system of invariable disinterestedness, he was peculiarly fitted for the part which circumstances had allotted to him—that of superintending the execution of the laws. Adored by his troops, though he had

not captivated them by victory, ever calm and full of resources, amidst the ebullitions of the multitude he preserved order with indefatigable vigilance. The parties which had found him incorruptible, depreciated his abilities because they could not attack his character. He formed, however, no false estimate of men and events, appreciated the Court and the party leaders at no more than their real value, and protected them at the peril of his life without esteeming them; struggled, frequently without hope, against the factions, but with the perseverance of a man who is determined never to forsake the public weal, even when he deems it hopeless.

Lafayette, notwithstanding his indefatigable vigilance, was not always successful in his endeavours to check the popular fury. For let a force be ever so active, it cannot show itself everywhere against a populace that is everywhere in agitation, and looks upon every man as an enemy. Every moment the most absurd reports were circulated and credited. Sometimes it was said that the soldiers of the French guards had been poisoned; at others, that the flour had been wilfully adulterated, or that its arrival had been prevented; and those who took the greatest pains to bring it to the capital were obliged to appear before an ignorant mob, who overwhelmed them with abuse or covered them with applause, according to the humour of the moment. Whether it was, however, that men were paid for aggravating the disturbances by instigating the rabble, or that they had still more detestable motives, so much is certain, that they directed the fury of the people, who knew not either how to select or to seek long for their victims. Foulon and Berthier were pursued and apprehended at a distance from Paris. This was done with evident design. There was nothing spontaneous in the proceedings, except the fury of the mob by whom they were murdered. Foulon, formerly an intendant, a harsh and rapacious man, had committed horrible extortions, and had been one of the ministers appointed to succeed Necker and his colleagues. He was apprehended at Virey, though he had spread a report of his death. He was conveyed to Paris, and reproached by the way with having said that the people ought to be made to eat hay. A collar of nettles was put round his neck, a bunch of thistles in his hand, and a truss of hay at his back. In this state he was dragged to the Hôtel de Ville. At the same instant his son-in-law, Berthier de Sauvigny, was apprehended at Compiègne, by an order, as it was alleged, of the commune of Paris, which had never issued any such order. The commune instantly wrote directing that he should be released; but this injunction was not executed. He was



LAFAYETTE

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brought to Paris at the very moment that Foulon was exposed at the Hôtel de Ville to the rage of the furious rabble. They were for putting him to death. The remonstrance of Lafayette had pacified them for a moment, and they consented that Foulon should be tried; but they insisted that sentence should be passed forthwith, that they might be gratified by its immediate execution. Some electors had been chosen to act as judges; but they had on various pretexts refused the terrible office. At length Bailly and Lafayette were designated for it; and they were already reduced to the cruel extremity of devoting themselves to the rage of the populace, or sacrificing a victim. Lafayette, however, continued to temporize with great art and firmness: he had several times addressed the crowd with success. The unfortunate Foulon, placed on a seat by his side, had the imprudence to applaud his concluding words. "Look you," said a bystander, "how they play into each other's hands." At this expression the crowd became agitated, and rushed upon Foulon. Lafayette made incredible efforts to save him from the murderers. Again the unfortunate old man was dragged from him, and hanged to a lamp. His head was cut off, stuck on a pike, and paraded through Paris. At this moment Berthier arrived in a cabriolet, escorted by guards, and followed by the multitude. The bleeding head was shown to him, without his suspecting that it was the head of his father-in-law. He was conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where he uttered a few words full of courage and indignation. Seized anew by the mob, he disengaged himself for a moment, snatched a weapon, made a desperate defence, and soon perished like the unhappy Foulon. These murders had been conducted by enemies either to Foulon or the public welfare; for the apprehension of the victims was the result of contrivance, though the fury of the rabble at sight of them had been spontaneous, like most of its movements. Lafayette, full of grief and indignation, resolved to resign. Bailly and the municipality, alarmed at this intention, were anxious to divert him from it. It was then agreed that he should announce his resignation, to show his dissatisfaction with the people, but that he should suffer himself to be persuaded to retain his command by the entreaties that would not fail to be addressed to him. The people and the militia did actually throng around him and promised the utmost obedience in future. On this condition he resumed the command; and subsequently he had the satisfaction of preventing many disturbances by his own energy and the zeal of his troops.

Meanwhile Necker had received at Basle the commands of the King and the solicitations of the Assembly. It was the

Polignacs, whom he had left triumphant at Versailles, and whom he encountered as fugitives at Basle, that first apprized him of the misfortunes of the throne, and the sudden return to favour that awaited him. He set out and traversed France, drawn in triumph by the people, to whom, according to his custom, he recommended peace and good order. Though an enemy of the Baron de Besenval, he went to his succour, and promised to demand his pardon from the Parisians. The King received him with embarrassment, the Assembly with enthusiasm; and he resolved to proceed to Paris, where he, too, might expect to have his day of triumph. Necker's intention was to solicit of the electors the pardon and liberation of the Baron de Besenval. In vain did Bailly, not less an enemy than himself to rigorous measures, but a more just appreciator of circumstances, represent to him the danger of such a step, and observe that this favour, obtained in a moment of excitement, would be revoked next day as illegal, because an administrative body could neither condemn nor pardon; Necker persisted, and made a trial of his influence over the capital. He repaired to the Hôtel de Ville on the 29th of July. His hopes were surpassed, and he could not help believing himself omnipotent on beholding the transports of the multitude. Deeply affected, his eyes filled with tears, he demanded a general amnesty, which was instantly granted by acclamation. The two Assemblies of the electors and representatives manifested equal enthusiasm: the electors decreed a general amnesty; the representatives of the commune ordered the liberation of Besenval. Necker retired intoxicated, taking to himself the plaudits that were addressed to his dismissal from office. But that very day he was destined to be undeceived. Mirabeau prepared for him a cruel reverse. In the Assembly, in the districts, a general outcry was raised against the sensibility of the minister, very excusable, it was said, but mistaken. The district of the Oratoire, instigated, as we are assured, by Mirabeau, was the first to find fault. It was maintained on all sides that an administrative body could neither condemn nor absolve. The illegal measure of the Hôtel de Ville was annulled, and the detention of the Baron de Besenval confirmed. So soon was verified the opinion of the sagacious Bailly, which Necker could not be persuaded to follow.

At this moment parties began to speak out more decidedly. The parliaments, the nobility, the clergy, the Court, all threatened with the same ruin, had united their interests, and acted in concert. Neither the Comte d'Artois nor the Polignacs were any longer at the Court. Consternation, mingled with

despair, pervaded the aristocracy. Having been unable to prevent what it termed the evil, it was now desirous that the people should commit as much evil as possible, in order to bring about good by the very excess of that evil. This system, compounded of spite and perfidy, which is called "political pessimism," begins among parties as soon as they have suffered sufficient losses to make them renounce what they have left, in the hope of regaining the whole. The aristocracy began from this time to adopt this system, and it was frequently seen voting with the most violent members of the popular party.

Circumstances draw forth men. The danger which threatened the nobility produced a champion for it. Young Cazalés, captain in the Queen's dragoons, had found in himself an unlooked-for energy of mind and facility of expression. Precise and simple, he said promptly and suitably what he had to say; and it is to be regretted that his upright mind was devoted to a cause which had no valid reasons to urge till it had been persecuted. The clergy had found its defender in the Abbé Maury. That abbé, a practised and inexhaustible sophist, had many happy sallies and great coolness: he could courageously withstand tumult, and audaciously oppose evidence. Such were the means and the dispositions of the aristocracy.

The ministry was without views and without plans. Necker, hated by the Court, which endured him from compulsion—Necker alone had not a plan but a wish. He had always a longing after the English constitution—the best, no doubt, that can be adopted—as an accommodation between the throne, the aristocracy, and the people; but this constitution, proposed by the Bishop of Langres before the establishment of a single assembly, and refused by the first orders, had become impracticable. The high nobility would not admit of two chambers, because that would be a compromise; the inferior nobility, because it could not have access to the upper chamber; the popular party, because, still filled with apprehensions of the aristocracy, it was unwilling to leave any influence to the latter. A few deputies only, some from moderation, others because that idea was their own, wished for English institutions, and formed the whole party of the minister—a weak party, because it held forth only conciliatory views to exasperated passions, and opposed to its adversaries arguments alone, without any means of action.

The popular party began to disagree, because it began to conquer. Lally-Tollendal, Mounier, Malouet, and other partisans of Necker, approved of all that had been done thus far, because

all that had been done had brought over the government to their ideas, that is to say, to the English constitution. They now judged that this was sufficient: reconciled with power, they wished to stop there. The popular party, on the contrary, conceived that it was not yet time to stop. It was in the Breton club that the question was discussed with the greatest vehemence. A sincere conviction was the motive of the majority; personal pretensions began nevertheless to manifest themselves, and the movements of private interest to succeed the first flights of patriotism. Barnave, a young advocate of Grenoble, endowed with a clear and ready mind, and possessing in the highest degree the talents requisite for a good speaker, formed with the two Lameths a triumvirate, which interested by its youth, and soon influenced by its activity and its abilities. Duport, the young councillor to the parliament, whom we have already seen distinguishing himself, belonged to their association. It was said at the time, that Duport conceived all that ought to be done, that Barnave expressed it, and that the Lameths executed it. However, these young deputies were the friends of one another, without being yet declared enemies to any one.

The most courageous of the popular leaders, he who, ever in the van, opened the boldest discussions, was Mirabeau. The absurd institutions of the old monarchy had shocked just minds, and excited the indignation of upright hearts; but it was impossible that they should not have galled some ardent spirit, and inflamed strong passions. This spirit was that of Mirabeau, who, encountering from his birth every kind of tyranny—that of his father, of the government, and of the tribunals—spent his youth in combating and in hating them. He was born beneath the sun of Provence, the offspring of a noble family. He had early made himself notorious by his dissolute manners, his quarrels, and an impetuous eloquence. His travels, observation, and immense reading had taught him much, and his memory had retained it all. But extravagant, eccentric, nay even a sophist, without the aid of passion, he became by its aid quite a different man. No sooner was he excited by the tribune and the presence of his opponents than his mind took fire: his first ideas were confused, his words incoherent, his whole frame agitated; but presently the light burst forth. His mind then performed in a moment the labour of years; and in the very tribune all was to him new discovery, sudden and energetic expression. If again crossed, he returned still more forcible and more clear, and presented the truth in images either striking or terrible. Were the circumstances difficult,

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were minds fatigued by a long discussion, or intimidated by danger, an ejaculation, a decisive word dropped from his lips, his countenance looking terrific with ugliness and genius, and the Assembly, enlightened or encouraged, enacted laws or passed magnanimous resolutions.

Proud of his high qualities, jesting over his vices, by turns haughty or supple, he won some by his flattery, awed others by his sarcasms, and led all in his train by the extraordinary influence which he possessed. His party was everywhere: among the people, in the Assembly, in the very Court, with all those, in short, to whom he was at the moment addressing himself. Mingling familiarly with men just when it was requisite to do so, he had applauded the rising talent of Barnave, though he disliked his young friends; he appreciated the profound understanding of Sièyes, and humoured his wild disposition; he dreaded too pure a life in Lafayette; in Necker he detested an extreme rigour, the pride of reason, and the pretension of directing a revolution which he knew to be attributable to him; he was not friendly to the Duc d'Orleans and his unsteady ambition, and, as we shall soon see, he never had any interest in common with him. Thus, unaided except by his genius, he attacked despotism, which he had sworn to destroy. If, however, he was a foe to the vanities of monarchy, he was still more adverse to the ostracism of republics; but not being sufficiently revenged on the great and on power, he still continued to destroy. Harassed, moreover, by straitened circumstances, dissatisfied with the present, he was advancing towards an unknown future: by his talents, his ambition, his vices, his pecuniary embarrassments, he gave rise to all sorts of conjectures; and by his cynical language he authorized all suspicions and calumnies.

Thus were France and the parties divided. The first differences between the popular deputies arose on occasion of the excesses committed by the multitude. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal proposed a solemn proclamation to the people, to reprobate their outrages. The Assembly, sensible of the uselessness of this measure, and the necessity for preserving the goodwill of the populace who had supported it, at first rejected this proposal; but afterwards, yielding to the solicitations of some of its members, it at length issued a proclamation, which proved, as it had been foreseen, utterly useless, for it is not by words that an excited populace can be pacified.

The agitation was general. A sudden terror had spread itself everywhere. The name of those brigands who had been seen starting up in the different commotions was in all mouths,

and their image in all minds. The Court threw the blame of their outrages on the popular party, and the popular party on the Court. All at once couriers, traversing France in all directions, brought tidings that the brigands were coming, and that they were cutting the corn before it was ripe. People assembled from all quarters, and in a few days all France was in arms, awaiting the brigands, who never made their appearance. This stratagem, which extended the revolution of the 14th of July to every part of the kingdom, by causing the whole nation to take up arms, was attributed to all the parties, and has since been imputed to the popular party, which benefited by its results. It is surprising that a stratagem, more ingenious than culpable, should be bandied about from one to the other. It has been ascribed to Mirabeau, who boasted of being its author, and who nevertheless has disavowed it. It was not unlike a contrivance by Sièyes; and some have imagined that it was he who suggested it to the Duke of Orleans. Lastly, it was imputed by others to the Court. Such persons argue that those couriers would have been apprehended at every step had they not been authorized by the government; that the Court, never having supposed the revolution to be general, and looking upon it as a mere riot of the Parisians, wished to arm the provinces for the purpose of opposing them to the capital. Be this as it may, the expedient proved beneficial to the nation, by arming and enabling it to protect itself and its rights.

The people of the towns had shaken off their fetters; the country people also determined to shake off theirs. They refused to pay the feudal dues; they attacked such of the landholders as had oppressed them; they set fire to their mansions, burned their title-deeds, and in some parts of the country committed atrocious acts of revenge. A deplorable accident had greatly contributed to excite this universal effervescence. A sieur de Mesmai, seigneur of Quincey, gave an entertainment in the grounds about his mansion. All the country people were assembled there, and indulging in various amusements, when a barrel of gunpowder, suddenly taking fire, produced a murderous explosion. This accident, since ascertained to have been the effect of imprudence, and not of design, was imputed as a crime to the sieur de Mesmai. The report of it soon spread, and everywhere provoked the barbarity of those peasants, hardened by misery, and rendered cruel by long sufferings. The ministers came in a body to submit to the Assembly a picture of the deplorable state of France, and to demand from it the means of restoring order.

These disasters of all kinds had occurred since the 14th of July. The month of August was beginning, and it became indispensable to re-establish the action of the government and of the laws. But to attempt this with success, it was necessary to commence the regeneration of the State with the reform of the institutions which were most obnoxious to the people, and had the greatest tendency to excite them to insurrection. One part of the nation, subject to the other, was burdened with a number of what were termed feudal dues. Some, called useful, compelled the peasants to make ruinous advances; others, named honorary, required them to pay humiliating marks of respect and services to their lords. These were relics of the feudal barbarism, the abolition of which was due to humanity. These privileges, considered as property, and even called so by the King in the declaration of the 23rd of June, could not be abolished by a discussion. It was requisite by a sudden movement to excite the possessors to resign them of their own accord.

The Assembly was then discussing the famous declaration of the rights of man. It had at first been debated whether there should be such a declaration or not, and it had been decided, on the morning of the 4th of August, that it should be made, and placed at the head of the constitution. In the evening of the same day the committee made its report on the disturbances and the means of putting an end to them. The Vicomte de Noailles and the Duc d'Aiguillon, both members of the nobility, then ascended the tribune, and represented that it would be silly to employ force to quiet the people; that the right way would be to destroy the cause of their sufferings, and then the agitation which was the effect of them would instantly cease. Explaining themselves more fully, they proposed to abolish all the vexatious rights which by the name of feudal rights oppressed the country people. M. Leguen de Kerengal, a landholder of Bretagne, appeared in the tribune in the dress of a farmer, and drew a frightful picture of the feudal system. Presently the generosity of some was excited and the pride of others wrought upon to such a degree as to produce a sudden paroxysm of disinterestedness: every one hurried to the tribune to renounce his privileges. The nobility set the first example, which was as cheerfully followed by the clergy. A sort of intoxication seized the Assembly. Setting aside a superfluous discussion, and which certainly was not required to demonstrate the justice of such sacrifices, all orders, all classes, all the possessors of prerogatives of every kind, hastened to renounce them. After the deputies of the first

orders, those of the commons came also to offer their sacrifices. Having no personal privileges to give up, they relinquished those of the provinces and the towns. The equality of rights established between individuals was thus established also between all the parts of the French territory. Some offered pensions, and a member of the parliament, having nothing else to give, promised his zeal in behalf of the public welfare. The steps of the office were covered with deputies who came to deliver the acts of their renunciation. They were content for the moment to enumerate the sacrifices, and deferred till the following day the drawing up of the articles. The impulse was general; but amidst this enthusiasm it was easy to perceive that certain of the privileged persons, so far from being sincere, were desirous of making matters worse. Everything was to be feared from the effect of that night, and the impulse given, when Lally-Tollendal, perceiving the danger, caused a note to this effect to be handed to the president: "Everything is to be apprehended from the enthusiasm of the Assembly; break up the sitting." At the same instant a deputy ran up to him, and grasping his hand with emotion, said to him, "Procure us the royal sanction, and we are friends." Lally-Tollendal, sensible of the necessity of attaching the Revolution to the King, then proposed to proclaim him the restorer of French liberty. The motion was hailed with enthusiasm; it was resolved that *Te Deum* should be performed, and the Assembly at length broke up about midnight.

During this memorable night the Assembly had decreed:—

The abolition of the quality of serf;

The right of compounding for the seigniorial dues;

The abolition of the seigniorial jurisdictions;

The suppression of exclusive rights to hunt, to keep dovecotes, warrens, &c.;

The redemption of tithes;

The equality of taxes;

The admission of all the citizens to civil and military employments;

The abolition of the sale of offices;

The suppression of all the privileges of towns and provinces;

The reformation of the *jurandes;*

And the suppression of pensions obtained without claims.

These resolutions had been passed in a general form, and they still remained to be embodied in decrees; and then, the first fervour of generosity having subsided, some strove to extend, others to contract, the concessions obtained. The dis-

cussion grew warm, and a late and injudicious resistance did away with all claim to gratitude.

The abolition of feudal rights had been agreed upon; but it was necessary to make a distinction between such of these rights as were to be abolished and those that were to be redeemed. The conquerors, the first creators of the nobility, when of old they subdued the country, imposed services upon the inhabitants, and a tribute upon the land. They had even seized part of the latter, and had gradually restored it to the cultivators, only on condition of being paid perpetual rents. A long possession, followed by numerous transfers, constituting property, all the charges imposed upon the inhabitants and the lands had acquired the same character. The Constituent Assembly was therefore compelled to attack property. In this situation it was not as more or less acquired, but as being more or less burdensome to society, that the Assembly had to deal with it. It abolished personal services; and several of these services having been changed into quit-rents, it abolished these quit-rents. Among the tributes imposed upon land, it abolished those which were evidently the relics of servitude, as the fines imposed upon transfer; and it declared redeemable all the perpetual rents, that were the price for which the nobility had formerly ceded part of the lands to the cultivators. Nothing therefore is more absurd than to accuse the Constituent Assembly of having violated property, since everything had become such; and it is strange that the nobility, having so long violated it, either by imposing tributes, or by not paying taxes, should become all at once so tenacious of principles when its own prerogatives were at stake. The seigniorial courts were also called property, because they had for ages been transmitted from heir to heir: but the Assembly, disregarding this plea, abolished them; directing, however, that they should be kept up till a substitute should be provided for them.

The exclusive right of the chase was also a subject of warm discussion. Notwithstanding the vain objection that the whole population would soon be in arms if the right of sporting were made general, it was conferred on every one within the limits of his own lands. The privileged dove-cotes were in like manner defended. The Assembly decided that everybody might keep them; but that in harvest-time pigeons might be killed like ordinary game upon the lands which they might be visiting. All the captainships were abolished; but it was added that provision should be made for the private pleasures of the King by means compatible with liberty and property.

One article gave rise to discussions of peculiar violence, on

account of the more important questions to which it was the prelude, and the interests which it attacked—this was an article relative to tithes. On the night of the 4th of August the Assembly had declared that tithes might be redeemed. At the moment of drawing up the decree, it determined to abolish them without redemption, taking care to add that the State should provide for the maintenance of the clergy. There was no doubt an informality in this decision, because it interfered with a resolution already adopted. But to this objection Garat answered that this would be a *bonâ-fide* redemption, since the State actually redeemed the tithes to the relief of the contributor by undertaking to make a provision for the clergy. The Abbé Sièyes, who was seen with surprise among the defenders of the tithes, and who was not supposed to be a disinterested defender of that impost, admitted, in fact, that the State really redeemed the tithes, but that it committed a robbery on the mass of the nation by throwing upon its shoulders a debt which ought to be borne by the landed proprietors alone. This objection, urged in a striking manner, was accompanied with this keen and since frequently repeated expression: "You want to be free, and you know not how to be just." Though Sièyes thought this objection unanswerable, the answer to it was easy. The debt incurred for the support of religion is the debt of all; whether it should be paid by the landed proprietors rather than by the whole of the tenants is a point for the State to decide. It robs nobody by dividing the burden in such a manner as it deems most proper. Tithes, by oppressing the little proprietors, destroyed agriculture: the State had therefore a right to provide a substitute for that impost; and this Mirabeau proved to demonstration. The clergy, which preferred tithes, because it foresaw that the salary adjudged by the State would be measured according to its real necessities, claimed a property in tithes by immemorial concessions: it renewed that oft-repeated argument of long possession, which proves nothing; otherwise everything, not excepting tyranny itself, would be rendered legitimate by possession. It was answered that tithe was only a life-interest, that it was not transferable, and had not the principal characters of property; that it was evidently a tax imposed in favour of the clergy; and that the State undertook to change this tax into another. The pride of the clergy revolted at the idea of its receiving a salary; on this subject it combined with vehemence; and Mirabeau, who was particularly dexterous in launching the shafts of reason and irony, replied to the complainants, that he knew of but three ways of existing in society

—by robbing, begging, or being paid a salary. The clergy felt that it behoved it to give up what it was no longer able to defend. The curés in particular, knowing that they had everything to gain from the spirit of justice which pervaded the Assembly, and that it was the opulence of the prelates which was the especial object of attack, were the first to desist. The entire abolition of tithes was therefore decreed; it was added that the State would take upon itself the expense of providing for the ministers of religion, and that meanwhile the tithe should continue to be levied. This latter clause, fraught with respect, proved indeed useless. The people would no longer pay, but that they would not do even before the passing of the decree; and when the Assembly abolished the feudal system, it was already in fact overthrown. On the 11th all the articles were presented to the monarch, who accepted the title of the restorer of French liberty, and was present at the *Te Deum*, having the president at his right hand, and all the deputies in his train.

Thus was consummated the most important reform of the Revolution. The Assembly had manifested equal energy and moderation. Unfortunately a nation never knows how to resume with moderation the exercise of its rights. Atrocious outrages were committed throughout the whole kingdom. The mansions of the gentry continued to be set on fire, and the country was inundated by sportsmen eager to avail themselves of their newly acquired rights. They spread over the lands formerly reserved for the exclusive pleasure of their oppressors, and committed frightful devastations. Every usurpation meets with a cruel retribution, and he who usurps ought at least to consider his children, who almost always have to pay the penalty. Numerous accidents occurred. So early as the 7th of August the ministers again attended the Assembly for the purpose of laying before it a report on the state of the kingdom. The keeper of the seals announced the alarming disturbances which had taken place; Necker revealed the deplorable state of the finances. The Assembly received this twofold message with sorrow, but without discouragement. On the 10th it passed a decree relative to the public tranquillity, by which the municipalities were directed to provide for the preservation of order by dispersing all seditious assemblages. They were to deliver up mere rioters to the tribunals; but those who had excited alarms, circulated false orders, or instigated to outrages, were to be imprisoned, and the proceedings addressed to the National Assembly, that it might be enabled to ascertain the cause of these disturbances. The national militia and the

regular troops were placed at the disposal of the municipalities, and they were to take an oath to be faithful to the nation, the King, and the law. This oath was afterwards called the civic oath.

The report of Necker on the finances was extremely alarming. It was the want of subsidies that had caused recourse to be had to a National Assembly. No sooner had this Assembly met than it had commenced a struggle with power; and directing its whole attention to the urgent necessity of establishing guarantees, it had neglected that of securing the revenues of the State. On Necker alone rested the whole care of the finances. While Bailly, charged with provisioning the capital, was in the most painful anxiety, Necker, harassed by less urgent but far more extensive wants—Necker, absorbed in laborious calculations, tormented by a thousand troubles, strove to supply the public necessities; and while he was thinking only of financial questions, he was not aware that the Assembly was thinking exclusively of political questions. Necker and the Assembly, each engrossed by their own object, perceived no other. If, however, the alarm of Necker was justified by the actual distress, so was the confidence of the Assembly by the elevation of its views. That Assembly, embracing France and its future fortunes, could not believe that this fine kingdom, though involved for the moment in embarrassments, was for ever plunged into indigence.

Necker, when he entered upon office in August 1788, had found but four hundred thousand francs in the exchequer. He had, by dint of assiduity, provided for the most urgent wants; and circumstances had since increased those wants by diminishing the resources. It had been found necessary to purchase corn, and to sell it again for less than the cost price; to give away considerable sums in alms; to undertake public works, in order to furnish employment to the workmen. For this latter purpose so much as twelve thousand francs per day had been issued by the exchequer. While the expenses had increased, the receipts had diminished. The reduction of the price of salt, the delay of payments, and in many cases the absolute refusal to pay the taxes, the smuggling carried on by armed force, the destruction of the barriers, nay the plunder of the registers and the murder of the clerks, had annihilated part of the public revenue. Necker in consequence demanded a loan of thirty millions. The first impression was so strong, that the Assembly was about to vote the loan by acclamation; but this first impression soon subsided. A dislike was expressed for new loans; a kind of contradiction

was committed by appealing to the instructions, which had already been renounced, and which forbade the granting of imposts till the constitution had been framed: members even went so far as to enter into a calculation of the sums received since the preceding year, as if they distrusted the minister. However, the absolute necessity of providing for the wants of the State caused the loan to be carried; but the minister's plan was changed, and the interest reduced to four and a half per cent., in false reliance upon a patriotism which was in the nation, but which could not exist in money-lenders by profession, the only persons who in general enter into financial speculations of this kind. This first blunder was one of those which assemblies usually commit, because they supersede the immediate views of the minister who acts, by the general views of twelve hundred minds which speculate. It was easy to perceive, therefore, that the spirit of the nation began already not to harmonise with the timidity of the minister.

Having bestowed this indispensable care on the public tranquillity and the finances, the Assembly directed its attention to the declaration of rights. The first idea of it had been furnished by Lafayette, who had himself borrowed it from the Americans. This discussion, interrupted by the revolution of the 14th of July, renewed on the 1st of August, a second time interrupted by the abolition of the feudal system, was anew and definitively resumed on the 12th of August. This idea had something important which struck the Assembly. The enthusiasm pervading the minds of the members disposed them to everything that was grand; this enthusiasm produced their sincerity, their courage, their good and their bad resolutions. Accordingly they caught at this idea, and resolved to carry it into execution. Had they meant only to proclaim certain principles, particularly obnoxious to the authority whose yoke they had just shaken off, such as the voting of taxes, religious liberty, the liberty of the press, and ministerial responsibility, nothing would have been more easy. This was what America and England had formerly done. France might have compressed into a few pithy and positive maxims the new principles which she imposed upon her government; but desiring to go back to a state of nature, she aspired to give a complete declaration of all the rights of the man and of the citizen. At first the necessity and the danger of such a declaration were discussed. Much was said and to no purpose on this subject, for there was neither utility nor danger in issuing a declaration composed of formulas that were above the comprehension of the people. It was something only for

a certain number of philosophic minds, which never take any great part in popular seditions. It was resolved that it should be made and placed at the head of the constitutional acts. But it was necessary to draw it up, and that was the most difficult point. What is a right?—that which is due to men. Now all the good that can be done to them is their due; every wise measure of government is therefore a right. Thus all the proposed plans contained a definition of the law, the manner in which it was to be made, the principle of the sovereignty, &c. It was objected that these were not rights, but general maxims. It was nevertheless of importance to express those maxims. Mirabeau, becoming impatient, at length exclaimed, "Omit the word rights, and say, 'For the interest of all it has been declared.'" The more imposing title of declaration of rights was nevertheless preferred, and under it were blended maxims, principles, and declarations. Out of the whole was composed the celebrated declaration placed at the head of the constitution of 1791. In other respects there was no great harm done in wasting a few sittings on a philosophic commonplace. But who can censure men for becoming intoxicated with an object by which they were so much engrossed?

It was at length time to turn to the consideration of the constitution. The fatigue occasioned by the preliminaries was general, and the fundamental questions began already to be discussed out of the Assembly. The English constitution was the model that naturally presented itself to many minds, since it was the compact made in England in consequence of a similar struggle between the King, the aristocracy, and the people. This constitution resided essentially in the establishment of two chambers and in the royal sanction. Minds in their first flight go to the simplest ideas: a people declaring its will, and a king who executes it, appeared to them the only legitimate form of government. To give to the aristocracy a share equal to that of the nation by means of an upper chamber; to give to the King the right of annulling the national will—seemed to them an absurdity. *The nation wills, the King executes:* they could not get beyond these simple elements, and they imagined that they wished for a monarchy, because they left a king as the executor of the national resolutions. Real monarchy, as it exists even in States reputed free, is the rule of one, to which limits are set by means of the national concurrence. There the will of the prince in reality does almost everything, and that of the nation is confined to the prevention of evil, either by disputing the taxes, or by concurring in the law. But the moment that the nation can order

what it pleases without the king's having the power to oppose it by a veto, the king is no more than a magistrate. It is then a republic, with one consul instead of several. The government of Poland, though it had a king, was never called a monarchy, but a republic; there was a king also at Lacedæmon.

Monarchy, properly understood, requires therefore great concessions from opinion. But it is not after a long nullity, and in their first enthusiasm, that they are disposed to make them. Thus the republic existed in men's opinions without being mentioned, and they were republicans without being aware of it.

In the discussion the members did not explain themselves with precision; accordingly, notwithstanding the genius and knowledge to be found by the Assembly, the question was superficially treated and imperfectly understood. The partisans of the English constitution, Necker, Mounier, and Lally, could not see in what the monarchy ought to consist; and if they had seen it, they durst not have told the Assembly plainly that the national will ought not to be omnipotent, and that it ought to confine itself to prevention, rather than take upon itself the executive. All they had to urge was, that it was necessary that the King should possess the power of checking the encroachments of an Assembly; that in order to his duly executing the law, and executing it cheerfully, it was requisite that he should have co-operated in it; and finally, that there ought to exist a connection between the executive and legislative powers. These reasons were bad, or at any rate weak. It was ridiculous, in fact, whilst recognizing the national sovereignty, to pretend to oppose to it the sole will of the King.*

* "The reader will find in the sequel, at the commencement of the history of the Legislative Assembly, a judgment that appears to me to be just concerning the faults imputed to the constitution of 1791. I have here but one word to say on the plan of establishing at this period the English form of government in France. That form of government is a compromise between the three interests which divide modern States—royalty, the aristocracy, and the democracy. Now this compromise cannot take place till after the parties have exhausted their strength; that is to say, after combat, or in other words, after a revolution. In England, in fact, it was not brought about till after a long struggle, after democracy and usurpation. To pretend to effect the compromise before the combat, is to attempt to make peace before war. This is a melancholy, but at the same time an incontestable, truth: men never treat till they have exhausted their strength. The English constitution therefore was not practicable in France till after revolution. It was no doubt well to preach it up, but those who did so went injudiciously to work; and had they even shown better judgment, they might not have been more successful. I shall add, in order to diminish regret, that had even the entire English constitution been inscribed on our table of the law, this treaty would not have appeased men's passions till the parties had come to blows, and the battle had been fought in spite of this preliminary treaty. I repeat it, then: war, that is, revolution, was indispensable. God has given

They defended the two chambers more successfully, because there are, in fact, even in a republic, higher classes which must oppose the too rapid movements of the classes that are raising themselves, by defending the ancient institutions against the new institutions. But that upper chamber, more indispensable than the royal prerogative, since there is no instance of a republic without a senate, was more scouted than the sanction, because people were more exasperated against the aristocracy than against royalty. It was impracticable then to form an upper chamber, because nobody wished for it: the inferior nobility opposed it, because they could not obtain admission into it; the privileged persons themselves, who were desperate, because they desired the worst; the popular party, because it would not leave the aristocracy a post whence it might command the national will. Mounier, Lally, and Necker were almost the only members who wished for this upper chamber. Sièyes, by an absolute error in judgment, would not admit either of the two chambers or of the royal sanction. He conceived society to be completely uniform; according to him, the mass, without distinction of classes, ought to be charged to will, and the King, as the sole magistrate, to be charged to execute. He was therefore quite sincere when he said that whether monarchy or republic, it was the same thing, since the difference consisted, in his opinion, only in the number of the magistrates charged with the execution. The characteristic of the mind of Sièyes was concatenation, that is to say, the strict connection of his own ideas. He was in the best understanding with himself; but he harmonized neither with the nature of things nor with minds different from his own. He subdued them by the empire of his absolute maxims, but rarely persuaded them: therefore, as he could neither break his systems into parts, nor cause them to be adopted entire, he naturally began soon to be in an ill-humour. Mirabeau, a man of straightforward, prompt, supple mind, was not further advanced in point of political science than the Assembly itself; he was adverse to the two chambers, not from conviction, but from the knowledge of their then impracticability, and from hatred of the aristocracy. He defended the royal sanction from a monarchical predilection, and he had pledged himself to it at the opening of the States, when he said, that without the sanction he would rather live at Constantinople than in Paris. Barnave, Duport, and Lameth could not agree in these sentiments of Mirabeau. They were for not admitting either of the upper chamber or of the royal sanction; but they were not so obstinate as Sièyes, and con-

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sented to modify their opinion by allowing the King and the upper chamber a merely suspensive veto, that is to say, the power of temporarily opposing the national will, expressed in the lower chamber.

The first discussions took place on the 28th and 29th of August. The friends of Barnave were desirous of treating with Mounier, whose obstinacy had made him leader of the party in favour of the English constitution. It behoved them to gain over the most inflexible, and to him therefore they addressed themselves. Conferences were held; when it was found to be impossible to change an opinion that had been long cherished by him; they assented to those English forms to which he was so wedded; but on condition that, in opposing to the popular chamber an upper chamber and the King, only one suspensive veto should be given to the two, and that, moreover, the King should not have authority to dissolve the Assembly. Mounier replied, like a man whose mind is thoroughly convinced, that truth was not his property, and that he could not sacrifice one part to save the other. Thus did he wreck both institutions by refusing to modify them. And if it were true, which it was not, as we shall presently see, that the constitution of 1791 overturned the throne by the suppression of the upper chamber, Mounier would have occasion to reproach himself severely. Mounier was not passionate but obstinate; he was as absolute in his system as Sièyes was in his, and preferred losing all to giving up anything. The negotiations were broken off in anger. Mounier had been threatened with the public opinion of Paris, and his adversaries set out, he said, to exercise that influence with which he had been menaced.*

These questions divided the people as well as the representatives, and if they did not comprehend them, they attacked or defended them with not the less warmth. They summed them all up in the short and expeditious term *veto*. They approved or disapproved the veto, and this signified that they wished or did not wish for tyranny. The populace, without even understanding this, took the veto for a tax which ought to be abolished, or an enemy that ought to be hung, and were eager to consign him to the lamp-post.†

The Palais Royal in particular was in the greatest fermentation. Men of ardent minds assembled there, who, spurning

* *See* Appendix I.

† Two countrymen were talking of the veto. "Dost thou know," said one of them, "what the *veto* is?" "No, not I." "Well then, thou hast thy basin full of soup: the King says to thee, 'Spill thy soup,' and thou art forced to spill it."

even the forms imposed in the districts, mounted a chair, began their uncalled-for harangues, and were hissed or borne in triumph by an immense crowd, which hastened to execute what they proposed. There Camille Desmoulins, already mentioned in this history, distinguished himself by the energy, originality, and cynical turn of his mind; and without being cruel himself, he demanded cruelties. There, too, was seen St. Hurugue, an ancient marquis, long imprisoned in the Bastille on account of family quarrels, and incensed to madness against the supreme authority. There it was every day repeated that they ought all to go to Versailles, to call the King and the Assembly to account for their hesitation to secure the welfare of the people. Lafayette had the greatest difficulty to keep them within bounds by continual patrols. The national guard was already accused of aristocracy. "There was no patrol at the Ceramicus," observed Desmoulins. The name of Cromwell had already been pronounced along with that of Lafayette. One day—it was Sunday the 30th of August—a motion was made at the Palais Royal; Mounier was accused, Mirabeau represented to be in danger, and it was proposed to proceed to Versailles to ensure the personal safety of the latter. Mirabeau nevertheless defended the sanction, but without relinquishing his office as a popular tribune, and without appearing less such in the eyes of the multitude. St. Hurugue, followed by a few hot-headed persons, took the road to Versailles. They intended, they said, to prevail upon the Assembly to expel its unfaithful representatives, that others might be elected, and to entreat the King and the Dauphin to remove to Paris, and to place themselves in safety amidst the people. Lafayette hastened after them, stopped them, and obliged them to turn back. On the following day, Monday the 31st, they again met. They drew up an address to the commune, in which they demanded the convocation of the districts, in order to condemn the veto, to censure the deputies who supported it, to cashier them, and to nominate others in their stead. The commune repulsed them twice with the greatest firmness.

Agitation meanwhile pervaded the Assembly. Letters full of threats and invectives had been sent to the principal deputies; one of these was signed with the name of St. Hurugue. On Monday the 31st, at the opening of the sitting, Lally denounced a deputation which he had received from the Palais Royal. This deputation had exhorted him to separate himself from the bad citizens who defended the veto, and added, that an army of twenty thousand men was ready to march. Mounier also read letters which he had received, proposed that search should

authority. Mounier and his party opposed this: they were right with reference to the system of the English monarchy, where the King consults the national representation, and never obeys it; but they were wrong in the situation in which they were placed. Their only object had been, they said, to prevent a too hasty resolution. Now the suspensive veto produced this result quite as effectually as the absolute veto. If the representation should persist, the national will would be made manifest, and whilst admitting its sovereignty it was ridiculous to resist it indefinitely.

The ministry actually felt that the suspensive veto produced materially the effect of the absolute veto, and Necker advised the King to secure to himself the advantages of a voluntary sacrifice, by addressing a memorial to the Assembly, desiring the suspensive veto. A rumour of this got abroad, and the object and spirit of the memorial were known beforehand. It was presented on the 11th; everybody was acquainted with its purport. It would appear that Mounier, supporting the interests of the throne, ought not to have had any other views than the throne itself; but parties very soon have an interest distinct from those whom they serve. Mounier was for rejecting this communication, alleging that if the King renounced a prerogative beneficial to the nation, it ought to be given to him in spite of himself, and for the public interest. The parts were now reversed, and the adversaries of the King maintained on this occasion his right of interference. Fresh explanations were entered into respecting the word sanction: the question whether it should be necessary for the constitution was discussed. After specifying that the constituting power was superior to the constituted powers, it was determined that the sanction could be exercised only upon legislative acts, but by no means upon constitutive acts, and that the latter should only be promulgated. Six hundred and seventy-three votes were in favour of the suspensive veto, three hundred and fifty-five for the absolute veto. Thus the fundamental articles of the new constitution were determined upon. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal immediately resigned their places as members of the committee of constitution.

Up to this time a great number of decrees had been passed without being submitted to the royal acceptance. It was resolved to present to the King the articles of the 4th of August. The question to be decided was, whether they should apply for the sanction or the mere promulgation, considering them as legislative or constitutive acts. Maury and even Lally-Tollendal were indiscreet enough to maintain that they were

legislative, and to require the sanction, as if they had expected some obstacle from the royal power. Mirabeau, with rare justice, asserted that some abolished the feudal system, and were eminently constitutive; and others were a pure munificence on the part of the nobility and clergy, and that, undoubtedly, the clergy and the nobility did not wish the King to revoke their liberality. Chapelier added that there was not even any occasion to suppose the consent of the King to be necessary, as he had already approved them by accepting the title of restorer of French liberty and attending the *Te Deum.* The King was in consequence solicited to make a mere promulgation.

A member all at once proposed the hereditary transmission of the crown, and the inviolability of the royal person. The Assembly, which sincerely wished for the King as its hereditary first magistrate, voted these two articles by acclamation. The inviolability of the heir-presumptive was proposed; but the Duc de Mortemart instantly remarked that sons had sometimes endeavoured to dethrone their fathers, and that they ought to reserve to themselves the means of punishing them. On this ground the proposal was rejected. With respect to the article on the hereditary descent from male to male and from branch to branch, Arnoult proposed to confirm the renunciations of the Spanish branch made in the Treaty of Utrecht. It was urged that there was no occasion to discuss this point, because they ought not to alienate a faithful ally. Mirabeau supported this opinion, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day. All at once Mirabeau, for the purpose of making an experiment that was ill judged, attempted to bring forward the very question which he had himself contributed to silence. The house of Orleans would become a competitor with the Spanish house, in case of the extinction of the reigning branch. Mirabeau had observed an extraordinary eagerness to pass to the order of the day. A stranger to the Duc d'Orleans, though familiar with him, as he could be with everybody, he nevertheless wished to ascertain the state of parties, and to discover who were the friends and the enemies of the Duke. The question of a regency came forward. In case of minority, the King's brothers could not be guardians of their nephew, as heirs to the royal ward, and not being interested in his preservation. The regency therefore would belong to the nearest relatives: this was either the Queen, or the Duc d'Orleans, or the Spanish family. Mirabeau then proposed that the regency should not be given to any but a man born in France. "My acquaintance," said he, "with the geography of the Assembly,

the point whence proceeded those cries for the order of the day, prove to me that the question here is nothing less than that of a foreign domination, and that the proposition not to deliberate, apparently Spanish, is perhaps an Austrian proposition."

Loud cries succeeded these words; the discussion recommenced with extraordinary violence; all the opposers again called for the order of the day. To no purpose did Mirabeau every moment repeat that they could have but one motive, that of bringing a foreign domination into France: they made no reply, because, in fact, they would have preferred a foreigner to the Duc d'Orleans. At length, after a debate of two days, it was again decided that there was no occasion to deliberate. But Mirabeau had attained his object, in making the parties declare themselves. This experiment could not fail to draw down accusations upon him, and he passed thenceforward for an agent of the Orleans party.*

While yet strongly agitated by this discussion, the Assembly received the King's answer to the articles of the 4th of August. The King approved of their spirit, but gave only a conditional adhesion to some of them, in the hope that they would be modified on being carried into execution; he renewed, with regard to most, the objections made in the discussion, and set aside by the Assembly. Mirabeau again appeared at the tribune. "We have not," said he, "yet examined the superiority of the constituent power over the executive power: we have in some measure thrown a veil over these questions [the Assembly had in fact explained for itself the manner in which they were to be understood, without passing any resolution on the subject]; but if our constituent power were to be contested, we should be obliged to declare it. Let us act in this case frankly and with good faith. We admit that there would be difficulties in the execution, but we do not insist upon it. Thus we demand the abolition of offices, but assign for the future a compensation, and a pledge for the compensation: we declare the impost which supplies the salaries of the clergy destructive of agriculture, but till a substitute is provided, we direct the collection of tithes; we abolish seigniorial courts, but allow them to exist till other tribunals are established. The same is the case with other articles: all of them involve only such principles as it is necessary to render irrevocable by promulgating them. Let us ingenuously repeat to the King what the fool of Philip II. said to that most absolute prince: 'What would become of thee, Philip, if all the world were to say yes when thou sayest no?'"

* *See* Appendix J.

The Assembly again directed the president to wait upon the King to solicit of him his promulgation. The King granted it. The Assembly, on its part, deliberating on the duration of the suspensive veto, extended it to two sessions. But it was wrong to let it be seen that this was in some sort a recompense given to Louis XVI. for the concessions that he had just made to the public opinion.

While the Assembly pursued its course amidst obstacles raised by the ill-will of the privileged orders and by the popular commotions, other embarrassments thronged to meet it, and its enemies exulted over them. They hoped that it would be stopped short by the wretched state of the finances, as the Court itself had been. The first loan of thirty millions had not succeeded; a second of eighty, ordered agreeably to a new plan of Necker, had not been attended with happier results. "Go on discussing," said M. Degouy d'Arcy one day, "throw in delays, and at the expiration of those delays we shall no longer be. . . . I have just heard fearful truths." "Order! order!" exclaimed some. "No, no; speak!" rejoined others. A deputy rose. "Proceed," said he to M. Degouy; "spread around alarm and terror. What will be the consequence? We shall give part of our fortune, and all will be over." M. Degouy continued: "The loans which you have voted have produced nothing; there are not ten millions in the exchequer." At these words he was again surrounded, censured, and reduced to silence. The Duc d'Aiguillon, president of the committee of the finances, contradicted him, and proved that there must be twenty-two millions in the coffers of the State. It was nevertheless resolved that Fridays and Saturdays should be specially devoted to the finances.

Necker at length arrived. Ill with his incessant efforts, he renewed his everlasting complaints: he reproached the Assembly with having done nothing for the finances after a session of five months. The two loans had failed, because disturbances had destroyed public credit. Large sums of money were concealed; the capital of foreigners had been withheld from the proposed loans. Emigration and absence of travellers had also served to decrease the circulating medium, so that there was actually not enough left for the daily wants. The King and Queen had been obliged to send their plate to the mint. Necker in consequence demanded an instalment of one-fourth of the revenue, declaring that these means appeared to him to be sufficient. A committee took three days to examine this plan, and entirely approved of it. Mirabeau, a known enemy to the minister, was the first to speak, for the purpose of exhorting the Assembly to

agree to this plan without discussion. "Not having time," said he, "to investigate it, the Assembly ought not to take upon itself the responsibility of the event by approving or disapproving the proposed expedients." On this ground he advised that it should be voted immediately and with confidence. The Assembly, hurried away by his arguments, adopted this proposal, and directed Mirabeau to retire and draw up the decree. Meanwhile the enthusiasm began to subside; the minister's enemies pretended to discover resources where he could find none. His friends, on the contrary, attacked Mirabeau, and complained that he wanted to crush him under the responsibility which events might throw upon him. Mirabeau returned and read his decree. "You murder the minister's plan," exclaimed M. de Virieu. Mirabeau, who was not in the habit of receding without a reply, frankly avowed his motive, and admitted that those had guessed it who alleged that he wished to throw on M. Necker alone the responsibility; he said that he had not the honour to be his friend, but that, were he his most affectionate friend, he, a citizen above all things, would not hesitate to compromise him rather than the Assembly; that he did not believe the kingdom to be in danger, though M. Necker should prove to be mistaken; and that, on the other hand, the public welfare would be deeply compromized if the Assembly had lost its credit, and failed in a decisive operation. He immediately proposed an address to rouse the national patriotism, and to support the plan of the minister.

He was applauded; but the discussion was continued. A thousand propositions were made, and time was wasted in vain subtilties. Weary of so many contradictions, impressed with the urgency of the public wants, he ascended the tribune for the last time, took possession of it, again expounded the question with admirable precision, and showed the impossibility of retreating from the necessity of the moment. His imagination warming as he proceeded, he painted the horrors of bankruptcy; he exhibited it as a ruinous tax, which, instead of pressing lightly upon all, falls only upon some, whom it crushes by its weight; he then described it as a gulf into which living victims are thrown, and which does not close again even after devouring them; for we owe none the less even after we have refused to pay. As he concluded he thrilled the Assembly with terror. "The other day," said he, "when a ridiculous motion was made at the Palais Royal, some one exclaimed, 'Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and you deliberate!' but most assuredly there was neither Catiline, nor danger, nor Rome; and to-day hideous

bankruptcy is here, threatening to consume you, your honour, your fortunes—and you deliberate!"

At these words the transported Assembly rose with shouts of enthusiasm. A deputy prepared to reply; he advanced, but affrighted at the task, he stood motionless and speechless. The Assembly then declared, that having heard the report of the committee, it adopted in confidence the plan of the minister of the finances. This was a happy stroke of eloquence; but he alone would be capable of it who should possess the reason as well as the passions of Mirabeau.

While the Assembly thus laid hands upon all parts of the edifice, important events were arising. By the union of the orders the nation had recovered the legislative omnipotence. By the 14th of July it had taken arms in support of its representatives. Thus the King and the aristocracy remained separated and disarmed, with the mere opinion of their rights, in which no one participated, and in presence of a nation ready to conceive everything and to execute everything. The Court, however, secluded in a small town peopled entirely by its servants, was in some respect beyond the popular influence, and could even attempt a *coup de main* against the Assembly. It was natural that Paris, but a few leagues distant from Versailles—Paris, the capital of the kingdom—should wish to draw the King back to its bosom, in order to remove him from all aristocratic influence, and to recover the advantages which a city derives from the presence of the Court and of the government. After curtailing the authority of the King, all that it had left to do was to make sure of his person. The course of events favoured this wish, and from all quarters was heard the cry of "The King to Paris!" The aristocracy ceased to think of defending itself against fresh losses. It felt too much disdain for what was left it to care about preserving that; it was therefore desirous of a violent change, just like the popular party. A revolution is infallible when two parties join in desiring it. Both contribute to the event, and the stronger profits by the result. While the patriots wished to bring the King to Paris, the Court had it in contemplation to carry him to Metz. There, in a fortress, it might order all that it pleased, or to speak more correctly, all that others should please for it. The courtiers formed plans, circulated projects, strove to enlist partisans; and indulging vain hopes, betrayed themselves by imprudent threats. D'Estaing, formerly so renowned at the head of our fleets, commanded the national guard of Versailles. He desired to be faithful both to the nation and to the Court; a difficult

part, which is always exposed to calumny, and which great firmness alone can render honourable. He learned the machinations of the courtiers. The highest personages were involved in them; witnesses most worthy of belief had been mentioned to him, and he addressed to the Queen his celebrated letter, in which he expatiated with respectful firmness on the impropriety and danger of such intrigues. He disguised nothing, and mentioned every person by name.* The letter had no effect. In venturing upon such enterprises, the Queen must have expected remonstrances, and could not have been surprised at them.

About the same period a great number of new faces appeared at Versailles; nay, even strange uniforms were seen there. The company of the life-guards whose term of duty had just expired was retained; some dragoons and chasseurs of the Trois-Evêchés were sent for. The French guards, who had quitted the King's duty, irritated at its being assigned to others, talked of going to Versailles to resume it. Assuredly they had no reason whatever to complain, since they had of themselves relinquished that duty. But they were instigated, it is said, to this purpose. It was asserted at the time that the Court wished by this contrivance to alarm the King, and to prevail on him to remove to Metz. One fact affords sufficient proof of this intention: ever since the commotions at the Palais Royal, Lafayette had placed a post at Sèvres to defend the passage between Paris and Versailles. Lafayette found means to stop the French guards, and to divert them from their purpose. He wrote confidentially to St. Priest, the minister, to inform him of what had passed, and to allay all apprehensions. St. Priest, abusing the confidence of Lafayette, showed the letter to d'Estaing, who communicated it to the officers of the national guard of Versailles and the municipality, in order to apprize them of the dangers which threatened and might still threaten that town. It was proposed to send for the Flanders regiment; a great number of battalions of the Versailles guard were adverse to this measure; the municipality nevertheless presented its requisition, and the regiment was sent for. One regiment against the Assembly was no great matter; but it would be enough to carry off the King, and to protect his flight. D'Estaing informed the National Assembly of the measures that had been adopted, and obtained its approbation. The regiment arrived: the military train that followed it, though inconsiderable, did not fail to excite murmurs. The life-guards and the courtiers sought the society of the officers,

* *See* Appendix K.

loaded them with attentions, and they appeared, as previously to the 14th of July, to coalesce, to harmonize, and to conceive great hopes.

The confidence of the Court increased the distrust of Paris; and entertainments soon exasperated the sufferings of the populace. On the 2nd of October the life-guards gave a dinner to the officers of the garrison. It was held in the theatre. The boxes were filled with spectators belonging to the Court. The officers of the national guard were among the guests. Much gaiety prevailed during the repast, and the wine soon raised it to exaltation. The soldiers of the regiments were then introduced. The company, with drawn swords, drank the health of the royal family; the toast of the nation was refused—or, at least, omitted; the trumpets sounded a charge; the boxes were scaled with loud shouts; the expressive and celebrated song, "O Richard! ô mon roi! l'univers t'abandonne," was sung; they vowed to die for the King, as if he had been in the most imminent danger: in short, the delirium had no bounds. Cockades, white or black, but all of a single colour, were distributed. The young women as well as the young men were animated with chivalrous recollections. At this moment, it is said, the national cockade was trodden under foot. This fact has since been denied; but does not wine render everything credible—everything excusable? Besides, of what use were these meetings, which produce on the one side but an illusory zeal, and excite on the other a real and terrible irritation? At this juncture some one ran to the Queen; she consented to come to the entertainment. A number of persons surrounded the King, who was just returning from hunting, and he, too, was drawn thither. The company threw themselves at the feet of both, and escorted them, as in triumph, to their apartments. It is soothing, no doubt, to those who regard themselves as stripped of their authority and threatened, to meet with friends; but why should they thus deceive themselves in regard to their rights, their strength, or their means? *

The report of this entertainment soon spread, and no doubt the popular imagination, in relating the circumstances, added

* "Such was this famous banquet, which the Court had the imprudence to renew on the 3rd of October. We cannot but deplore its fatal want of foresight; it knew neither how to submit to its destiny, nor how to change it. The assembling of a military force, far from preventing the aggression of Paris, provoked it. The banquet did not render the devotedness of the soldiers more certain, while it increased the disaffection of the multitude. To guard itself, there was no necessity for so much ardour; nor for flight, so much preparation; but the Court never took the proper measure for the success of its designs, or it took only half measures, and delayed its final decision till it was too late."—*Mignet.*

its own exaggerations to those which the event itself had produced. The promises made to the King were construed as threats held out to the nation: this prodigality was considered as an insult to the public distress, and the shouts of "To Versailles!" were renewed with more vehemence than ever. Thus petty causes concurred to strengthen the effect of general causes. Young men appeared in Paris with black cockades; they were pursued: one of them was dragged away by the people, and the commune was obliged to prohibit cockades of a single colour.

The day after this unfortunate dinner a nearly similar scene took place at a breakfast given by the life-guards. The company presented themselves, as on the former occasion, before the Queen, who said that she had been quite delighted with the dinner of Thursday. She was eagerly listened to; because less reserved than the King, the avowal of the sentiments of the Court was expected from her lips. Every word she uttered was repeated. Irritation was at its height, and the most calamitous events might be anticipated. A commotion was convenient to the people and to the Court: to the people, in order that they might seize the person of the King; to the Court, that terror might drive him to Metz. It was also convenient to the Duc d'Orleans, who hoped to obtain the lieutenancy of the kingdom if the King should withdraw; nay, it has been said that this prince went so far as to hope for the crown, which is scarcely credible, for he had not a spirit bold enough for so high an ambition. The advantages which he had reason to expect from this new insurrection have brought upon him the charge of having had a hand in it; but this is unfounded. He cannot have communicated the impulse, for it resulted from the force of circumstances: he appeared at most to have seconded it; and even on this point an immense body of evidence, and time, which explains everything, have brought to light no trace of a concerted plan. No doubt, on this occasion, as during the whole Revolution, the Duc d'Orleans was merely following in the train of the popular movement, scattering perhaps a little money, giving rise to rumours, and having himself but vague hopes.

The populace, agitated by the discussions on the veto, irritated by the black cockades, annoyed by the continual patrols, and suffering from hunger, was in commotion. Bailly and Necker had neglected no means of procuring an abundant supply of provisions: but either from the difficulty of conveyance, or the pillage which took place by the way, and above all, from the impossibility of making amends for the spon-



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taneous movement of commerce, there was still a scarcity of flour. On the 4th of October the agitation was greater than ever. People talked of the departure of the King for Metz, and the necessity of going to fetch him from Versailles; they kept an eager look-out for black cockades, and vociferously demanded bread. Numerous patrols succeeded in preventing tumult. The night passed off quietly. In the morning of the following day crowds began again to assemble. The women went to the bakers' shops; there was a want of bread, and they ran to the Square in which the Hôtel de Ville is situated, to complain of it to the representatives of the commune. The latter had not yet met, and a battalion of the national guard was drawn up in the place of the Hôtel de Ville. A number of men joined these women; but they refused their assistance, saying that men were unfit to act. They then rushed upon the battalion, and drove it back by a volley of stones. At this moment a door was forced open; the women poured into the Hôtel de Ville; brigands with pikes hurried in along with them, and would have set fire to the building. They were kept back; but they succeeded in taking possession of the door leading to the great bell, and sounded the tocsin. The faubourgs were instantly in motion. A citizen named Maillard, one of those who had signalized themselves at the capture of the Bastille, consulted the officer commanding the battalion of the national guard upon the means of clearing the Hôtel de Ville of these furious women. The officer durst not approve the expedient which he proposed; it was to collect them together under the pretext of going to Versailles, but without leading them thither. Maillard nevertheless determined to adopt it, took a drum, and soon drew them off after him. They were armed with bludgeons, broomsticks, muskets, and cutlasses. With this singular army he proceeded along the quay, crossed the Louvre, was forced, in spite of his teeth, to lead them through the Tuileries, and arrived at the Champs Elysées. Here he succeeded in disarming them by representing to them that it would be better to appear before the Assembly as petitioners than as furies with weapons. They assented, and Maillard was obliged to conduct them to Versailles, for it was now impossible to dissuade them from proceeding thither. To that point all were at this moment directing their course. Some hordes set out dragging with them pieces of cannon, others surrounded the national guard, which itself surrounded its commander, to prevail on him to go to Versailles, the goal of all wishes.

Meanwhile the Court remained tranquil; but the Assembly

had received a message from the King which occasioned much tumult. It had presented for his acceptance the constitutional articles and the declaration of rights. The answer was to be a mere simple acceptance, with a promise to promulgate. For the second time the King, without clearly explaining himself, addressed observations to the Assembly; he signified his *accession* to the constitutional articles, without, however, approving of them; he found excellent maxims in the declaration of rights, but they needed explanation; in short, he said, a proper judgment could not be formed of the whole till the constitution should be entirely completed. This was certainly a tenable opinion; it was held by many political writers as well as the King, but was it prudent to express it at this particular moment? No sooner was this declaration read than complaints arose.* Robespierre said, that it was not for the King to criticise the Assembly; and Duport, that this answer ought to be countersigned by a responsible minister.† Petion took occasion to refer to the dinner of the life-guards, and denounced the imprecations uttered against the Assembly. Gregoire adverted to the dearth, and inquired why a letter had been sent to a miller with a promise of two hundred livres a week if he would give up grinding. The letter proved nothing, for any of the parties might have written it; still it excited a great tumult, and M. de Monspey proposed that Petion should sign its denunciation. Mirabeau, who had disapproved in the tribune itself of the course adopted by Petion and Gregoire, then came forward to reply to M. de Monspey. "I have been the very first," said he, "to disapprove of these impolitic denunciations; but since they are insisted upon, I will myself denounce, and I will sign when it has been declared that there is nothing inviolable in France but the King." Silence succeeded to this terrible apostrophe; and the Assembly returned to the consideration of the King's answer. It was eleven in the forenoon; tidings of the movements in Paris arrived. Mirabeau went up to Mounier, the president, who, recently elected in spite of the Palais Royal, and threatened with a glorious fall, exhibited on this melancholy day unconquerable firmness.‡

* *See* Appendix L.

† *See* Appendix M.

‡ "Mounier was a man of strong judgment and inflexible character, who considered the system of the English constitution as the type of representative governments, and wished to effect the Revolution by accommodation. He, and those who thought with him, were called the Monarchists. They desired, besides a chamber of representatives, to have a senate whose members should be nominated by the King on the presentation of the people. They thought that this was the only means of preventing the tyranny of a single assembly. The majority

Mirabeau approached him. "Paris," said he, "is marching upon us; would it be amiss to go to the palace to tell the King to accept purely and simply?" "Paris is marching!" replied Mounier; "so much the better; let them kill us all—yes, all! the State will be a gainer by it." "A very pretty sentiment indeed!" rejoined Mirabeau; and he returned to his seat. The discussion continued till three o'clock, and it was decided that the president should go to the King to demand his bare and simple acceptance. At the moment when Mounier was setting out for the palace, a deputation was announced: it was Maillard and the women who had followed him. Maillard desired to be admitted and heard. He was introduced; the women rushed in after him, and penetrated into the hall. He then represented what had happened, the scarcity of bread, and the distress of the people. He mentioned the letter addressed to the miller, and said that a person whom they met by the way had told them that a clergyman was charged to denounce it. This clergyman was Gregoire, and as we have just seen, it had actually been denounced by him. A voice then accused Juigné, Bishop of Paris, of being the writer of the letter. Cries of indignation arose to repel the imputation cast on the virtuous prelate. Maillard and his deputation were called to order. He was told that means had been adopted to supply Paris with provisions; that the King had neglected nothing; that the Assembly was going to petition him to take fresh measures; that he and his followers must retire; and that disturbance was not the way to put an end to the dearth. Mounier then retired to proceed to the palace; but the women surrounded and insisted on accompanying him. He at first declined, but was obliged to allow six to go with him. He passed through the mob which had come from Paris, and which was armed with pikes, hatchets, and sticks pointed with iron. A heavy rain was falling. A detachment of the life-guards fell upon the crowd which surrounded the president, and dispersed it; but the women soon overtook Mounier, and he reached the palace, where the Flanders regiment, the dragoons, the Swiss, and the national militia of Versailles were drawn up in order of

of the Assembly would have wished, not a peerage, but an aristocratic assembly, of which it should nominate the members. They could not then be heard, Mounier's party refusing to co-operate in a project which would have revived the orders, and the aristocrats rejecting a senate which would have confirmed the ruin of the noblesse. The greater number of the deputies of the clergy and of the commons advocated the unity of the Assembly. Thus the nobility from discontent, and the national party from the spirit of absolute justice, concurred in rejecting the high chamber."—*Mignet.*

battle. Instead of six women, he was obliged to introduce twelve. The King received them graciously, and deplored their distress. They were affected. One of them, young and handsome, overawed at the sight of the monarch, could scarcely give utterance to the word *Bread!* The King, deeply moved, embraced her, and the women returned softened by this reception. Their companions received them at the gate of the palace; they would not believe their report, declared that they had suffered themselves to be tampered with, and prepared to tear them in pieces. The life-guards, commanded by the Comte de Guiche, hastened to release them; musket-shots were fired from various quarters; two of the guards fell, and several of the women were wounded. Not far from the spot, one of the mob, at the head of a party of women, forced his way through the ranks of the battalions, and advanced to the iron gate of the palace. M. de Savonnières pursued him; but he received a ball which broke his arm. These skirmishes produced the greatest irritation on both sides. The King, apprized of the danger, sent orders to his guards not to fire, and to retire to their quarters. While they were retiring, a few shots were exchanged between them and the national guard of Versailles, and it never could be ascertained from which side the first were fired.

Meanwhile the King was holding a council, and Mounier impatiently awaited his answer. He sent word repeatedly that his functions required his presence with the Assembly, that the news of the sanction would pacify all minds, that he would retire if an answer were not brought, for he would not longer absent himself from the post to which his duties called him. The question discussed in the council was, whether the King should leave Versailles. The council lasted from six till ten at night, and the King, it is said, was against leaving the place vacant for the Duc d'Orleans. An attempt was made to send off the Queen and the children; but the crowd stopped the carriages the moment they appeared; and besides, the Queen was firmly resolved not to leave her husband. At length, about ten o'clock, Mounier received the bare and simple acceptance, and returned to the Assembly. The deputies had retired, and the women occupied the hall. He communicated to them the King's acceptance, with which they were highly pleased; and they inquired if they should be the better for it, and especially if they should have bread. Mounier gave them the most favourable answer that he could, and directed all the bread that could be procured to be distributed among them. In the course of this night, the faults of which it is so difficult

to charge to the right account, the municipality committed the blunder of neglecting to provide for the wants of this famished mob, which had left Paris owing to the want of bread, and which could not since have found any on the way.

At this moment intelligence was received of the arrival of Lafayette. For eight hours he had been opposing the national militia of Paris, who were for proceeding to Versailles. "General," said one of his grenadiers to him, "you do not deceive us, but you deceive yourself. Instead of turning our arms against women, let us go to Versailles to fetch the King, and make sure of his good disposition by placing him in the midst of us." Lafayette had hitherto withstood the solicitations of his army, and the inundation of the mob. His soldiers were not attached to him by victory, but by opinion; and abandoned by their opinion, he could no longer control them. He nevertheless contrived to stop them till night; but his voice reached only to a small distance, and beyond that nothing could appease the fury of the multitude. His life had several times been threatened, and still he resisted. He knew, nevertheless, that hordes were continually leaving Paris, and as the insurrection was transferring itself to Versailles, it became his duty to follow it thither. The commune directed him to go, and at last he set out. By the way he halted his army, made it swear to be faithful to the King, and arrived at Versailles about midnight. He sent word to Mounier that the army had promised to do its duty, and that nothing should be done contrary to the law. He hastened to the palace: with every demonstration of respect and sorrow he informed the King of the precautions which had been taken, and assured him of his attachment and that of his army. The King appeared tranquillized, and retired to rest. The guard of the palace had been refused to Lafayette, and the outposts alone had been granted to him. The other posts were destined for the Flanders regiment, whose dispositions could not be implicitly relied on, for the Swiss, and for the life-guards. These latter had at first been ordered to retire: they had afterwards been recalled, and being unable to assemble, there was but a small number of them at their post. Amidst the tumult which prevailed, all the accessible parts had not been defended; an iron gate had even been left open. Lafayette caused the outer posts entrusted to him to be occupied, and none of them was forced or even attacked.

The Assembly, notwithstanding the uproar, had resumed its sitting, and was engaged, with the most imposing attitude, in a discussion on the penal laws. Mirabeau, wearied out, exclaimed aloud that the Assembly had not to receive the

law from any one, and that it should direct the tribunes to be cleared. The people vehemently applauded his apostrophe; but the Assembly deemed it prudent not to make any more resistance. Lafayette having sent word to Mounier that all appeared to him to be quiet, and that he might dismiss the deputies, the Assembly adjourned till eleven the following day, and broke up.

The crowd had dispersed itself here and there, and appeared to be pacified. Lafayette had reason to feel confidence, as well from the attachment of his army, which, in fact, did not belie his good opinion, as from the tranquillity which seemed everywhere to prevail. He had secured the hotel of the life-guards, and sent out numerous patrols. At five in the morning he was still up. Conceiving that all was then quiet, he took some refreshment, and threw himself upon a bed, to obtain a little rest, of which he had been deprived for the last twenty-four hours.*

At this moment the people began to stir, and they were already thronging to the environs of the palace.† A quarrel took place with one of the life-guards, who fired from the windows. The brigands immediately rushed on, passed the gate which had been left open, ascended a staircase, where they found no obstruction, and were at length stopped by two life-guardsmen, who heroically defended themselves, falling back only foot by foot, and retiring from door to door. One of these generous servants was Miomandre; he shouted "Save the Queen!" This cry was heard, and the Queen ran trembling to the King's apartments. While she was escaping, the brigands pushed forward, found the royal bed forsaken, and would have penetrated further, but they were again checked by the life-guards, posted in considerable number at that point. At this moment the French guards belonging to Lafayette, stationed near the palace, hearing the uproar, hastened to the spot, and

* *See* Appendix N.

† "Nothing occurred to interrupt the public tranquillity from three till five o'clock in the morning; but the aspect of the populace presaged an approaching storm. Large groups of savage men and intoxicated women were seated round the watch-fires in all the streets of Versailles, and relieved the tedium of a rainy night by singing revolutionary songs. In one of these circles their exasperation was such, that, seated on the corpse of one of the bodyguard, they devoured the flesh of his horse half-roasted in the flames, while a ring of frantic cannibals danced round the group. At six o'clock a furious mob rushed towards the palace, and finding a gate open, speedily filled the staircases and vestibules of the royal apartments. The assassins rushed into the Queen's room a few minutes after she had left it, and enraged at finding their victim escaped, pierced her bed with their bayonets! They then dragged the bodies of two of the bodyguard, who had been massacred, below the windows of the King, beheaded them, and carried the bloody heads in triumph upon the points of their pikes through the streets of Versailles."—*Alison*.



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

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dispersed the brigands. They arrived at the door behind which the life-guards were entrenched. "Open the door," they cried: "the French guards have not forgotten that you saved their regiment at Fontenoi." The door was opened, and they rushed into each other's arms.

Tumult reigned without. Lafayette, who had lain down only for a few moments, and had not even fallen asleep, hearing the noise, leaped upon the first horse he met with, galloped into the thick of the fray, and there found several of the life-guards on the point of being slaughtered. While he was disengaging them, he ordered his troops to hasten to the palace, and remained alone amidst the brigands. One of them took aim at him. Lafayette coolly commanded the people to bring the man to him. The mob instantly seized the culprit, and before the face of Lafayette, dashed out his brains against the pavement. After saving the life-guards, Lafayette flew with them to the palace, and there found his grenadiers, who had already repaired thither. They all surrounded him, and vowed to die for the King. At this moment the life-guards who had been saved from destruction shouted *Lafayette for ever!* The whole Court, seeing themselves preserved by him and his troops, acknowledged that to him they were indebted for their lives. These testimonies of gratitude were universal. Madame Adelaide, the King's aunt, ran up to him, and clasped him in her arms, saying, "General, you have saved us."

The populace at this moment insisted with loud cries that the King should go to Paris.* A council was held. Lafayette being invited to attend it, refused, that he might not impose any restraint on the freedom of opinion. It was at length decided that the Court should comply with the wish of the people. Slips of paper containing this intimation were thrown out of the windows. Louis XVI. then showed himself at the balcony, accompanied by the general, and was greeted with shouts of *Long live the King!* But the Queen did not fare the same: threatening voices were raised against her. Lafayette accosted her. "Madam," said he, "what will you do?" "Accompany the King," undauntedly replied the Queen. "Come with me then," rejoined the general, and he led her in amaze to the balcony. Some threats were offered by the populace. A fatal shot might be fired; words could not be heard; it was necessary to strike the eye. Stooping and taking the hand of the Queen, the general kissed it respectfully. The mob of Frenchmen was transported at this action, and confirmed the reconciliation by shouts of *Long live the Queen! Long live*

* *See* Appendix O.

Lafayette! Peace was not yet made with the life-guards. "Will you not do something for my guards?" said the King to Lafayette. The latter took one of them, led him to the balcony, clasped him in his arms, and put on him his own shoulder-belt. The populace again cheered, and ratified by its plaudits this new reconciliation.

The Assembly had not deemed it consistent with its dignity to go to the monarch, though he had desired it to do so. It had contented itself with sending to him a deputation of thirty-six members. As soon as it was apprized of his intended departure, it passed a resolution purporting that the Assembly was inseparable from the person of the sovereign, and it nominated one hundred deputies to accompany him to Paris. The King received the resolution, and set out.*

The principal bands of the mob had already gone. Lafayette had sent after them a detachment of the army, to prevent them from turning back. He also issued orders for disarming the brigands who were carrying the heads of two life-guardsmen on the point of their pikes. These horrible trophies were taken from them, and it is not true that they were borne before the carriage of the King.†

Louis XVI. at length returned amidst a considerable concourse, and was received by Bailly at the Hôtel de Ville. "I return with confidence," said the King, "into the midst of my people of Paris." Bailly repeated these words to those who could not hear them, but he forgot the word *confidence*. "Add *with confidence*," said the Queen. "You are happier," replied Bailly, "than if I had said it myself."‡

The royal family repaired to the palace of the Tuileries, which had not been inhabited for a century, and where there had not been time to make the necessary preparations. The guard of it was confided to the Parisian militia, and Lafayette was thus made responsible to the nation for the person of the King, for which all the parties were contending. The nobles were desirous to carry him to some fortress, in order to exercise despotism in his name. The popular party, which had not yet conceived the idea of dispensing with him, wished to keep him, to complete the constitution, and to withdraw a chief from civil war. Hence the malignity of the privileged classes called Lafayette a gaoler; and yet his vigilance proved only one thing —the sincere desire to have a king.§

* *See* Appendix P.

† *See* Appendix Q.

‡ *See* Appendix R.

§ "The insurrection of the 5th and 6th of October was truly a popular movement; we must not seek for any secret causes of it, or ascribe it to concealed

From this moment the march of the parties displayed itself in a new manner. The aristocracy, separated from Louis XVI. and incapable of executing any enterprise by his side, dispersed itself abroad and in the provinces. It was from this time that the emigration began to be considerable. A great number of nobles fled to Turin, to the Comte d'Artois, who had found an asylum with his father-in-law.* Here their policy consisted in exciting the departments of the south, and in supposing that the King was not free. The Queen, who was an Austrian, and, moreover, an enemy to the new Court formed at Turin, fixed her hopes on Austria. The King, amidst these machinations, saw everything, prevented nothing, and awaited his salvation, come from what quarter it might. From time to time he made the disavowals required by the Assembly, and was not really free, any more than he would have been at Turin or at Coblentz, or than he was under Maurepas; for it is the lot of weakness to be everywhere dependent.

The popular party, thenceforward triumphant, was divided among the Duc d'Orleans, Lafayette, Mirabeau, Barnave, and the Lameths.† The public voice charged the Duc d'Orleans and Mirabeau with being the authors of the late insurrection. Witnesses who were not unworthy of credit asserted that they had seen the Duke and Mirabeau on the deplorable field of battle on the 6th of October. These statements were afterwards contradicted; at the moment, however, they were

ambition; it was provoked by the imprudence of the Court. The banquet of the bodyguard, the rumours of the flight, the fear of civil war, and the famine, alone carried Paris on Versailles. If particular instigators, which the most interested in proving the fact have left doubtful, contributed to produce the commotion, they changed neither its direction nor its object. This event destroyed the ancient régime of the Court, it took away its guard; it transported it from the royal town to the capital of the Revolution, and placed it under the surveillance of the people."—*Mignet.*

* "The day of the King's entrance into Paris was the first of the emigration of the noblesse—a fatal example of defection, which, being speedily followed by the inferior nobility, produced the most disastrous consequences. But it was the same in all the subsequent changes of the Revolution. The royalist leaders, always the first to propose violent measures, were at the same time unable to support them when opposed; they diminished the sympathy of the world at their fall from so high a rank, by showing that they were unworthy of it."—*Alison.*

† "At this epoch the extremes on the liberal side were Duport, Barnave, and Lameth, who formed a triumvirate, whose opinions were prepared by Duport, supported by Barnave, and whose measures were directed by Alexandre Lameth. This party placed itself at once in a position a little in advance of that at which the Revolution had arrived. The 14th of July had been the triumph of the middle class; the constituent was its assembly; the national guard was its armed force; the mayoralty its popular power. Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Bailly applied themselves to this class, and were, the one its orator, the other its general, and the third its magistrate."—*Mignet.*

believed. The conspirators had intended to remove the King, and even to put him to death, said the boldest calumniators. The Duc d'Orleans, they added, had aspired to be lieutenant of the kingdom, and Mirabeau minister. As none of these plans had succeeded, Lafayette, appearing to have thwarted them by his presence, was regarded as the saviour of the King, and the conqueror of the Duc d'Orleans and Mirabeau. The Court, which had not yet had time to become ungrateful, acknowledged Lafayette to be its preserver, and the power of the general at this moment seemed immense. The hot-headed patriots were incensed at it, and began already to mutter the name of Cromwell. Mirabeau, who, as we shall presently see, had no connection with the Duc d'Orleans, was jealous of Lafayette, and called him Cromwell Grandison. The aristocracy seconded these distrusts, and added to them its own calumnies. Lafayette, however, was determined, in spite of all obstacles, to uphold the King and the constitution. For this purpose he resolved, in the first place, to remove the Duc d'Orleans, whose presence gave occasion to many reports, and might furnish, if not the means, at least a pretext, for disturbances. He had an interview with the Prince, intimidated him by his firmness, and obliged him to withdraw. The King, who was in the scheme, feigned, with his usual weakness, to be forced into this measure; and writing to the Duc d'Orleans, he told him that it was absolutely necessary for him or M. de Lafayette to retire; that in the state of opinions, the choice was not doubtful; and that in consequence he gave him a commission for England. We have since been informed that M. de Montmorin, minister for foreign affairs, in order to rid himself of the ambition of the Duc d'Orleans, directed him towards the Netherlands, then in rebellion against Austria, and that he had held out hopes to him of acquiring the title of Duc de Brabant.* His friends, when apprized of this resolution, were indignant at his weakness. More ambitious than he, they would have persuaded him not to comply. They went to Mirabeau, and entreated him to denounce in the tribune the violence which Lafayette was committing against the Prince. Mirabeau, already jealous of the general's popularity, sent word to him and to the Duke, that he would denounce both of them in the tribune if the departure for England should take place. The Duc d'Orleans was shaken; a fresh summons from Lafayette decided him; and Mirabeau, on receiving in the Assembly a note acquainting him with the retreat of the Prince, exclaimed in vexation, "He is not worth the trouble

* *See* Dumouriez's Memoirs.

that is taken about him."* This expression and many others equally inconsiderate have caused him to be frequently accused of being one of the agents of the Duc d'Orleans; but this he never was. His straitened circumstances, the imprudence of his language, his familiarity with the Duc d'Orleans, though indeed he treated everybody in the same manner, his proposal relative to the Spanish succession, and lastly, his opposition to the departure of the Duke, could not but excite suspicions; it is nevertheless true that Mirabeau had no party, nay, that he had no other aim but to destroy the aristocracy and arbitrary power.

The authors of these suppositions ought to have known that Mirabeau was at this time under the necessity of borrowing the most trifling sums, which would not have been the case if he had been the agent of a Prince immensely rich, and who is believed to have been almost ruined by his partisans. Mirabeau had already foreboded the speedy dissolution of the State. A conversation with an intimate friend, which lasted a whole night, in the park of Versailles, caused him to decide on adopting an entirely new plan; and he determined for his glory, for the welfare of the State, and lastly, for his own fortune—for Mirabeau was the man for attending to all these interests at once —to stand immovable between the disaffected and the throne, and to consolidate the monarchy while making a place in it for himself. The Court had tried to gain him, but the affair had been clumsily managed, and without the delicacy requisite towards a man of great pride, and desirous of retaining his popularity, in default of the esteem which he did not yet possess. Malouet, a friend of Necker, and connected with Mirabeau, wished to bring them into communication. Mirabeau had frequently declined this,† being certain that he could never agree

* I have already shown that there was scarcely any connection whatever between Mirabeau and the Duc d'Orleans. Here follows a key to the signification of the celebrated expression, "*Ce j. . . f. . . . ne mérite pas la peine qu'on se donne pour lui.*" The constraint exercised by Lafayette over the Duc d'Orleans indisposed the popular party, and irritated above all the friends of the Prince who was doomed to exile. The latter conceived the idea of letting loose Mirabeau against Lafayette by taking advantage of the jealousy of the orator against the general. Lauzun, a friend of the Duke's, went one evening to Mirabeau, to urge him to take up the subject the very next morning. Mirabeau, who often gave way to persuasion, was about to yield, when his friends, more vigilant than himself over his own conduct, begged him not to stir. It was therefore resolved that he should not speak. Next morning, at the opening of the sitting, news arrived of the departure of the Duc d'Orleans; and Mirabeau, who owed him a grudge for his compliance to Lafayette, and bethought him of the useless efforts of his friends, exclaimed, "*Ce j. . . f. . . . ne mérite pas la peine qu'on se donne pour lui.*"

† Messrs. Malouet and Bertrand de Molleville have not hesitated to assert the contrary; but the fact here advanced is attested by witnesses of the highest credibility.

with the minister. He nevertheless assented. Malouet introduced him, and the incompatibility of the two characters was still more strongly felt after this interview, in which, according to the admission of all present, Mirabeau displayed the superiority which he had in private life, as well as in the tribune. It was reported that he had manifested a wish to be bought, and that, as Necker made no overture, he said on going away, "*The minister shall hear of me.*" This, again, is an interpretation of the parties, but it is false. Malouet had proposed to Mirabeau, who was known to be satisfied with the liberty required, to come to an understanding with the minister, and nothing more. Besides, it was at this very period that a direct negotiation was opened with the Court. A foreign prince, connected with men of all parties, made the first overtures. A friend, who served as intermediate agent, explained that no sacrifice of principles would be obtained from Mirabeau; but that if the government would adhere to the constitution, it would find in him a staunch supporter; that as to the conditions, they were dictated by his situation; that it was requisite, even for the interest of those who wished to employ him, that that situation should be rendered honourable and independent —in other words, that his debts should be paid; that, finally, it was necessary to make him attached to the new social order, and without actually giving him the ministry, to hold out hopes of it at some future time.* The negotiations were not entirely concluded till two or three months afterwards, that is, in the first months of 1790.† Historians unacquainted with these

* In Mirabeau, as in all superior men, much littleness was united with much greatness. He had a lively imagination, which it was requisite to amuse with hopes. It was impossible to give him the ministry without destroying his influence, and consequently without ruining him, and nullifying the aid that might be derived from him. On the other hand, he needed this bait for his imagination. Those, therefore, who had placed themselves between him and the Court recommended that at least the hope of a portfolio should be left him. However, the personal interests of Mirabeau were never the subject of particular mention in the various communications which took place; nothing, in fact, was ever said about money or favours, and it was difficult to make Mirabeau understand what the Court wished to convey to him. For this purpose a very ingenious method was suggested to the King. Mirabeau had so bad a reputation that few persons would have been willing to serve as his colleagues. The King, addressing M. de Liancourt, for whom he had a particular friendship, asked him, if, in order to render him service, he would accept a portfolio in company with Mirabeau. M. de Liancourt, devoted to the monarch, replied, that he was ready to do whatever the good of his service required. This question, which was soon reported to the orator, filled him with satisfaction, and he no longer doubted that he should be appointed minister as soon as circumstances permitted.

† "Disgusted with the fickleness of the multitude, Mirabeau had long made secret advances to the constitutional party, and entered into correspondence with the King, for the purpose of restraining the further progress of the Revolution. He received for a short time a pension of 20,000 francs, or £800 a month, first

particulars, and misled by the perseverance of Mirabeau in opposing the government, have assigned a later period to this treaty. It was, however, nearly concluded at the commencement of 1790. We shall notice it in its proper place.

The only way in which Barnave and the Lameths could rival Mirabeau was by a far greater patriotic austerity. Apprized of the negotiations which were in progress, they accredited the rumour already circulated, that the ministry was about to be conferred on him, in order that they might thus deprive him of the means of accepting it. An occasion for thwarting his views soon occurred. The ministers had no right to speak in the Assembly. Mirabeau was unwilling when appointed minister to lose the right of speaking, which was the chief instrument of his influence; he wished, moreover, to bring Necker into the tribune, that he might crush him there. He proposed, therefore, to give a consultive voice to the ministers. The popular party, in alarm, opposed the motion without any reasonable motive, and appeared to have a dread of ministerial seductions. But its apprehensions were absurd; for it is not by their public communications with the chambers that the ministers usually corrupt the national representation. Mirabeau's motion was negatived, and Lanjuinais, pushing rigour still further, proposed to forbid the existing deputies to accept the ministry. A violent debate ensued. Though the motive of these propositions was known, it was not avowed; and Mirabeau, who was incapable of dissimulation, at length exclaimed that it would be wrong, for the sake of a single individual, to take a measure pernicious to the State; that he supported the motion, on condition that the ministry should be interdicted, not to all the present deputies, but only to M. de Mirabeau, deputy of the seneschalship of Aix. His frankness and boldness were of no avail, and the motion was unanimously adopted.

We have seen how the State was divided between the emigrants, the Queen, the King, and different popular chiefs, such as Lafayette, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Lameth. No decisive event like that of the 14th of July or the 5th of October was possible for a long time to come. It was requisite that fresh contrarieties should exasperate the Court and the people, and produce a signal rupture.

The Assembly had removed to Paris, after repeated assurances of tranquillity on the part of the commune, and the promise of entire liberty in their votes. Mounier and Lally-

from the Comte d'Artois, and afterwards from the King; but it was not continued till the time of his death, from finding that he was not so pliant as the Court party expected."—*Alison.*

Tollendal, indignant at the events of the 5th and 6th of October, had resigned their seats, saying that they would not be either spectators of, or accomplices in, the crimes of the factious. They must have regretted this desertion of the public welfare, especially when they saw Maury and Cazalès, after seceding from the Assembly, soon return to it, and courageously support to the end the cause which they had espoused. Mounier, retiring to Dauphiné, assembled the States of the province; but a decree soon caused them to be dissolved without any resistance. Thus Mounier and Lally, who, at the period of the junction of the orders, and of the oath at the tennis-court, had been the heroes of the people, were no longer held in any estimation by them. The parliaments had been first outstripped by the popular power; so had Mounier, Lally, and Necker been after them; and so many others were very soon destined to be.

The dearth, the exaggerated but nevertheless real cause of the disturbances, gave occasion also to a crime. A baker named François was murdered by some brigands. Lafayette succeeded in securing the culprits, and delivered them up to the Châtelet, which was invested with an extraordinary jurisdiction over all offences relative to the Revolution. Here Besenval, and all those who were accused of having a hand in the aristocratic conspiracy foiled on the 14th of July, were under trial. The Châtelet was authorized to try according to new forms. Till the introduction of the trial by jury, which was not yet instituted, the Assembly had ordered publicity, the contradictory defence, and all the measures which operated as safeguards to innocence. The murderers of François were condemned, and tranquillity was restored. Upon this occasion Lafayette and Bailly proposed the adoption of martial law. The motion, though strongly opposed by Robespierre, who thenceforward showed himself a warm partisan of the people and the poor, was nevertheless approved by the majority. By virtue of this law, the municipalities were responsible for the public tranquillity; in case of disturbance, they were directed to require the aid of the regular troops or the militia; and they were enjoined, after three warnings, to employ force against seditious assemblages. A committee of search was established in the commune of Paris and in the National Assembly, to look after the numerous enemies whose machinations crossed each other in all directions. All these measures were not more than sufficient to control the host of adversaries leagued against the new revolution.

The formation of the constitution was prosecuted with

activity. The feudal system had been abolished; but there was still wanting a last measure for destroying those great bodies which had been enemies constituted in the State against the State. The clergy possessed immense property. It had been conferred on them by princes as feudal grants, or by the pious by way of legacy. If the property of individuals, the fruit and object of their labour, ought to be respected, that which had been given to bodies for a certain purpose might have another destination assigned to it by the law. It was for the service of religion, or at least upon this pretext, that it had been bestowed; religion being a public service, the law had a right to provide for it in a totally different manner. The Abbé Maury here displayed his imperturbable spirit: he gave the alarm to the landed proprietors, threatened them with speedy spoliation, and declared that the provinces were sacrificed to the stockjobbers of the capital. His sophistry was singular enough to be recorded. It was to pay the public debt that the property of the clergy was disposed of; the creditors were the great capitalists of Paris; the property which was sacrificed to them was in the provinces: hence the bold reasoner concluded that it was sacrificing the country to the capital; as if the country were not, on the contrary, a gainer by the new division of those immense estates hitherto reserved for the luxury of a few indolent churchmen.

All these efforts were useless. The Bishop of Autun, the author of the proposal, and Thouret, the deputy, demolished these vain sophisms.* The Assembly was proceeding to resolve that all the possessions of the clergy belonged to the State; the opposition, however, still insisted on the question of property. They were told, that if they were proprietors, the nation had a right to make use of their property, since this

* "Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to renounce the property of the ecclesiastical benefices in favour of the nation, which would employ it in the support of the altars and the payment of its debt. He proved the justice and the propriety of this measure; he showed the great advantages which would result from it to the State. The clergy struggled against this proposition, but it was carried on the 2nd of December. From that moment the hatred of the clergy to the Revolution broke forth. It had been less intractable than the noblesse at the commencement of the States-general, in the hope of preserving its wealth; afterwards it showed itself not less opposed to the new regime."—*Mignet.*

"M. de Talleyrand is the only bishop ever appointed by the choice, and at the request of the clergy of France. He was then Abbé de Périgord, and agent of the clergy; but, contrary to the usual custom, especially in the case of a man of such high birth, Louis XVI. had delayed appointing him. The general assembly of the clergy expressly voted that a representation should be made to the King in their name, expressive of their astonishment that the Abbé de Périgord was not made a bishop; and it was in consequence of this indication that the King at last gave him the bishopric of Autun."—*Memoirs of Lafayette.*

kind of property had frequently been employed in cases of emergency for the service of the State. This they did not deny. Taking advantage of their assent, Mirabeau then moved that for the words *belong to*, should be substituted, *are at the disposal of*, the State; and the discussion was instantly terminated by a great majority. The Assembly thus destroyed the formidable power of the clergy and the luxury of the high dignitaries of the order, and secured those immense financial resources which so long upheld the Revolution. At the same time it provided for the subsistence of the curés by resolving that their salaries should not be less than twelve hundred francs, adding, moreover, the use of a parsonage-house and garden. It declared that it ceased to recognize religious vows, and restored liberty to all the inmates of cloisters, leaving to those who preferred it the right of continuing the monastic life. Their property was withdrawn, and pensions were granted in its stead. Carrying its forecast still farther, it established a difference between the wealthy orders and the mendicant orders, and proportioned the salary of both to their former condition. It pursued the same course in regard to pensions; and when Camus the Jansenist, desirous of returning to the evangelical simplicity, proposed to reduce all pensions to one very low standard, the Assembly, on the recommendation of Mirabeau, reduced them proportionably to their actual value, and suitably to the former state of the receivers. It was impossible to carry attention to previous habits to a greater length, and in this consists the *real respect* for property. In like manner, when the Protestants, expatriated ever since the Edict of Nantes, reclaimed their possessions, the Assembly restored such only as had not been sold.

Prudent and delicate in regard to persons, the Assembly treated things without ceremony, and was much bolder in matters relating to the constitution. The prerogatives of the great powers had been fixed: the question now was, the division of the territory of the kingdom. It had always been divided into provinces, successively united with ancient France. These provinces, differing from one another in laws, privileges, and manners, formed a most heterogeneous whole. Sièyes* con-

* "Sièyes was one of those men who in ages of enthusiasm found a sect, and in an age of intelligence exercise the ascendant of a powerful understanding. Solitude and philosophic speculation had ripened it for a happy moment; his ideas were new, vigorous, various, but little systematic. Society had in particular been the object of his examination; he had followed its progress, and decomposed its machinery. The nature of government appeared to him less a question of right than a question of epoch. Although cool and deliberate, Sièyes had the ardour which inspires the investigation of truth, and the fearlessness to

ceived the idea of blending them together by a new division, which should annihilate the ancient demarcations, and introduce the same laws and the same spirit into all parts of the kingdom. This was accomplished by the division into departments. These were divided into districts, and the districts into municipalities. In all these degrees the principle of representation was admitted. The departmental administration, that of the district, and that of the communes, were assigned to a deliberative council and to an executive council; both were elective. These various authorities depended the one on the other, and they had the same powers throughout their respective jurisdictions. The department made the assessments of the taxes upon the districts, the districts upon the communes, and the commune upon individuals.

The Assembly then fixed the quality of a citizen enjoying political rights. It required the age of twenty-five years, and the payment of contributions to the amount of one silver mark. Every man who combined these conditions had the title of active citizen, and those who did not, styled themselves passive citizens. These extremely simple denominations were turned into ridicule; for it is names that people lay hold of when they want to depreciate things; but they were natural, and aptly expressed their object. The active citizen concurred in elections, either for the formation of the administrations, or for that of the Assembly. The elections of the deputies had two degrees. No specific condition was required to constitute eligibility; for, as it was observed in the Assembly, a man is an elector by his existence in society, and he must be eligible from the mere confidence of the electors.

These operations, interrupted by a thousand incidental discussions, were nevertheless prosecuted with great ardour. The right side (the party of the nobility and clergy) only contributed by its obstinacy to impede them, the moment opportunity offered to contest any portion of influence with the nation. The popular deputies, on the contrary, though forming several parties, acted

insist on its promulgation; thus he was absolute in his notions, despising the ideas of others because he found them incomplete, and in his eyes, only the half-truth, which was error. Contradiction irritated him; he was little communicative; he would have wished to make himself thoroughly understood, but he could not succeed with all the world. His disciples transmitted his systems to others—a circumstance which gave him a certain air of mysteriousness, and rendered him the object of a sort of adoration. He had the authority which complete political science bestows, and the constitution could have sprung from his head, all armed like the Minerva of Jupiter, or the legislation of the ancients, if in our times every one had not wished to assist in it, or to judge of it. Nevertheless, with some modifications, his plans were generally adopted, and he had in the committee far more disciples than fellow-labourers."—*Mignet.*

in concert, or differed without animosity, agreeably to their private opinions. It was easy to perceive that among them conviction predominated over party considerations. Thouret, Mirabeau, Duport, Sièyes, Camus, Chapelier, were seen alternately uniting and dividing, according to their opinion, in each discussion. As for the members of the nobility and clergy, they never appeared but in party discussions. If the parliaments had issued decrees against the Assembly, if deputies or writers had insulted it, they then came forward, ready to support them. They supported also the military commandants against the people, the slave-traders against the negro slaves; they were against the admission of Jews and Protestants to the enjoyment of the common rights. Lastly, when Genoa declared against France, on account of the enfranchisement of Corsica, and the union of that island with the kingdom, they were in favour of Genoa against France. In short, aliens, indifferent to all beneficial discussions, not listening to them, but conversing among themselves, they never rose but when there were rights or liberty to be refused.*

As we have already observed, it was no longer possible to attempt any great conspiracy in favour of the King, since the aristocracy was put to flight, and the Court was encompassed by the Assembly, the people, and the national militia. Partial movements were therefore all that the malcontents could attempt. They fomented the discontent of the officers who adhered to the former order of things; while the soldiers, having everything to gain, inclined to the new. Violent quarrels took place between the army and the populace: the soldiers frequently gave up their officers to the mob, who murdered them; at other times, these mutual jealousies were happily appeased, and all again became quiet, when the commandants of towns could conduct themselves with any address, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. The clergy had inundated Brittany with protestations against the alienation of its property. Attempts were made to excite a remnant of religious fanaticism in the provinces, where the ancient superstition still prevailed. The parliaments were also employed, and a last trial was made of their authority. Their vacation had been prorogued by the Assembly, because it did not wish to have any discussion with them during the interval that should elapse before it could dissolve them. The chambers of vacation administered justice in their absence. At Rouen, at Nantes, at Rennes, they passed resolutions, in which they deplored the ruin of the ancient monarchy and the violation of

* *See* Appendix S.

its laws; and without mentioning the Assembly, they seemed to point to it as the cause of all the prevailing evils. They were called to the bar, and delicately reprimanded. That of Rennès, as the most culpable, was declared incapable of fulfilling its functions. That of Metz had insinuated that the King was not free. Such, as we have already observed, was the policy of the discontented: as they could not make use of the King, they sought to represent him as in a state of restraint, and for this reason they were desirous of annulling all the laws to which he appeared to assent. He seemed himself to second this policy. He would not recall his life-guards, who were dismissed on the 5th and 6th of October, and caused the duty about his person to be performed by the national militia, among whom he knew that he was safe. His intention was to appear to be a captive. The commune of Paris foiled this too petty artifice by soliciting the King to recall his guards, which he refused to do upon frivolous pretexts, and through the medium of the Queen.*

The year 1790 had just commenced, and a general agitation began to be perceptible. Three tolerably quiet months had passed since the 5th and 6th of October, and the commotion seemed to be breaking out anew. Violent storms are always followed by calms, and these calms by petty gusts, which gradually become more and more vehement. These disturbances were laid to the charge of the clergy, the nobility, the Court, and even of England, who directed her ambassador to justify her conduct. The paid companies of the national guard were themselves infected with this general discontent. Some soldiers assembled in the Champs Elysées, and demanded an

* The question of the recall of the King's guards furnished occasion for an anecdote which deserves to be recorded. The Queen complained to M. de Lafayette that the King was not free, and, in proof of this, she alleged that the duty of the palace was done by the national guard, and not by the life-guards. M. de Lafayette immediately asked her if she should be gratified by the recall of the latter. The Queen at first hesitated to answer; but she durst not refuse the offer made by the general to bring about their recall. He instantly repaired to the municipality, which, at his instigation, presented a formal petition to the King to recall his life-guards, offering to share with them the duty of the palace. The King and Queen were not displeased with this solicitation; but they were soon rendered sensible of its consequences, and those who were desirous that they should not appear to be free induced them to refuse their compliance. It was nevertheless embarrassing to assign a motive for their refusal; and the Queen, to whom difficult commissions were frequently allotted, was directed to tell M. de Lafayette that the proposal of the municipality was not acceded to. The motive which she alleged was, that the King would not expose the life-guards to the risk of being murdered. M. de Lafayette had just met one of them walking in uniform in the Palais Royal. He mentioned this fact to the Queen, who was still more embarrassed, but persisted in the determination which she was charged to express.

increase of pay. Lafayette, present everywhere, hastened to the spot, dispersed and punished them, and restored quiet among his troops, who were still faithful, notwithstanding these slight interruptions of discipline.

There were great rumours of a plot against the Assembly and the municipality, the supposed ringleader of which was the Marquis de Favras.* He was apprehended, with circumstances of public notoriety, and sent to the Châtelet. It was immediately reported that Bailly and Lafayette were to have been assassinated; that twelve hundred horse were ready at Versailles to carry off the King; that an army composed of Swiss and Piedmontese was to receive him and to march to Paris. The alarm spread. It was added that Favras was the secret agent of the highest personages. Suspicion was directed to Monsieur, the King's brother. Favras had been in his guards, and, moreover, had negotiated a loan in his behalf. Monsieur, alarmed at the agitation which prevailed, repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, protested against the insinuations thrown out against him, explained his connection with Favras, appealed to his popular sentiments formerly manifested in the Assembly of the Notables, and desired that he might be judged, not from public rumours, but from his known and unswerving patriotism.† His speech was received with shouts of applause, and the crowd escorted him back to his residence.

The trial of Favras was continued. This Favras had run all over Europe, married a foreign princess, and been devising plans for retrieving his fortunes. He had been engaged in them on the 14th of July, on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the last months of 1789. The witnesses who accused him furnished precise particulars of his last scheme. The murder of Bailly and Lafayette, and the abduction of the King,

* *See* Appendix T.

† The speech of Monsieur at the Hôtel de Ville contains a passage too important not to be quoted here :—

"As to my private opinions," said this august personage, "I shall speak of them with confidence to my fellow-citizens. Ever since the day that in the second Assembly of Notables I declared my sentiments respecting the fundamental question which divided people's minds, I have not ceased to believe that a great revolution was at hand; that the King, by his intentions, his virtues, and his supreme rank, ought to be the head of it, since it could not be beneficial to the nation without being equally so to the monarch; in short, that the royal authority ought to be the rampart of the national liberty, and the national liberty the basis of the royal authority. I challenge you to produce a single one of my actions, a single one of my expressions, which has contradicted these principles, which has shown that in what circumstances soever I have been placed, the happiness of the King and that of the people have ceased to be the sole object of my thoughts and my views. I have therefore a right to be believed on my word. I never have changed my sentiments and principles, and I never will change them."

appeared to form part of this scheme; but there was no proof that the twelve hundred horse were in readiness, or that the Swiss and Piedmontese army was in motion. Circumstances were far from favourable to Favras. The Châtelet had just liberated Besenval and the other persons implicated in the plot of the 14th of July: public opinion was dissatisfied. Lafayette nevertheless encouraged the gentlemen of the Châtelet, exhorted them to be just, and assured them that their sentence, be it what it might, should be executed.

This trial revived the suspicions against the Court. These new schemes caused it to be deemed incorrigible; for even in the midst of Paris it was still seen conspiring. The King was therefore advised to take a decisive step, which should satisfy public opinion.

On the 4th of February 1790 the Assembly was surprised to perceive some alterations in the arrangement of the hall. The steps of the bureau were covered with a carpet sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis. The arm-chair of the secretaries was lowered; the president was standing beside the seat which he usually occupied. "Here is the King!" suddenly exclaimed the doorkeepers; and Louis XVI. instantly entered the hall. The Assembly rose at his appearance, and he was received with applause. A concourse of spectators, quickly collected, filled the tribunes, thronged all parts of the hall, and awaited the royal speech with the utmost impatience. Louis XVI., standing, addressed the seated Assembly: he began by referring to the troubles to which France had fallen a prey, the efforts which he had made to allay them, and to supply the wants of the people; he recapitulated the proceedings of the representatives, observing that he had attempted the same things in the provincial assemblies; lastly, he showed that he had himself formerly the very same wishes which had just been realized. He added, that he deemed it his duty to unite more particularly with the representatives of the nation at a moment when decrees destined to establish a new organization in the kingdom had been submitted to him. He would promote, he said, with all his power the success of that vast organization; every attempt hostile to it should be held culpable, and opposed with all his means. At these words the hall rang with plaudits. The King continued; and referring to his own sacrifices, he exhorted all those who had been losers to take example from his resignation, and to indemnify themselves for their losses by the blessings which the new constitution promised to France. But when, after vowing to defend that constitution,

he added, that he would do still more, and that, in concert with the Queen, he would early predispose the mind and heart of his son in favour of the new order of things, and accustom him to seek happiness in the happiness of the French, cries of attachment burst forth from all quarters—all hands were outstretched towards the monarch, all eyes looked for the mother and her son, all voices asked for them: the transport was universal. At length the King concluded his speech by recommending peace and concord to his *good people, by whom he is assured that he is loved, when those around him wish to cheer him up under his troubles.** At these last words all present burst forth into exclamations of gratitude. The president made a short reply, in which he adverted to the disturbed feelings which prevailed in all hearts. The Prince was conducted back to the Tuileries by the multitude. The Assembly voted thanks to him and to the Queen. A new idea was started; Louis XVI. had engaged to uphold the constitution; it was fitting that the deputies should bind themselves to do the same. The civic oath was therefore proposed, and every deputy came forward to swear to be faithful *to the nation, to the law, and to the King; and to uphold with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the King.* The supplementary members, the deputies of commerce, desired to take the oath in their turn; the tribunes and the galleries followed their example, and on all sides nothing was to be heard but the words, *I swear it.*

The oath was repeated at the Hôtel de Ville, and by commune after commune throughout France. Rejoicings were ordered, which appeared to be general and sincere. This was certainly a fair occasion for the Court to commence a new line of conduct, instead of frustrating this, as all previous advances towards a reconciliation on the part of the people; but the very same evening, whilst Paris was in a blaze with bonfires kindled to celebrate the happy event, the Court had betaken itself again to its ill-humour, and the popular deputies experienced from it a reception wholly different from that which was reserved for the noble deputies. In vain did Lafayette, whose advice was replete with good sense and zeal, repeat to the Court that the King could no longer waver, and that he ought to attach himself altogether to the popular party, and strive to win its confidence; that for this purpose it was requisite that his intentions should not only be proclaimed to the Assembly, but that they should be manifested by his minutest actions; that he ought to show displeasure at every expression in the least degree equivocal

* *See* Appendix U.

used in his presence, and reprove the slightest doubt thrown out as to his real sentiments; that he ought to show neither restraint nor dissatisfaction, nor to leave any secret hope to the aristocrats; and lastly, that the ministers ought to be united, instead of entering into rivalship with the Assembly, and obliging it to have recourse incessantly to the public opinion. In vain did Lafayette repeat these prudent counsels with respectful earnestness: the King received his letters, and thought him an honest man; the Queen repulsed them with petulance, and even seemed to be irritated by the respect paid by the general. She gave a much better reception to Mirabeau, who possessed more influence, but was certainly a man of less irreproachable character than Lafayette.

The communications of Mirabeau with the Court still continued. He had even kept up an intercourse with Monsieur, whose opinions rendered him more accessible to the popular party, and he had repeated to him what he had never ceased to tell the Queen and M. de Montmorin, that the monarchy could not be saved unless by liberty. Mirabeau at length came to terms with the Court by means of an intermediate agent. He declared his principles in a kind of profession of faith; he engaged not to swerve from them, and to support the Court so long as it should follow the same line. A considerable salary was given to him in return. Morality indeed condemns such treaties, and insists that a man ought to do his duty for the sake of duty alone. But was this selling himself? A weak man would no doubt have sold himself by sacrificing his principles; but the mighty Mirabeau, so far from sacrificing his, brought power over to the Court, and received from it that aid which his urgent necessities and his licentious passions rendered indispensable to him. Unlike those who give up for a high price mean talents and a cowardly conscience, Mirabeau, inflexible in his principles, combated by turns his own party and the Court, as if he had not expected popularity from the former, or the means of existence from the latter. To such a point was this opposition carried, that historians, unable to believe him an ally of the Court which he combated, have not fixed the date of his treaty earlier than the year 1791, though it was concluded in the very first months of 1790. Mirabeau saw the Queen, charmed her by his superiority, and experienced from her a reception that flattered him exceedingly.* That extraordinary man had a keen relish for all pleasures—for those of vanity as well as for those of the passions. It was

* *See* Appendix V.

necessary to take him with his strength and his foibles, and to employ him for the common cause. Besides Lafayette and Mirabeau, the Court relied on Bouillé, whom it is time to introduce to the reader.*

Bouillé, full of courage, integrity, and talent, had all the prejudices of the aristocracy, and was distinguished from it only by less infatuation, and more experience in business. Having retired to Metz, where he commanded a vast extent of frontier and a great part of the army, he strove to foment jealousies between his troops and the national guard, in order that he might keep his soldiers steady to the Court.† Placed there on the watch, he scared the popular party; he seemed the general of the monarchy, as Lafayette was the general of the constitution. The aristocracy nevertheless displeased him, the weakness of the King disgusted him with the service, and he would have quitted it had he not been pressed by Louis XVI. to continue in it. Bouillé was full of honour. After taking his oath, he thought of nothing but how to serve the King and the constitution. The Court therefore needed but to unite Lafayette, Mirabeau, and Bouillé, and through them it would have had the national guards, the Assembly, and the army, that is to say, the three powers of the day. Some motives, it is true, divided these three personages. Lafayette, full of good-nature, was ready to unite with all who were desirous of serving the King and the constitution; but Mirabeau was jealous of Lafayette's power, dreaded his purity, which was so highly extolled, and seemed to regard it as a reproach. Bouillé hated in Lafayette his enthusiastic character, and perhaps viewed in him an irreproachable enemy; he preferred Mirabeau, whom he deemed more manageable, and less rigorous in his political creed. It was for the Court to unite these three men by removing their particular motives for keeping aloof from each other. But there was only one bond of union—a free monarchy. The Court ought therefore to have frankly resigned itself to its only course, and to have followed it up with all its might. But the Court, ever unsteady, received Lafayette coldly without repulsing him; paid Mirabeau, who lectured it from time to time; kept up Bouillé's dislike of the Revolution; looked to Austria with hope; and suffered the emigrants at Turin to take active measures. Such is the way with weakness. It strives to delude itself with hopes rather than to ensure success, and in this manner it ultimately ruins itself by

* *See* Appendix W. † This he admits himself in his memoirs.

exciting suspicions which irritate parties as much as decided opposition. It is much better to strike than to threaten them.

In vain Lafayette, who would fain have done what the Court neglected to do, wrote to Bouillé, his kinsman, exhorting him to serve the throne jointly with himself, and by the only possible means—those of frankness and liberty. Bouillé, at the evil instigation of the Court, replied coldly and evasively; and without attempting anything against the constitution, he continued to render himself formidable by the secrecy of his intentions and the strength of his army.

The reconciliation of the 4th of February, which might have led to such important results, was therefore useless. The trial of Favras was concluded, and whether from fear or from a conviction of his guilt, the Châtelet sentenced him to be hanged. Favras displayed in his last moments a firmness more worthy of a martyr than of an intriguer. He protested his innocence, and demanded permission to make a declaration before he died. The scaffold was erected in the Place de Grève. He was conveyed to the Hôtel de Ville, where he remained till night. The populace, eager to see a marquis hanged, impatiently awaited this example of equality in punishments. Favras related that he had held communications with a high dignitary of the State, who had engaged him to dispose the public mind favourably towards the King. As this would have put him to considerable expense, the personage in question had given him one hundred louis, which he had accepted. He affirmed that this was the whole extent of his crime; and he mentioned no name. He asked, however, if the confession of names could save him. Not satisfied with the answer that was returned, "In that case," said he, "I will take my secret with me;" and he walked with great firmness towards the place of execution. It was night: the Place and the gibbet itself were lighted up. The populace enjoyed the sight, delighted to find equality even on the scaffold. It was to them a subject for cruel jests; and they parodied in various ways the execution of this unfortunate man. The body of Favras was delivered to his family; and fresh events soon caused his death to be forgotten alike by those who had punished and those who had employed him.

The exasperated clergy continued to excite petty disturbances throughout France. The nobility relied much upon its influence among the people. So long as the Assembly had proceeded no further than by a decree to place ecclesiastical property at the disposal of the nation, the clergy had

hoped that the decree would not be carried into execution; and in order to render it useless, it proposed a variety of plans for supplying the wants of the exchequer. The Abbé Maury * had proposed a tax on luxury; and the Abbé Salside had replied by moving that no ecclesiastic should possess an income exceeding one thousand crowns. The wealthy abbé was silenced by such a proposal. On another occasion, in discussing the debt of the State, Cazalès had proposed to investigate, not the titles of each credit, but the credit itself, its origin, and its motive; which would have been renewing bankruptcy by the odious and worn-out expedient of *chambres ardentes*. The clergy, inimical to the creditors of the State, to whom it deemed itself sacrificed, had supported the proposal, notwithstanding the strictness of its principles in regard to property. Maury had spoken with great warmth, and had even violated the respect due to the Assembly by saying to some of its members that they had only the *courage of shame*. The Assembly had taken offence at this expression, and thought of expelling him. But Mirabeau, who had reason to suppose that the attack was aimed at him, represented to his colleagues that each deputy belonged to his constituents, and that they had no right to exclude any individual. This moderation befitted real superiority. It was successful, and Maury was more severely punished by a reprimand than he would have been by expulsion. All these expedients for putting the creditors of the State in the same condition as themselves were useless to the clergy; and the Assembly decreed the sale of property belonging to the Crown and the Church to the amount of four hundred millions.

The clergy, rendered desperate, then circulated writings among the people, and declared that the plan of the Revolutionists was to attack the Catholic religion. It was in the southern provinces that it hoped to be most successful. We have seen that the first emigration had directed its course towards Turin. It was with Provence and Languedoc that its principal communications were kept up. Calonne, so celebrated at the time of the Notables,† was the minister of the fugitive Court. The Court was split into two parties. The high nobility was solicitous to maintain its empire, and dreaded the interference of the provincial noblesse, and still more that of the bourgeoisie. In consequence it would have

proposed to do, appeared ridiculous to men who had diverted themselves for a century with the pleasantries of Voltaire.

The other party, composed of petty nobles and expatriated citizens, proposed to combat the passion for liberty by a still stronger passion, fanaticism, and to conquer single-handed without laying itself under obligation to foreigners. The former alleged the vindictive nature of civil war as an excuse for foreign interference. The latter maintained that the effusion of blood was inseparable from such war, but that it ought not to be sullied by a treason. These men, more courageous, more patriotic, but more ferocious than the others, could not possibly succeed in a Court where Calonne ruled. As, however, this Court had need of everybody, the communications between Turin and the southern provinces were continued. It was determined to attack the Revolution by foreign as well as by civil war, and to this end an attempt was made to awaken the ancient fanaticism of those countries.*

The clergy neglected no means of seconding this plan. The Protestants in those parts excited the envy of the Catholics. The clergy took advantage of these dissensions, especially during the solemnities of Easter. At Montpellier, at Nîmes, at Montauban, the old fanaticism was roused in all possible ways.

Charles Lameth complained in the tribune that the festival of Easter had been abused for the purpose of misleading the people, and exciting them against the new laws. At these words the clergy rose, and would have quitted the Assembly. The Bishop of Clermont threatened to do so, and a great number of ecclesiastics were already on their legs and about to retire when Charles Lameth was called to order, and the tumult subsided. Meanwhile the sale of the possessions of the clergy was carried into execution. This was warmly resented by them, and they omitted no occasion of manifesting their indignation.

Dom Gerle, a Carthusian, a man perfectly sincere in his religious and patriotic sentiments, one day desired permission to speak, and proposed that the Catholic religion should be declared the only religion of the State. A great number of deputies instantly rose, and were ready to vote the motion by acclamation, saying that the Assembly had now an opportunity to clear itself from the charge preferred against it of attacking the Catholic religion. Still, what was the tendency of such a motion? It either aimed at giving a privilege to the Catholic religion, and no religion ought to have any; or it was the

* *See* Appendix Z.

declaration of a fact, namely, that the majority of the French were Catholics—a fact which need not have been declared. Such a motion, therefore, could not be entertained. Accordingly, in spite of the efforts of the nobility and clergy, the debate was adjourned to the following day. An immense crowd collected. Lafayette, apprized that evil-disposed persons intended to excite disturbance, had doubled the guard. The discussion commenced. An ecclesiastic threatened the Assembly with malediction. Maury uttered his usual cries. Menou calmly replied to all the reproaches brought against the Assembly, and said that it could not reasonably be accused of an intention to abolish the Catholic religion at the very moment when it was making the cost of its worship an item in the public expenditure. He proposed, therefore, to pass to the order of the day. Dom Gerle was persuaded to withdraw his motion, and excused himself for having excited such a tumult. M. de la Rochefoucauld submitted a motion differently worded, which succeeded that of Menou. All at once a member of the right side complained that the Assembly was not free. He called upon Lafayette, and inquired why he had doubled the guard. The motive was not suspected, for it was not the left side that could be afraid of the people, and it was not his own friends that Lafayette sought to protect. This appeal increased the tumult; the discussion nevertheless continued. In the course of the debate Louis XIV. was mentioned. "I am not surprised," exclaimed Mirabeau, "that reference should be made to the reign in which the Edict of Nantes was revoked; but consider that, from this tribune whence I address you, I see that fatal window where a king, the murderer of his subjects, mingling worldly interests with those of religion, gave the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew!" This terrible apostrophe did not put an end to the discussion. It lasted some time longer, and the motion of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld was finally adopted. The Assembly declared that its sentiments were known; but that out of regard for the liberty of conscience, it neither could nor ought to deliberate on the motion submitted to it.

Scarcely had a few days elapsed before a new expedient was employed to threaten and to dissolve the Assembly. The new organisation of the kingdom was completed; the people were about to be convoked to elect their magistrates, and it was conceived that they might as well choose at the same time new deputies instead of those who composed the Assembly then sitting. This plan, proposed and discussed before, had already been rejected. It was again brought forward in April 1790.

Some of the instructions limited the powers to one year, and the deputies had actually been nearly a year assembled. They had met in May 1789, and it was now near the month of April 1790. Though the instructions had been annulled, and they had bound themselves not to separate before the completion of the constitution, these men, for whom there was neither decree passed nor oath taken, proposed to have other deputies elected, and to give up their places to them.

Maury, charged to propose this measure, played his part with more assurance than ever, but with more address than usual. He appealed to the sovereignty of the people, and said that they could no longer put themselves in the place of the nation and prolong powers which were but temporary. He asked by what right they had invested themselves with sovereign attributes; he insisted that this distinction between the legislative and constituent power was a chimerical distinction; that a sovereign convention could not exist unless in the absence of all government; and that if the Assembly were that convention, it had only to depose the King, and to declare the throne vacant. Loud cries interrupted these words and expressed the general indignation. Mirabeau then rose with dignity. "We are asked," said he, "since what time the deputies of the people have become a National Convention. I answer, from the day when, finding the entry to their seats encompassed by soldiers, they went and met in the first place where they could assemble, to swear to perish rather than to betray and abandon the rights of the nation. On that day the nature of our powers, whatever they were, was changed. Be the powers that we have exercised what they may, our efforts, our labours, have legitimated them. The adhesion of the whole nation has sanctified them. All of you recollect the expression of that great man of antiquity who had neglected the legal forms for saving the country. Called upon by a factious tribune to say if he had observed the laws, he replied, 'I swear that I have saved the country.' Gentlemen," added Mirabeau, addressing the deputies of the commons, "I swear that you have saved France!"

At this magnificent oath, says Ferrières, the whole Assembly, as if under the influence of a sudden inspiration, closed the discussion, and resolved that the electoral bodies should not proceed to the election of new deputies.

Thus was this new scheme frustrated, and the Assembly enabled to proceed with its labours. Disturbances nevertheless continued throughout France. The Commandant de Voisin was murdered by the people. The forts of Marseilles were

its firmness, its unexpected constancy, and, above all, the prospect which it held forth to France and to all nations, could not fail to draw upon it both respect and hatred, and to engage the notice of Cabinets. Europe was then divided between two great hostile leagues—the Anglo-Prussian league on the one hand, and the imperial Courts on the other.

Frederick William had succeeded the great Frederick on the throne of Prussia. This prince, fickle and weak, renouncing the politics of his illustrious predecessor, had forsaken the alliance of France for that of England. United with the latter power, he had formed that famous Anglo-Prussian league which attempted such great things, and executed none of them; which excited Sweden, Poland, and the Porte against Russia and Austria—then abandoned all those whom it had so excited, and even assisted in despoiling them, by the partition of Poland.

The plan of England and Prussia united had been to ruin Russia and Austria, by raising against them Sweden, where reigned the chivalrous Gustavus, Poland groaning under a former partition, and the Porte smarting from Russian invasions. The particular intention of England in this league was, without declaring war against France, to revenge herself for the assistance afforded to the American colonies. She had found the means of doing so in setting the Turks and the Russians at variance. France could not remain neuter between these two nations, without alienating the Turks, who reckoned upon her, and without losing her commercial preponderance in the Levant. On the other hand, by taking part in the war, she should lose the alliance of Russia, with which she had just concluded a most advantageous treaty, which ensured her supplies of timber and of all the articles that the North furnishes in abundance for the navy. Thus in either case France must sustain injury. Meanwhile England was equipping her forces, and preparing to employ them according to circumstances. Moreover, observing the derangement of the finances under the Notables, and the popular excesses under the Constituent Assembly, she conceived that she should have no occasion for war; and it has been thought that she would have been better pleased to destroy France by means of internal disturbances than by arms. Hence she has always been charged with encouraging our dissensions.

This Anglo-Prussian league had occasioned some battles to be fought with doubtful success. Gustavus had extricated himself like a hero from a position into which he had brought himself like an adventurer. Holland, which had risen against

the Stadtholder, had been again subjected to him by English intrigues and Prussian armies. England had thus skilfully deprived France of a powerful maritime alliance; and the Prussian monarch, who sought triumphs of vanity only, had revenged an outrage committed by the States of Holland against the wife of the Stadtholder, who was his own sister. Poland completed her constitution, and was about to take up arms. Turkey had been beaten by Russia. Meanwhile the death of Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, which happened in January 1790, had changed the aspect of things. He had been succeeded by Leopold, that enlightened and pacific prince whose happy reign had blessed Tuscany. Leopold, clever as he was wise, wished to put an end to the war; and in order to succeed the better, he employed the resources of seduction, which had such power over the fickle imagination of Frederick William. Representations were made to that prince, picturing the blessings of peace, the evils of war which had so long pressed heavily upon his people, and lastly, the danger of the French Revolution, which proclaimed such mischievous principles. Ideas of absolute power were awakened within him; he was even led to conceive hopes of chastising the French Revolutionists, as he had chastised those of Holland. He suffered himself to be persuaded at the moment when he was about to reap the advantages of that league so boldly planned by his minister Hertzberg.

It was in July 1790 that peace was signed at Reichenbach. In August, Russia made hers with Sweden, and then had to cope only with Poland, which was far from formidable, and the Turks, who were beaten at all points. We shall notice hereafter these various events. Thus then the attention of the powers was almost exclusively directed to the French Revolution. Some time before the conclusion of peace between Prussia and Leopold, when the Anglo-Prussian league threatened the two imperial Courts, and secretly injured France, as well as Spain, our constant and faithful ally, some English vessels were seized by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound. Warm remonstrances were made, and followed up by a general armament in the English ports. Spain, appealing to treaties, immediately applied to France for assistance, and Louis XVI. ordered the equipment of fifteen sail. England was accused of wishing on this occasion to increase our embarrassments. The clubs of London, it is true, had several times complimented the National Assembly; but the Cabinet left a few philanthropists to indulge in these philosophic effusions, and was meanwhile paying, it is said, those astonishing agitators who appeared everywhere, and gave so much trouble to the national guards of the kingdom.

The disturbances were still greater at the moment of the general armament, and people could not help perceiving a connection between the threats of England and the renewal of the commotions. Lafayette, in particular, who never spoke in the Assembly but on subjects which concerned the public tranquillity, denounced from the tribune a secret influence. "I cannot forbear directing the attention of the Assembly," said he, "to that new fermentation which manifests itself from Strasburg to Nîmes, and from Brest to Toulon, and which the enemies of the people would in vain attribute to them, since it bears all the characteristics of a secret influence. If we talk of establishing departments, the country is laid waste. If neighbouring powers begin to arm, disturbances immediately break out in our ports and in our arsenals." Several commandants had in fact been murdered, and either through accident or design the best officers in our navy had been sacrificed. The English ambassador had been directed by his Court to repel these imputations. But every one knows what confidence is due to such messages. Calonne, too, had written to the King,* to justify England; but Calonne's testimony in favour of a foreign country was liable to suspicion. He urged to no purpose that every expense is known in a representative government, that even secret expenses are at least acknowledged as such, and that there was no item of that kind in the English budgets. Experience has proved that even responsible ministers are never without money. The most that can be said is, that time, which reveals everything, has revealed nothing on this head, and that Necker, whose situation qualified him to judge, never believed in this secret influence.†

The King, as we have just seen, had notified to the Assembly the equipment of fifteen sail of the line, thinking that it would approve of that measure and vote the necessary supplies. The Assembly gave the most favourable reception to the message, but perceived that it involved a constitutional question, which it behoved it to resolve before it replied to the King. "The measures are taken," said Alexandre Lameth; "our discussion cannot delay them; we must therefore first decide whether the King or the Assembly shall be invested with the right of making peace and war." It was, in fact, almost the last important prerogative to be determined, and one of those which could not but excite the strongest interest. The imaginations of men were

* See *L'Armoire de Fer*, No. 25. Letter from Calonne to the King, dated April 9, 1790.

† See what Madame de Staël says in her *Considérations sur la Révolution Française.*

filled with the blunders of Courts; and they were against leaving to the throne the power of plunging the nation into dangerous wars, or dishonouring it by base compromises. Nevertheless, among all the duties of government, the making of war and peace is that which involves the most action, and over which the executive power ought to exercise the most influence; it is that in which it must be left most liberty, that it may act freely and properly. The opinion of Mirabeau, who was said to have been gained by the Court, was known beforehand. The opportunity was favourable for wresting from the orator his much-envied popularity. The Lameths were aware of this, and had charged Barnave to crush Mirabeau. The right side drew back, as it were, and left the field clear for those two rivals.

The discussion was awaited with impatience: it commenced. After several speakers had thrown out merely preliminary ideas, Mirabeau addressed the Assembly, and placed the question in a new light. War, according to him, is almost always unforeseen. Hostilities commence before threats. The King, charged with the public safety, ought to repel them, and thus war is begun before the Assembly has time to interfere. The same is the case with treaties. The King alone can seize the proper moment for negotiating, for conferring, for disputing, with other powers; the Assembly can but ratify the conditions obtained. In either predicament, the King alone can act, and the Assembly approve or disapprove. Mirabeau therefore thought that the executive power should be held bound to prosecute the hostilities commenced, and that the legislative power should, as the case might be, allow the war to continue, or demand peace.

This opinion was applauded, because Mirabeau's opinion always was. Barnave nevertheless rose, and without noticing the other speakers, merely answered Mirabeau. He admitted that the sword is frequently drawn before the nation can be consulted; but he maintained that hostilities are not war; that the King ought to repel them, and as speedily as possible to apprize the Assembly, which then, as sovereign, declares its own intentions. Thus the whole difference lay in the words: for Mirabeau gave to the Assembly the right of disapproving the war and requiring peace; Barnave, that of alike declaring both; but in either case the decision of the Assembly was to be obligatory, and Barnave allowed it no more right than Mirabeau. Barnave was nevertheless applauded, and carried in triumph by the populace, and it was alleged that his adversary was sold. A pamphlet entitled "Great Treason of the Comte de Mirabeau" was hawked about the streets with loud cries.

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The occasion was decisive; every one expected an effort from the terrible champion. He demanded permission to reply, obtained it, ascended the tribune in the presence of an immense multitude assembled to hear him, and declared, as he went up to it, that he would come down again either dead or victorious. "I too," he began, "have been borne in triumph, and yet they are crying to-day, the *great treason of the Comte de Mirabeau.* I needed not this example to learn that it is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock. Yet these strokes from below shall not stop me in my career." After this impressive exordium he intimated that he should reply to Barnave only, and he thus proceeded: "Explain yourself," said he to him; "you have in your opinion limited the King to the notification of hostilities, and you have given to the Assembly alone the right of declaring the national will on that point. There I stop you, and recall you to our principles, which share the expression of the national will between the Assembly and the King. . . . In attributing it to the Assembly alone, you have transgressed against the constitution. I call you to order. . . . You answer not. . . . I shall continue."

No answer could in fact be given. Throughout a long reply Barnave remained exposed to these thundering apostrophes. Mirabeau answered him article by article, and demonstrated that Barnave had not given to the Assembly anything more than he had himself given to it; but that by limiting the King to a mere notification, he had deprived him of his necessary concurrence in the expression of the national will. He concluded by reproaching Barnave with those culpable rivalries between men, who, he said, ought to live like true comrades in arms. Barnave had enumerated the partisans of his opinion. Mirabeau in his turn mentioned his. He pointed out among them those moderate men, the first founders of the constitution, and who talked to the French of liberty, whilst his base calumniators were sucking the milk of Courts (alluded to the Lameths, who had received favours from the Queen), "Men," added he, "who will boast while they live of their friends and of their enemies."

Mirabeau's speech gained unanimous applause. There was in the Assembly a considerable number of deputies who belonged neither to the right nor to the left side, but who, without espousing any party, decided upon the impression of the moment. It was they who gave the victory to genius and reason, because they created a majority on which side soever they voted. Barnave would have replied; the Assembly opposed his intention, and insisted that the question should be put to the vote. The decree

of Mirabeau, ably amended by Chapelier, had the preference, and was finally adopted, to the general satisfaction; for these rivalries did not extend beyond the circle in which they originated, and the popular party conceived that it conquered just as well with Mirabeau as with the Lameths.

The decree conferred on the King and the nation the right of making peace and war. To the King was assigned the disposal of the forces. He was to notify the commencement of hostilities; to call together the Assembly if it was not sitting, and to propose the decree of peace or war. The Assembly was to deliberate on his express proposition, and the King was afterwards to sanction its deliberation. It was Chapelier who, by a very judicious amendment, had required the express proposition and the definitive sanction. This decree, conformable with reason and with the principles already established, excited sincere joy among the constitutionalists, and foolish hopes among the counter-revolutionists, who imagined that the public mind was about to change, and that this victory of Mirabeau's was to become their own. Lafayette, who on this occasion had joined Mirabeau, wrote on the subject to Bouillé, held out to him hopes of tranquillity and moderation, and strove, as he always did, to reconcile him to the new order of things.

The Assembly continued its financial labours. They consisted in disposing to the best advantage of the property of the clergy, the sale of which, long decreed, could not be prevented either by protests, or by pastoral charges, or by intrigues. To dispossess a too powerful body of a great portion of the territory of the kingdom; to divide it in the best possible manner, so as to fertilize it by division; to make landed proprietors of a considerable portion of the people who were not such; lastly, to extinguish by the same operation the debts of the State, and to restore order in the finances—such were the objects of the Assembly, and it was too sensible of their utility to be deterred by obstacles. The Assembly had already ordered the sale of Crown and Church property to the amount of four hundred millions; but it was necessary to find means to dispose of these possessions without lowering their value by putting them up to sale all at once. Bailly proposed, in the name of the municipality of Paris, a plan that was ably conceived, namely, to transfer these possessions to the municipalities, which should purchase them in a mass, for the purpose of selling them again by degrees, so that the sales of the whole might not take place at once. The municipalities not having funds to pay immediately, should give bills at a certain date, and the creditors of

the State were to be paid with *bons* on communes, which they were required to pay off in succession. These *bons*, which in the discussion were called municipal paper, furnished the first idea of the assignats.

In following up Bailly's plan, the Church property was invaded; it was to be divided among the communes, and the creditors were to be brought nearer to their pledge, by acquiring a claim upon the municipalities, instead of having a claim upon the State. The guarantees would therefore be augmented, since the payment was to be brought nearer; it would even depend upon the creditors to effect it themselves, since with these *bons* or assignats they could acquire a proportionable value in property put up to sale. Thus a great deal would have been done for them. But this was not all. They might not choose to convert their *bons* into land, either from scruples or from any other motive. They would then be obliged to keep their *bons*, which, as they could not circulate like money, would be mere unpaid obligations. There remained but one more measure to be taken, which was, to give to these *bons* or obligations the faculty of circulation. They would then become really and truly money, and the creditors, being enabled to pay with them, would be actually reimbursed. Another consideration was decisive. There was a scarcity of specie. This was attributed to the emigration, which carried away a great deal of ready money, to the payments that had to be made to foreigners, and lastly, to malevolence. The real cause was the want of confidence occasioned by the disturbances. Specie is apparent by the circulation. When confidence prevails, the activity of the exchange is extreme; money moves about rapidly, is seen everywhere, and is believed to be more considerable because it is more serviceable. But when political commotions create alarm, capital languishes, specie moves slowly; it is frequently hoarded, and complaints are unjustly made of its absence.

The desire to provide a substitute for metallic specie, which the Assembly considered scarce, by putting into the hands of the creditors something better than a dead obligation, and the necessity of supplying a multitude of other urgent wants, caused the forced currency of money to be given to these *bons* or assignats. The creditor was thereby paid, since he could oblige others to take the paper which he had received, and thus supply all his wants. If he did not choose to purchase lands, those who had taken the circulating paper of him would eventually buy them. The assignats which should come in by this method were to be burnt; thus the lands of the clergy

would soon be distributed, and the paper suppressed. The assignats bore interest at so much per day, and acquired value by remaining in the hands of those who held them.

The clergy, viewing this measure as an instrument of execution against its possessions, strongly opposed it. Its noble and other allies, adverse to everything that facilitated the progress of the Revolution, opposed it also, and cried out against paper-money. The name of Law was brought forward, and the memory of his bankruptcy revived. The comparison, however, was not just, because the value of Law's paper-money depended on the profits to be gained by the India Company, while that of the assignats was founded on a territorial capital, real and easily convertible. Law had committed considerable frauds on the Court, and had greatly exceeded the presumed amount of the Company's capital. The Assembly, on the contrary, could not believe that, with the new forms which it had just established, such errors could take place. Lastly, the amount of the assignats created formed but a very small portion of the capital allotted to them. But it was true enough that paper, however safe, is not, like money, a reality, or according to Bailly's expression, "a physical actuality." Specie carries its own value along with it. Paper, on the contrary, requires one more operation, a purchase of land, a realization. It must therefore be below specie, and as soon as it is below it, money, which nobody will give for paper, is hoarded, and at length disappears. If, moreover, abuses in the administration of the property, and in moderate issues of paper, destroy the proportion between the circulating medium and the capital, confidence vanishes; the nominal value is retained, but the real value ceases; he who gives this conventional money, robs him who receives it, and a great crisis ensues. All this was possible enough, and with more experience would have appeared certain. As a financial measure, the issue of assignats was therefore highly censurable; but it was necessary as a political measure, for it supplied urgent wants, and divided property without the aid of an agrarian law. The Assembly, therefore, had no reason to hesitate; and in spite of Maury and his partisans, it decreed four hundred millions of forced assignats with interest.

Necker had long since lost the confidence of the King, the former deference of his colleagues, and the enthusiasm of the nation.* Engrossed by his calculations, he sometimes entered

* "In passing through Geneva the First Consul had an interview with M. Necker. I know not how it happened, but at the time he did not speak to me of this interview. However, I was curious to know what he thought of a man

into discussion with the Assembly. His reserve for extraordinary expenses occasioned a demand for the production of the red book, the famous register, containing, it was said, a list of all the secret disbursements. Louis XVI. complied with pain, and caused seals to be put upon the leaves in which were entered the expenses of his predecessor, Louis XV. The Assembly respected his delicacy, and confined itself to the expenditure of the current reign. Nothing personally concerning the King was found. Every prodigality had been for the benefit of courtiers. The Lameths were found down for a gratuity of sixty thousand francs, granted by the Queen for their education. They sent back that sum to the public exchequer. The pensions were reduced according to the two-fold proportion of services and the former condition of the persons. The Assembly showed in every point the greatest moderation. It petitioned the King to fix the civil list himself, and it voted by acclamation the twenty-five millions which he demanded.

This Assembly, strong in its number, in its intelligence, in its power, in its resolutions, had conceived the immense plan of regenerating all the departments of the State, and it had just framed the new judicial system. It had distributed the courts in the same manner as the local administrations, by districts and departments. The judges were left to the popular election. This last measure had been strongly opposed. Political metaphysics had been again enlisted on this occasion to prove that the judicial power was dependent on the executive, and that the King ought to appoint the judges. Reasons had been found on both sides; but the only one that should have been given to the Assembly, which was on the point of making a monarchy, was that royalty, successively stripped of its prerogatives, becomes a mere magistracy, and the State a republic. But to say what monarchy was, would have been too bold, requiring concessions which a nation never consents to make in the first moment of its awaking. The fault of nations is to demand either too much or nothing. The Assembly sincerely wished well to the King; it was full of deference for him, and manifested it on every occasion; but it was attached

who had acquired so much celebrity in France. One evening when we were talking, first of one thing, and then of another, I managed to turn the conversation on that subject. 'M. Necker,' said he, 'appears to me very far below his reputation. He did not equal the idea I had formed of him. I tried all I could to get him to talk, but he said nothing remarkable. He is an ideologist—a banker. It is impossible that such a man can have any but narrow views; and besides, all celebrated people lose on a close view."—*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon.*

to the person, and without being aware of it, destroyed the thing.

After introducing this uniformity into the law and the administration, the Assembly had still to regulate the service of religion, and to organize it like all the other systems. Thus, when it had established a court of appeal and a superior administration in every department, it was natural to place there a bishopric also. How, indeed, could certain episcopal sees be suffered to comprehend fifteen hundred square leagues, whilst others embraced but twenty; certain livings to be ten leagues in circumference, whilst others numbered scarcely fifteen houses; and certain curés to have at the utmost but seven hundred livres, whilst there were beneficed ecclesiastics who possessed incomes of ten and fifteen thousand livres?

The Assembly in reforming abuses was interfering neither with the doctrines of the Church nor with the Papal authority, since the circumscriptions had always belonged to the temporal power. It determined, therefore, to form a new division, and to subject, as of old, both curés and bishops to the popular election. Here it was encroaching on the temporal power alone, since it was the King who chose, and the Pope who instituted the ecclesiastical dignitaries. This plan, which was called the civil constitution of the clergy, and which drew upon the Assembly more calumny than anything it had yet done, was nevertheless the work of the most pious deputies. It was Camus and other Jansenists who, desirous of invigorating religion in the State, strove to bring it into harmony with the new laws. It is certain that justice being everywhere else re-established, it would have been strange had it not also been introduced into the ecclesiastical administration. With the exception of Camus and some others of his stamp, the members of the Assembly, educated in the school of the philosophers, would have treated Christianity like all the other religions admitted into the State, and would not have bestowed a thought upon it. They entertained sentiments which in our present social state it is usual not to combat, even when we do not share them. They supported, therefore, the religious and sincerely Christian plan of Camus. The clergy opposed it, alleging that it encroached on the spiritual authority of the Pope, and appealed to Rome. The principal bases of the plan were nevertheless adopted, and immediately presented to the King, who asked for time that he might refer to the high Pontiff. The King, whose enlightened religion recognized the wisdom of this plan, wrote to the Pope, with a sincere desire of obtaining his

assent, and thus overthrowing all the objections of the clergy. We shall presently see what intrigues prevented the success of his wishes.

The month of July approached. It was nearly a year since the Bastille was taken, since the nation had seized all power, since it had announced its intentions by the Assembly, and executed them itself, or caused them to be executed under its superintendence. The 14th of July was considered as the day which had commenced a new era, and it was resolved that its anniversary should be celebrated with great festivity. The provinces and the towns had already set the example of confederating, to resist with united strength the enemies of the Revolution. The municipality of Paris proposed for the 14th of July a general federation of all France, which should be celebrated in the heart of the capital by the deputies of all the national guards and of all the corps of the army. This plan was hailed with enthusiasm, and immense preparations were made to render the festival worthy of its object.

Other nations, as we have seen, had long turned their eyes upon France. The sovereigns began to hate and fear, the people to esteem us. A party of foreign enthusiasts appeared before the Assembly in the costumes of their respective nations. Their spokesman, Anacharsis Clootz, by birth a Prussian, a man of wayward imagination, demanded, in the name of the human race, to be admitted into the Federation.* These scenes, which appear ridiculous to those who are not eye-witnesses of them, make a deep impression upon all who are. The Assembly complied with the demand, and the president replied to these foreigners that they should be admitted, in order that they might be able to relate to their countrymen what they had seen, and to make them acquainted with the joys and the blessings of liberty.

The emotion caused by this scene produced another. An equestrian statue of Louis XIV. represented him trampling upon the image of several conquered provinces. "In the days of liberty," exclaimed one of the Lameths, "these monuments of slavery ought not to be endured. It is not fit that the people of Franche-Comté, when they come to Paris, should see their image thus enchained." Maury opposed a measure in itself unimportant, but which it was necessary to concede to the public enthusiasm. At the same moment a member proposed to abolish the titles of Comte, Marquis, Baron, &c.;

* *See* Appendix AA

to prohibit liveries; in short, to suppress all hereditary titles. Young Montmorenci seconded the motion. A noble asked what they would substitute for the words, "Such a one was created Comte for services rendered to the State." "Let it merely be said," replied Lafayette, "that on such a day such a person saved the State." The motion was carried, notwithstanding the extraordinary irritation of the nobility, which was more galled by the abolition of its titles than by the more substantial losses which it had sustained since the commencement of the Revolution. The more moderate portion of the Assembly had proposed, that in abolishing titles, those who chose to retain them should be at liberty to do so. Lafayette lost no time in apprizing the Court before the decree was sanctioned, and advised that it should be sent back to the Assembly, which would consent to amend it; but the King instantly gave his sanction, in which some thought they could discover the disingenuous intention of driving things to extremities.

The object of the Federation was the civic oath. It was discussed whether the federalists and the Assembly should take the oath to the King, or whether the King, considered as the highest public functionary, should swear with all the others at the altar of the country. The latter course was preferred. Thus did the Assembly put etiquette in complete harmony with the laws, and the King would be no more in the ceremony than he was in the constitution. The Court, which was constantly conceiving distrust of Lafayette, was alarmed at a rumour that was circulated, purporting that he was about to be appointed commandant of all the national guards of the kingdom. It was but natural that those who did not know Lafayette should feel this distrust; and his enemies, of all parties, strove to augment it. How, in fact, could it be supposed that a man, possessing such popularity, at the head of a considerable force, would not abuse it? Nothing, however, was further from his intention; he had resolved to be nothing but a citizen, and whether from virtue or well-judged ambition, the merit is the same. Human pride must be placed somewhere—it is virtue to place it in doing what is right.

Lafayette, in order to remove the alarm of the Court, proposed that one and the same person should not command more than the guard of one department. The motion was carried by acclamation, and the disinterestedness of the general was warmly applauded. Lafayette was nevertheless charged with the whole arrangement of the festival, and appointed chief of

the Federation in his quality of commandant of the Parisian guard.

The day approached, and the preparations were carried on with great activity. The ceremony was to take place in the Champ de Mars, a spacious area, extending from the Military School to the bank of the Seine. It had been planned to remove the earth from the centre to the sides, so as to form an amphitheatre capable of containing the mass of the spectators. Twelve thousand labourers were kept at work without intermission, and yet it was apprehended that the operations could not be finished by the 14th. The inhabitants then proposed to assist the workmen. In an instant the whole population were transformed into labourers. Churchmen, soldiers, persons of all classes, took up the spade and pickaxe. Elegant females themselves lent a hand. The enthusiasm soon became general. The people repaired to the spot by sections, with banners of different colours, and to the sound of drums. On arriving they mingled and worked together. At nightfall, on a given signal, each rejoined his company, and returned to his home. This fraternal harmony prevailed till the work was finished. Meanwhile the federalists kept arriving, and they were received with the greatest kindness and hospitality. The enthusiasm was general, in spite of the alarm which the very small number of persons who remained inaccessible to emotions strove to excite. It was said that the brigands meant to take advantage of the moment when the people should be at the Federation to plunder the city. It was insinuated that the Duc d'Orleans, who had returned from London, entertained sinister designs. The national gaiety was nevertheless undiminished, and no faith was put in any of these evil forebodings.

The 14th at length arrived. All the federate deputies of the provinces and the army, ranged under their chiefs and their banners, set out from the Place of the Bastille, and proceeded to the Tuileries. The deputies of Béarn, in passing the Place de Feronnerie, where Henry IV. was assassinated, paid him a tribute of respect, which in this moment of emotion was expressed by tears. The federalists, on their arrival in the garden of the Tuileries, received into their ranks the municipality of the Assembly. A battalion of boys, armed like their fathers, preceded the Assembly. A body of old men followed it, and thus revived the memory of ancient Sparta. The procession moved forward amidst the shouts and applause of the people. The quays were lined with spectators. The houses were covered with them. A bridge thrown in a few

days across the Seine, and strewed with flowers, led from one bank to the other, facing the scene of the Federation. The procession crossed it, and each took his place. A magnificent amphitheatre, formed at the farthest extremity, was destined for the national authorities. The King and the president sat beside one another on similar seats, sprinkled with golden fleurs-de-lis. Behind the King there was an elevated balcony for the Queen and the Court. The ministers were at some distance from the King, and the deputies ranged on either side. Four hundred thousand spectators occupied the lateral amphitheatres. Sixty thousand armed federalists performed their evolutions in the intermediate space; and in the centre, upon a base twenty-five feet high, stood the altar of the country. Three hundred priests, in white surplices and tri-coloured scarfs, covered the steps, and were to officiate in the mass.

It was three hours before all the federalists had arrived. During this interval the sky was overcast with clouds, and the rain fell in torrents. The sky, whose brightness harmonizes so well with human joys, refused at this moment serenity and light. One of the battalions, as it came up, grounded arms, and conceived the idea of forming a dance. Its example was instantly followed by all the others, and in a moment the intermediate space was filled by sixty thousand men, soldiers and citizens, opposing gaiety of heart to the unfavourable weather. At length the ceremony commenced. The sky happily cleared, and threw its brilliancy over this solemn scene. The Bishop of Autun * began the mass. The choristers accompanied the voice of the prelate; the cannon mingled with it their solemn peals. Divine service over, Lafayette alighted from his horse, ascended the steps of the throne, and received the orders of the King, who handed to him the form of the oath. Lafayette carried it to the altar. At that moment all the banners waved, every sabre glistened. The general, the army, the president, the deputies, cried, "I swear it." The King, standing with his hand outstretched towards the altar, said, "I, King of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the State, in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me." At this moment the Queen, moved by the general emotion, clasped in her arms the august child, the heir to the throne, and from the balcony where she was stationed, showed him to the assembled nation. At this

* *See* Appendix BB.

movement, shouts of joy, attachment, and enthusiasm, were addressed to the mother and the child, and all hearts were hers. At this very same moment all France, assembled in the eighty-three chief towns of the departments, took the same oath to love the King who would love them. In such moments hatred itself is softened, pride gives way, all are happy in the general happiness, and proud of the dignity of all. Why, alas, are these pleasures of concord so soon forgotten!

This august ceremony over, the procession returned, and the people gave themselves up to rejoicing.* These rejoicings lasted several days. A general review of the federalists was held. Sixty thousand men were under arms, and exhibited a magnificent sight, at once military and national. At night Paris was the scene of a charming fête. The principal places of assemblage were the Champs Elysées and the Bastille. On the site of this ancient prison, now converted into an open square, was set up this inscription, "Place for dancing." Brilliant lamps arranged in festoons made amends for the day-light. Opulence had been forbidden to annoy this quiet fête by the movement of carriages. Each was expected to make himself one of the people, and to feel happy in being so. The Champs Elysées exhibited a touching scene. There every one walked about without noise, without tumult, without rivalry, without animosity. All classes intermingled, enjoyed themselves beneath the mild lamp-light, and seemed delighted to be together. Thus, even in the bosom of ancient civilization, men seemed to have found anew the times of primitive fraternity.

The federalists, after attending the imposing discussions of the National Assembly, after witnessing the pomp of the Court and the magnificence of Paris, after experiencing the kindness of the King, whom they all visited, and by whom they were received with touching expressions of benevolence, returned home in transports of intoxication, full of good feelings and illusions. After so many painful events, and while preparing to describe others still more terrible, the historian dwells with pleasure on these too transient scenes, where all hearts had but one sentiment—love for the public weal.†

This touching festival of the Federation was but a fugitive emotion. On the morrow all hearts still wished what they had wished the day before, and the war had recommenced. Petty quarrels with the ministry again began. Complaints

* *See* Appendix CC. † *See* Appendix DD.

were made that a passage had been granted to the Austrian troops into the country of Liege. St. Priest was charged with having favoured the escape of several accused persons who were suspected of counter-revolutionary machinations. The Court, out of revenge, again placed in the order of the day the proceedings commenced at the Châtelet against the authors of the disturbances of the 5th and 6th of October. The Duc d'Orleans and Mirabeau were implicated in them. These singular proceedings, several times relinquished and resumed, betrayed the different influences under which they had been carried on. They were full of contradictions, and presented no sufficient charge against the two principal persons accused. The Court, in conciliating Mirabeau, had nevertheless no settled plan in regard to him. It approached and withdrew from him by turns, and sought rather to appease him than to follow his advice.

In renewing the proceedings of the 5th and 6th of October, it was not at him that it aimed, but at the Duc d'Orleans, who had been much applauded on his return from London, and whom it had harshly repulsed when he begged to be again taken into favour by the King. Chabroud was to report to the Assembly, that it might judge whether there was ground or not for the accusation. The Court was desirous that Mirabeau should keep silence, and that he should abandon the Duc d'Orleans, against whom alone it bore a grudge. He nevertheless spoke, and showed how ridiculous were the imputations thrown out against him. He was accused, in fact, of having apprized Mounier that Paris was marching upon Versailles, and of having added this expression: "We want a King, but no matter whether it be Louis XVI. or Louis XVII.;" of having gone through the Flanders regiment, sword in hand, and exclaimed at the moment of the departure of the Duc d'Orleans: "This *j . . . f . . . . .* is not worth the trouble that is taken about him." Nothing could be more frivolous than such allegations. Mirabeau showed their weakness and absurdity, said but a few words respecting the Duc d'Orleans, and exclaimed, when concluding: "Yes, the secret of these infernal proceedings is at length laid bare; it is yonder, whole and entire (pointing to the right side); it is to be found in the interest of those whose evidence and whose calumnies have formed their tissue; it is in the resources which they have furnished to the enemies of the Revolution; it is—it is in the hearts of the judges, and it will soon be graven in history by the most just and the most implacable vengeance."

Plaudits accompanied Mirabeau to his seat; the Assembly resolved that there was no ground of accusation against the persons inculpated, and the Court incurred the disgrace of a useless attempt.

The Revolution was destined to run its course everywhere, in the army as well as among the people. The army, the last instrument of power, was also the last fear of the popular party. All the military chiefs were enemies of the Revolution, because, being exclusive possessors of promotion and favours, they saw merit admitted to equal privileges with themselves. From the contrary motive, the soldiers inclined to the new order of things; and no doubt the dislike of discipline and the desire of higher pay acted as powerfully upon them as the spirit of liberty. A dangerous insubordination manifested itself throughout almost the whole army. The infantry, in particular, perhaps because it mingles more with the people, was in a state of absolute insurrection. Bouillé, who was mortified to see his army slipping out of his hands, employed all possible means to prevent this contagion of the revolutionary spirit. He had received the most extensive powers from Latour du Pin, minister at war; he availed himself of them to keep shifting his troops about continually, and thus to prevent them from contracting a familiarity with the people by staying in the same place He forbade them above all things to frequent the clubs, and in short, he neglected no means of maintaining military subordination. Bouillé, after a long resistance, had at length taken the oath to the constitution. He was a man of honour, and from that moment he seemed to have formed the resolution to be faithful to the constitution and to the King. His dislike of Lafayette, whose disinterestedness he could not but acknowledge, was overcome, and he was more disposed to be on good terms with him. The national guards of the extensive country under his command had proposed to appoint him their general. He had refused the offer in his first fit of pique, but was sorry for having done so afterwards, when he thought of all the good that he should have had it in his power to do. Nevertheless, in spite of some denunciations of the clubs, he still maintained himself in the popular favour.

Revolt first broke out at Metz. The soldiers confined their officers, seized the colours and the military chests, and wished even to make the municipality contribute. Bouillé exposed himself to the greatest danger, and succeeded in his efforts to suppress the sedition. Soon afterwards a similar mutiny took place at Nancy. Some Swiss regiments were implicated in

it, and there was reason to apprehend that if this example were followed, the whole kingdom would soon be a prey to the united excesses of the soldiery and the populace. The Assembly itself trembled at this prospect. An officer was charged to carry the decree passed against the rebels. He could not put it into execution, and Bouillé was ordered to march to Nancy, that the law might have the assistance of force. He had but few soldiers on whom he could rely. Luckily the troops which had lately mutinied at Metz, humbled because he durst not trust them, offered to march against the rebels: the national guards made a similar offer, and he advanced upon Nancy with these united forces and a tolerably numerous body of cavalry. His situation was perplexing, for he could not employ his cavalry, and his infantry was not strong enough to attack the rebels seconded by the populace. Nevertheless he addressed them with the greatest firmness, and contrived to overawe them. They were even about to yield and to leave the city agreeably to his orders, when some musket-shots were fired from some unknown quarter. An action now became inevitable. Bouillé's troops, under the idea of treachery, fought with the greatest ardour; but the engagement was obstinate, and they penetrated only step by step through a destructive fire. Being at length master of the principal squares, Bouillé gained the submission of the revolted regiments, and compelled them to leave the city; he liberated the imprisoned officers and the authorities, and caused the principal ringleaders to be picked out, and delivered them up to the National Assembly.

This victory diffused general joy, and allayed the fears which had been excited for the tranquillity of the kingdom. Bouillé received congratulations and commendations from the King and the Assembly. He was subsequently calumniated, and his conduct charged with cruelty. It was nevertheless irreproachable, and at the moment it was applauded as such. The King augmented his command, which became very considerable, extending from Switzerland to the Sambre, and comprehending the greatest part of the frontiers. Bouillé, having more reliance on the cavalry than on the infantry, chose the banks of the Seille, which falls into the Moselle, for his cantonments. He there had plains for manœuvring his cavalry, forage for its support, places of considerable strength for entrenching it, and, above all, a thin population. Bouillé had determined to take no step against the constitution, but he distrusted the patriots, and he took precautions with a view to succour the King if circumstances should render it necessary.

The Assembly had abolished the parliaments, instituted

juries, suppressed *jurandes*, and was about to order a fresh issue of assignats. The property of the clergy offering an immense capital, and the assignats rendering it continually disposable, it was natural that the Assembly should employ it. All the objections already urged were renewed with still greater violence. The Bishop of Autun himself declared against this new issue, and had the sagacity to foresee all the financial results of that measure.* Mirabeau, looking chiefly at the political results, obstinately persisted, and with success. Eight hundred millions in assignats were decreed; and this time it was decided that they should not bear interest. It would have been useless, in fact, to add interest to a circulating medium. Let this be done for a paper which cannot circulate, but remains idle in the hands of the holder—nothing is more just; but for a value which becomes actual by its forced currency, it is an error which the Assembly did not commit a second time.

Necker opposed this new issue, and sent in a memorial, which was not listened to. Times were materially changed for him, and he was no longer the minister whose continuance in office was deemed by the people essential to their welfare a year before. Deprived of the confidence of the King, embroiled with his colleagues, excepting Montmorin, he was neglected by the Assembly, and not treated by it with that attention which he had a right to expect. Necker's error consisted in believing that reason is sufficient for all things, and that combined with a medley of sentiment and logic, it could not fail to triumph over the infatuation of the aristocrats and the irritation of the patriots. Necker possessed that somewhat vainglorious reason which sits in judgment on the vagaries of the passions and condemns them; but he lacked that other sort of reason, more lofty but less proud, which does not confine itself to condemning, but knows how to govern them also. Thus, placed in the midst of parties, he only irritated all, without being a bridle upon any. Left without friends, since the secession of Mounier and Lally, he had retained none but the useless Mallouet. He had offended the Assembly by reminding it continually, and with reproaches, of the most difficult of all duties—that of attending to the finances. He had, moreover, incurred ridicule by the manner in which he spoke of himself. His resignation was accepted with pleasure by all parties. His carriage was stopped as it was quitting the kingdom by

* *See* Appendix EE.

the same populace which had before drawn him in triumph; and it was necessary to apply to the Assembly for an order directing that he should be allowed to go to Switzerland. He soon obtained this permission, and retired to Coppet, there to contemplate at a distance a Revolution which he was no longer qualified to observe closely or to guide.

The ministry was now reduced to as complete a cipher as the King, and chiefly busied itself with intrigues, which were either futile or culpable. St. Priest communicated with the emigrants. Latour de Pin lent himself to all the schemes of the military chiefs; Montmorin * possessed the esteem of the Court, but not its confidence, and he was employed in intrigues with the popular leaders, with whom his moderation made him acquainted. The ministers were all denounced on the plea of new plots. "I, too," exclaimed Cazalès, "I, too, would denounce them if it were generous to attack such weak men; I would charge the minister of the finances with having kept the Assembly in the dark respecting the real resources of the State, and with not having directed a Revolution which he had provoked; I would charge the minister at war with having suffered the army to be disorganized; the minister of the interior with not having enforced the observance of the King's orders; all, in short, with their nullity and the cowardly advice given to their master." Inactivity is a crime in the eyes of parties desirous of proceeding to their goal. Accordingly the right side condemned the ministers, not for what they had done, but for what they had not done. Cazalès and his supporters, though they condemned them, were nevertheless averse to applying to the King for their dismissal, because they regarded such an application as an infringement of the royal prerogative. The motion was not pressed; but the ministers successively resigned, excepting Montmorin, who alone was retained. Duport-Dutertre, who was merely an advocate, was appointed keeper of the seals. Duportail, recommended to the King by Lafayette, succeeded Latour du Pin in the war department, and showed himself more favourably disposed towards the popular party. One of the measures taken by him was to deprive Bouillé of all the liberty which he assumed in his command, and especially of the power of displacing the troops at his pleasure—a power which Bouillé employed, as we have seen, to prevent his soldiers from fraternizing with the people.

The King had studied the history of the English Revolution

* *See* Appendix FF.

with particular attention. He had always been powerfully struck by the fate of Charles I., and he could not help feeling sinister forebodings. He had particularly remarked the motive of Charles's condemnation. That motive was civil war. He had thence contracted an invincible horror of every measure that could produce bloodshed, and invariably opposed all the schemes of flight proposed by the Queen and the Court.

During the summer which he passed at St. Cloud in 1790 he had opportunities enough for flight, but he never would listen to the mention of it. The friends of the constitution dreaded, like him, such a step, which seemed likely to lead to a civil war. The aristocrats alone desired it, because, in becoming masters of the King, by withdrawing him from the Assembly, they flattered themselves with the prospect of governing in his name, and returning with him at the head of foreigners; not yet knowing that in such cases one can never go anywhere but in the rear. With the aristocrats were perhaps united some precocious imaginations, which already began to dream of a republic, which no one else yet thought of, and the name of which had never yet been mentioned, unless by the Queen in her fits of passion against Lafayette and the Assembly, whom she accused of urging it on with all their might. Lafayette, chief of the constitutional army and of all the sincere friends of liberty, kept incessant watch over the person of the monarch. Those two ideas—the departure of the King and civil war—were so strongly associated in all minds ever since the commencement of the Revolution, that such an event was considered as the greatest calamity that could be apprehended.

Meanwhile the expulsion of the ministry, which, if it had not the confidence of Louis XVI., was at least his choice, indisposed him towards the Assembly, and excited his fears for the total loss of the executive power. The new religious debates, to which the bad faith of the clergy gave rise on occasion of the civil constitution, affrighted his timid conscience, and thenceforward he thought of departure.* It

* "About this time Madame de Staël invented a plan for his Majesty's escape, which she communicated to M. de Montmorin in a letter that he showed me. The plan was as follows:—The estate of Lamotte, on the coast of Normandy, belonging to the Duc d'Orleans, was to be sold. Madame de Staël proposed that she should publicly give out that she had an intention to purchase it; and on this pretext, that she should make frequent journeys to that place, always in the same carriage, and accompanied in the same manner—namely by a man of the same size and shape as the King, dressed in a grey coat, and a round periwig; by a waiting-woman resembling the Queen; by a child of the age and figure of the Dauphin; and by a footman on horseback. When these repeated journeys

was towards the end of 1790 that he wrote on the subject to Bouillé, who at first opposed the scheme, but afterwards gave way, lest he should cause the unfortunate monarch to doubt his zeal. Mirabeau, on his part, had formed a plan for upholding the monarchy. In continual communication with Montmorin, he had hitherto undertaken nothing of consequence; because the Court, hesitating between emigration and the national party, was not cordially disposed towards anything, and dreaded, above all other schemes, that which would subject it to a master so sincerely constitutional as Mirabeau. Nevertheless at this period it cordially agreed with him. Everything was promised him if he succeeded. All possible resources were placed at his disposal. Talon, civil lieutenant to the Châtelet, and Laporte, recently summoned by the King to manage the civil list, had orders to see him, and to aid in the execution of his plans. Mirabeau condemned the new constitution. For a monarchy it was, according to him, too democratic, and for a republic there was a king too much. Observing, above all, the popular violence, which kept continually increasing, he resolved to set bounds to it. At Paris, under the rule of the mob and of an all-powerful Assembly, any attempt of this sort was impossible. He felt that there was but one alternative —to remove the King from Paris, and place him at Lyons. There the King could have explained himself—he could have energetically stated the reasons which caused him to condemn the new constitution, and have given another which was ready prepared. At the same instant a first session would have been convoked. Mirabeau, in conferring in writing with the most popular members, had had the art to draw from all of them the acknowledgment of their disapprobation of an article in the existing constitution. On comparing these different opinions, it was found that the constitution was altogether condemned by its framers themselves.* He proposed to annex

had accustomed the masters of the post-houses and the postillions on the road to the appearance of Madame de Staël and her travelling companions, she proposed that their places should be occupied by the King, Queen, and Dauphin, in the hope that they would arrive safely at the castle of Lamotte, where a fishing-vessel would be in readiness to transport them whither they pleased. This plan appeared to M. de Montmorin equally dangerous, romantic, and inconsistent with propriety; he therefore never mentioned it to the King, in the fear that his Majesty, who regarded Madame de Staël as an enthusiast, would reject every future plan of escape as wild and extravagant, merely because a similar measure had been proposed by her."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Mollcville.*

* It is not possible that there should not be diversity of opinions in regard to a work composed collectively, and by a great number of persons. Unanimity having never taken place, excepting on certain very rare points, of course every part was disapproved by those who voted against it. Thus every article of the constitution of 1791 must have met with some disapprovers among the very

them to the manifesto of the King, to ensure its effect, and to cause the necessity for a new constitution to be the more strongly felt. We are not acquainted with all his means of execution; but we know that through the policy of Talon, civil lieutenant, he had secured pamphleteers and club and mob orators, and that by his immense correspondence he could have made sure of thirty-six departments of the South. No doubt he meant to gain the aid of Bouillé; but he would not place himself at the mercy of that general. While Bouillé should be encamped at Montmedy, he wished the King to stay at Lyons; and he himself was to be at Lyons or Paris according to circumstances. A foreign prince, a friend of Mirabeau, saw Bouillé on behalf of the King, and communicated to him this plan, but unknown to Mirabeau,† who had no thought of Montmedy, for which place the King subsequently set out. Bouillé, struck by the genius of Mirabeau, declared that everything ought to be done to win such a man, and that for his own part he was ready to second him with all his means.

M. de Lafayette was unacquainted with this plan. Though sincerely attached to the person of the King, he had not the confidence of the Court; and besides, he excited the envy of Mirabeau, who was not desirous of having such a companion. M. de Lafayette, moreover, was known to pursue only the direct road; and this plan was too bold—it deviated too much from the legal course to suit him. Be this as it may, Mirabeau wished to be the sole executor of his plan, and in fact he carried it on quite alone during the winter of 1790–1. It is impossible to tell whether it would have succeeded; but thus much is certain, that without stemming the revolutionary torrent, it would at least have influenced its direction; and that though it would undoubtedly not have changed the inevi-

authors of that constitution; the whole was nevertheless their real and incontestable work. What happened in this instance would have been inevitable in any deliberative body, and the expedient of Mirabeau was but a trick. It may even be said, that his procedure was far from delicate; but great allowance must be made for a man of mighty mind and dissolute manners, whom the morality of the aim rendered not over scrupulous in regard to that of the means. I say the morality of the aim, for Mirabeau sincerely believed in the necessity of a modified constitution; and though his ambition and his petty personal rivalries contributed to keep him aloof from the popular party, he was sincere in his fear of anarchy. Others beside him dreaded the Court and the aristocracy more than the people. Thus there were everywhere, according to the positions of parties, different fears, and everywhere true ones. Conviction changes with the points of view; and morality, that is to say, sincerity, is to be found alike on the most opposite sides.

† Bouillé, in his Memoirs, seems to believe that it was on the part of Mirabeau and the King that overtures were made to him. This is a mistake. Mirabeau was ignorant of this double dealing, and had no intention of putting himself into Bouillé's power.

table result of the Revolution, it would have modified events by its powerful opposition. It is still a question, however, whether, had he even succeeded in quelling the popular party, he could have made himself master of the aristocracy and of the Court. One of his friends mentioned to him this last objection. "They have promised me everything," said Mirabeau. "And if they should not keep their word?" "If they do not keep their word, I will soon turn them into a republic."

The principal articles of the civil constitution, such as the new circumscription of the bishoprics and the election of all the ecclesiastical functionaries, had been decreed. The King had referred to the Pope, who, after answering him in a tone half severe and half paternal, had appealed in his turn to the clergy of France. The clergy, availing itself of this occasion, alleged that spiritual interests were compromized by the measures of the Assembly. At the same time it circulated pastoral charges, declared that the displaced bishops would not quit their sees but by compulsion and force; that they would hire houses and continue their ecclesiastical functions; and that all who adhered faithfully to their religion ought to have recourse to them alone. The clergy intrigued, particularly in La Vendée and in some of the southern departments, where it acted in concert with the emigrants. A federative camp had been formed at Jallez, where, under the apparent pretext of federation, the pretended federalists purposed to establish a centre of opposition to the measures of the Assembly. The popular party was exasperated at these proceedings; and strong in its power, weary of moderation, it resolved to resort to a decisive expedient. We have already seen what were the motives that had influenced the adoption of the civil constitution. The framers of that constitution were the most sincere Christians in the Assembly; and these, irritated by an unjust resistance, resolved to overcome it.

The reader knows that a decree obliged all the public functionaries to take an oath to the new constitution. When this civic oath was discussed, the clergy endeavoured to make a distinction between the political constitution and the ecclesiastical constitution; but the Assembly had gone still farther. On this occasion it resolved to require of the ecclesiastics a rigorous oath, which should impose on them the necessity of retiring if they refused to take it, or of faithfully performing their duties if they did take it. It had the precaution to declare that it meant not to do violence to consciences; that it should respect the refusal of those who, considering religion

as compromized by the new laws, would not take the oath; but that it was desirous of knowing them, that it might not consign the new bishoprics to their charge. In this course its motives were just and frank. It added to its decree, that those who should refuse to take the oath should be deprived of their functions and salary. Moreover, by way of setting the example, all the ecclesiastics who were deputies were required to take the oath in the Assembly itself eight days after the sanction of the new decree.

The right side opposed this. Maury gave vent to all his violence, and did all that lay in his power to provoke interruption, that he might have ground for complaint. Alexandre Lameth, who filled the president's chair, maintained order while he spoke, and deprived him of the pleasure of being driven from the tribune. Mirabeau, more eloquent than ever, defended the Assembly. "You," he exclaimed, "the persecutors of religion! you, who have paid it so noble and so touching a homage in the most admirable of your decrees! you, who devote to its worship part of the public revenue, of which your prudence and your justice have rendered you so economical! you, who have summoned religion to assist in the division of the kingdom, and have planted the sign of the cross on all the boundaries of the departments! you, in short, who know that God is as necessary to man as liberty!"

The Assembly decreed the oath. The King referred immediately to Rome. The Bishop of Aix, who had at first opposed the civil constitution, feeling the necessity of a pacification, joined the King and some of the more moderate of his colleagues in soliciting the assent of the Pope. The emigrants at Turin, and the opposing bishops of France, wrote also to Rome, but in a directly contrary spirit; and the Pope, upon various pretexts, postponed his answer. The Assembly, irritated at these delays, insisted on having the sanction of the King, who, having made up his mind to comply, resorted to the usual stratagems of weakness. He wished to oblige the Assembly to use constraint towards him, that he might seem not to act freely. In fact, he expected a commotion, and then he hastened to give his sanction. As soon as the decree was sanctioned, the Assembly determined to put it in execution, and required its ecclesiastical members to take the oath in their places. Men and women who had until then shown very little attachment to religion all at once made themselves extremely busy in provoking the refusal of the ecclesiastics.*

* *See* Appendix GG.

Some of the bishops and some of the curés took the oath. The majority refused, with a feigned moderation and an apparent attachment to its principles. The Assembly nevertheless persisted in the nomination of new bishops and curés, and was cheerfully seconded by the administrations. The former ecclesiastical functionaries were at liberty to perform divine service apart, and those who were recognized by the State took their places in the churches. The Dissenters at Paris hired the church of the Theatines for their place of worship. The Assembly permitted this, and the national guard protected them as much as possible from the fury of the populace, which did not always allow them to perform their devotions in quiet.

The Assembly has been condemned for having occasioned this schism, and for having added a new cause of division to those which before existed. In the first place, as to its rights, it must be evident to every just mind that the Assembly did not exceed them in directing its attention to the temporalities of the Church. As for considerations of prudence, we may affirm that it added little to the difficulties of its position. It is evident that the Court, the nobility, and the clergy had lost enough, and the people had gained enough, to be irreconcilable enemies, and to impel the Revolution to its inevitable issue, even without the effects of the new schism. And besides, when the Assembly was abolishing all abuses, could it suffer those of the ancient ecclesiastical organization to remain? Could it suffer idle persons to live in abundance, while pastors, the only useful members of the profession, had scarcely the necessaries of existence?

This last struggle completed the work of universal division. While the clergy excited the provinces of the West and South, the refugees at Turin made several attempts, which were frustrated by their weakness and their anarchy. A conspiracy was set on foot at Lyons. The arrival of the princes and an abundant distribution of favours were there announced. Lyons was even promised to be made the capital of the kingdom, instead of Paris, which had incurred the displeasure of the Court. The King was apprized of these schemes, and—not expecting success from them, perhaps not even desiring it, for he despaired of governing the victorious aristocracy—he did all that lay in his power to prevent it. This conspiracy was discovered about the end of 1790, and its principal agents were delivered up to justice.

This last reverse determined the emigrants to remove from Turin to Coblentz, where they settled in the territory of the

Elector of Treves, and at the expense of his authority, which they almost entirely usurped. We have already seen that these nobles who had fled from France were divided into two parties. The one, consisting of old servants pampered with favours, and composing what was called the Court, would not, while supported by the provincial nobility, consent to share influence with the latter, and for this reason they meant to have recourse to foreigners alone. The others, men relying more upon their swords, proposed to raise the provinces of the South by rousing their fanaticism. The former carried their point, and repaired to Coblentz, on the northern frontier, to wait there for the foreign aid. In vain did those who wished to fight in the South insist that aid ought to be sought from Piedmont, Switzerland, and Spain—faithful and disinterested allies—and that a distinguished leader should be left in their vicinity. The aristocracy, directed by Calonne, was adverse to this. That aristocracy had not changed since leaving France: frivolous, haughty, incapable, and prodigal—at Coblentz as at Versailles—it displayed its vices still more conspicuously amidst the difficulties of exile and of civil war. "You must have citizens in your commission," it said to those gallant men who offered to fight in the South, and who asked under what title they were to serve.* Some subordinate agents only were left at Turin; these, actuated by mutual jealousy, thwarted each other's efforts, and prevented the success of every attempt. The Prince de Condé,† who seemed to have retained all the energy of his branch of the royal family, was not in favour with part of the nobility; he took post near the Rhine, with all those who, like himself, were not disposed to intrigue, but to fight.

The emigration became daily more considerable, and the roads were covered with nobles, who imagined that they performed a sacred duty by hastening to take arms against their country. Even women deemed it incumbent on them to attest their horror of the Revolution by forsaking the soil of France. Among a nation which is so easily led away by example it became the fashion to emigrate. People hardly gave themselves the trouble to take leave, so short did they consider the journey, and so speedy their return.‡ The Revolutionists of Holland, betrayed by their general, abandoned by their allies, had yielded in a few days; those of Brabant had not held out much longer: so, too, according to these

* *See* Appendix HH. † *See* Appendix II.

‡ *See* Appendix JJ.

imprudent emigrants, would the French Revolution be quelled in one short campaign, and absolute power would once more flourish in subjugated France.

The Assembly, irritated rather than alarmed at such presumption, had proposed measures, but they had always been deferred. The King's aunts, finding their consciences compromized at Paris, thought to ensure their salvation by repairing to the Pope. They set out for Rome, and were stopped on the way by the municipality of Arnai-le-Duc. The people immediately thronged to the residence of Monsieur, who also was said to be preparing to depart. Monsieur appeared, and promised not to forsake the King. The people were pacified, and the Assembly took into consideration the departure of Mesdames. The deliberation had lasted a considerable time, when Menou put an end to it by this sally: "All Europe," said he, "will be astonished to learn that a great Assembly has spent several days in deciding whether two old women shall hear mass at Paris or at Rome." The committee of constitution was nevertheless directed to present a law on the residence of the public functionaries and on emigration. This decree, adopted after warm discussions, rendered it obligatory on public functionaries to reside in the place of their functions. The King, as the highest of all, was required not to withdraw himself from the Legislative Body during the session, and at other times not to leave the kingdom. The penalty for all the functionaries in case of their violating this law was dismissal from office. Another decree relative to emigration was demanded from the committee.

Meanwhile the King, unable to endure the constraint imposed upon him, and the reductions of power to which he was subjected by the Assembly, enjoying, moreover, no peace of mind since the new decrees relative to priests, had resolved upon flight. The whole winter had been devoted to preparations for it: the zeal of Mirabeau was urged, and great promises were held out to him if he should succeed in setting the royal family at liberty. Mirabeau prosecuted his plan with the utmost activity. Lafayette had just broken with the Lameths. The latter thought him too much attached to the Court; and his integrity being, unlike that of Mirabeau, above suspicion, they found fault with his understanding, and alleged that he suffered himself to be duped. The enemies of the Lameths accused them of being jealous of the military power of Lafayette, as they had envied the rhetorical power of Mirabeau. They joined, or seemed to join, the friends of the Duc

d'Orleans,* and it was asserted that they wished to secure for one of them the command of the national guard. It was Charles Lameth who was said to be ambitious of obtaining this appointment. To this motive were attributed the incessantly recurring difficulties that were subsequently thrown in the way of Lafayette.

On the 28th of February the populace, instigated, it is said, by the Duc d'Orleans, repaired to the castle of Vincennes, which the municipality had appropriated for the reception of prisoners, with whom the prisons of Paris were too much crowded. The castle was attacked as a new Bastille. Lafayette hastened to the spot in time, and dispersed the populace of the Faubourg St. Antoine, who were led upon this expedition by Santerre.† While he was restoring order in this quarter, other difficulties were preparing for him at the Tuileries. On the rumour of a commotion, the dependents of the palace, to the number of several hundred, had repaired thither. They carried concealed weapons, such as hunting-knives and daggers. The national guard, astonished at this concourse, took alarm, and disarmed and maltreated some of them. Lafayette having arrived, caused the palace to be cleared, and seized the weapons. The circumstance was immediately rumoured abroad. It was said that daggers had been found upon them, whence they were afterwards called knights of the dagger. They asserted that they had only come to defend the person of the King, which was threatened. In reply they were accused of an intention to carry off the King; and the affair ended, as usual, in reciprocal calumnies. This scene determined the real position of Lafayette. It was clearly shown on this occasion, that placed between the most opposite parties, he was there to protect both the person of the King and the constitution. His double victory increased his popularity, his power, and the hatred of his enemies. Mirabeau, who wrongfully encouraged the distrust of the Court towards him, represented his conduct as profoundly hypocritical. Under the appearance of moderation and hostility to all parties, it tended, according to him, to usurpation. In his spleen, he described the Lameths as wicked and senseless men, associated with the Duc d'Orleans, and having no more than about thirty partisans in the Assembly. As for the right side, he declared that he could make nothing

* "The three brothers, Theodore, Charles, and Alexandre Lameth, were peculiarly called on to defend the cause of monarchy, for they had been loaded with benefits by the Court, and educated under the special patronage of the Queen, to whom they had been recommended by their mother, who was the sister of Marshal Broglie."—*Biographie Moderne.*

† *See* Appendix KK.

of it, but that he relied on the three or four hundred members who were bound by no engagements, but decided from the impression of reason and eloquence which he produced at the moment.

There was nothing true in this representation but his estimate of the respective force of the parties, and his opinions concerning the means of directing the Assembly. He virtually governed it by influencing all who had not bound themselves by engagements. On this same day, the 28th of February, he exercised his sway almost for the last time, displayed his hatred to the Lameths, and brought his formidable power to bear against them.

The law relative to emigration was about to be discussed. Chapelier presented it in the name of the committee, which, he said, participated in the general indignation against those Frenchmen who were forsaking their country; but he declared that after several days' consideration the committee had satisfied itself that it was impossible to make any law concerning emigration. It was in reality a difficult thing to do. It was necessary, in the first place, to inquire if they had any right to attach men to the soil. They certainly had a right to do so if the welfare of the country demanded it. But it was requisite to make a distinction between the motives of travellers, which became inquisitorial. It was requisite to make a distinction between their quality as Frenchmen or foreigners, emigrants or mere mercantile men. Such a law then was extremely difficult, if not impossible. Chapelier added that the committee, in compliance with the directions of the Assembly, had nevertheless drawn up one, which he would read if permitted, but which he had no hesitation in declaring violated all principles. From all quarters issued cries of "Read!" "Don't read!" A great number of deputies asked leave to speak. Mirabeau demanded it in his turn, obtained permission, and what is still more, commanded silence. He read a very eloquent letter, addressed some time before to Frederick William, in which he advocated the liberty of emigration as one of the most sacred rights of man, who, not being attached by roots to the soil, ought not to be attached to it by anything but by happiness. Mirabeau, perhaps to gratify the Court, but still more from conviction, repelled as tyrannical every measure against the liberty of entering or withdrawing from the country. A bad use was no doubt made of this liberty at the moment; but the Assembly, confident in its strength, had winked at so many abuses of the press committed against itself, had encountered so many vain attempts, and so victoriously over-

thrown them, that one might safely advise it to persist in the same system.

Mirabeau's opinion was applauded; but the members continued to insist on the reading of the proposed law. Chapelier at length read it. It suggested, in case of disturbances, the appointment of a commission of three members, which should appoint by name, and at their pleasure, those who were to be at liberty to leave the kingdom. At this cutting irony, which denounced the impossibility of a law, murmurs arose. "Your murmurs have soothed me," exclaimed Mirabeau; "your hearts respond to mine, and oppose this absurd tyranny. As for me, I hold myself released from every oath towards those who shall be infamous enough to admit of a dictatorial commission." Cries were raised on the left side. "Yes," he repeated, "I swear. . . ." He was again interrupted. "That popularity," he resumed in a voice of thunder, "to which I have aspired, and which I have enjoyed as well as others, is not a feeble reed; I will thrust it deep into the earth, and I will make it shoot up in the soil of justice and reason." Applauses burst forth from all quarters. "I swear," added the orator, "if a law against emigration is voted, I swear to disobey you."

He descended from the tribune after astounding the Assembly and overawing his enemies. The discussion nevertheless continued. Some were for adjournment, that they might have time for making a better law; others insisted that they should forthwith declare that none should be made, in order to pacify the people, and to put an end to the ferment. Murmurs, shouts, applauses, succeeded. Mirabeau asked, and seemed to require, to be heard. "What right of dictatorship is it," cried M. Goupil, "that M. de Mirabeau exercises here?" Mirabeau, without heeding him, hurried to the tribune. "I have not given you permission to speak," said the president. "Let the Assembly decide." But the Assembly listened without deciding. "I beg my interrupters," said Mirabeau, "to remember that I have all my life combated tyranny, and that I will combat it wherever I find it." As he uttered these words he cast his eyes from the right to the left. Loud applause followed his words. He resumed. "I beg M. Goupil to recollect that he was under a mistake some time since in regard to a Catiline, whose dictatorship he this day attacks;* I beg the Assembly to remark that the question of adjournment, though apparently simple, involves others—for example, it presupposes that a law is to be made." Fresh murmurs

* M. Goupil, when attacking Mirabeau upon a former occasion, had exclaimed with the right side, "Catiline is at our doors!"

arose on the left. "Silence! ye thirty voices!" exclaimed the speaker, fixing his eyes on the place of Barnave and the Lameths. "However," added he, "if it is wished, I, too, will vote for the adjournment, on condition that it be decreed that from this time until the expiration of the adjournment there shall be no sedition." Unanimous acclamations followed the concluding words. The adjournment was nevertheless carried, but by so small a majority that the result was disputed, and a second trial demanded.

Mirabeau on this occasion was particularly striking by his boldness. Never, perhaps, had he more imperiously overruled the Assembly. But these were his last triumphs. His end approached. Presentiments of death mingled with his vast projects, and sometimes subdued his flights of fancy. His conscience, however, was satisfied: the public esteem was joined with his own, and assured him that if he had not yet done enough for the welfare of the State, he had at least done enough for his own glory. Philosophy and gaiety divided his last moments between them. Pale, and with his eyes deeply sunk in their orbits, he appeared quite different in the tribune. Moreover, he was subject to frequent and sudden fainting-fits. Excess in pleasure and in business, together with the excitement of the tribune, had in a short time undermined his vigorous constitution. Baths containing a solution of sublimate, had produced that greenish tint which was attributed to poison.* The Court was alarmed; all parties were astonished, and before his death, people inquired the cause of it. On his last public appearance he spoke five different times, left the Assembly exhausted, and never afterwards went abroad. The bed of death received him, and he left it only for the Pantheon. He had enjoined Cabanis not to call in any physicians: he was nevertheless disobeyed, and they found that death was approaching, and that it had already seized his lower extremities. His head was last attacked, as if nature had decreed that his genius should continue to shine till the very last moment. An immense crowd collected around his abode, and filled all the avenues in the deepest silence. The Court sent messenger after messenger; the bulletins of his health were transmitted from mouth to mouth, and each progressive stage of his disorder excited fresh grief. He himself, surrounded by his friends, expressed some regret at the interruption of his labours, and some pride at what he had accomplished.

* *See* Appendix LL.

"Support," said he to his servant, "support this head, the greatest in France." He was affected by the sympathy of the people; and the visit of his enemy Barnave, who called upon him in the name of the Jacobins, excited in him a soothing emotion. He bestowed some more thoughts on public affairs. The Assembly was about to direct its attention to the right of making wills. He sent for M. de Talleyrand, and put into his hands a speech which he had just written. "It will be curious," said he, "to hear a man speaking against wills who is no more, and who has just made his own." The Court had in fact requested him to do so, promising to pay all the legacies. Extending his views over Europe, and foreseeing the plans of England, "That Pitt," said he, "is the minister of preparations; he governs with threats: I would give him some trouble if I should live." The priest of his parish came to offer his attendance, which he politely declined, saying, with a smile, that he should gladly have accepted it if he had not in his house his ecclesiastical superior, the Bishop of Autun. He desired the windows to be opened. "My friend," said he to Cabanis, "I shall die to-day. All that can now be done is to envelop oneself in perfumes, to crown oneself with flowers, to surround oneself with music, that one may sink quietly into everlasting sleep." Acute pains from time to time interrupted these calm and dignified observations. "You have promised," said he to his friends, "to spare me needless suffering." So saying, he earnestly begged for opium. As it was refused, he demanded it with his accustomed violence. To quiet him, they resorted to deception, and handed him a cup which they said contained opium. He took it with composure, swallowed the draught which he believed to be mortal, and appeared satisfied. In a moment afterwards he expired.* This was on the 2nd of April 1791. The tidings soon reached the Court, the city, and the Assembly. All parties had hope in him, and all, excepting the envious, were filled with grief. The Assembly suspended its proceedings; a general mourning was ordered, and a magnificent funeral prepared. A certain number of deputies was asked for. "We will all go!" they exclaimed. The church of St. Genevieve was converted into a Pantheon, with this inscrip-

* "Mirabeau bore much of his character imprinted on his person and features. 'Figure to your mind,' he said, describing his own countenance to a lady who knew him not, 'a tiger who has had the smallpox.' When he talked of confronting his opponents in the Assembly, his favourite phrase was, 'I will show them La Hure,' that is, the boar's head, meaning his own tusked and shaggy countenance."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

tion, which, at the moment that I record these facts, no longer exists :—

"AUX GRANDS HOMMES LA PATRIE RECONNAISSANTE." *

Mirabeau was the first admitted into it, and placed by the side of Descartes. His funeral took place on the following day. All the authorities, the department, the municipalities, the popular societies, the Assembly, and the army accompanied the procession. This mere orator obtained more honours than had ever been paid to the pompous coffins formerly conveyed to St. Denis. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, who, after boldly attacking and vanquishing the ancient race, dared to direct his efforts against the new, which had assisted him to conquer; who checked them with his voice, and made them respect him even while he employed his energies against them; that man, in short, who did his duty from reason, and from the promptings of genius, but not for the sake of a handful of gold; and who had the singular honour, when the popularity of all other statesmen terminated in the disgust of the people, to see his yield to death alone. But would he have infused resignation into the heart of the Court, moderation into the hearts of the ambitious?—would he have said to the popular tribunes, who sought to shine in their turn, "Remain in these obscure faubourgs?"—would he have said to Danton, that second Mirabeau of the populace,† "Stop in this section, and ascend no higher?" We cannot tell; but in that case all wavering interests would have placed themselves in his hands and have relied upon him. Long was the want of his presence felt. In the confusion of the disputes which followed, the eye would turn to the place which he had occupied, and seemed to seek him who had been accustomed to terminate them with a victorious word. "Mirabeau is no longer here," exclaimed Maury one day, in ascending the tribune, "I shall not be prevented from speaking."

The death of Mirabeau deprived the Court of all courage. Fresh events occurred to accelerate the flight of the royal family, which it had resolved upon. On the 18th of April the King intended to go to St. Cloud. A report was spread, that as he did not choose to employ a priest who had taken the oath for the duties of Easter, he had resolved to keep away during the Passion week. Others alleged that his intention

* "To great men the grateful country."
† *See* Appendix MM.

was flight. The populace immediately collected and stopped the horses. Lafayette hastened to the spot, besought the King to remain in his carriage, assuring him that he would have a passage cleared for him. The King nevertheless alighted, and would not permit any attempt to be made. It was his old policy not to appear to be free. By the advice of his ministers he repaired to the Assembly to complain of the insult which he had just received. The Assembly greeted him with its ordinary warmth, promising to do everything that depended on it to ensure his liberty. Louis XVI. withdrew, applauded by all excepting the right side.

On the 23rd of April, agreeably to the advice given to him, he ordered a letter to be written to the foreign ambassadors by M. de Montmorin, in which he contradicted the intentions imputed to him of leaving the country, declaring to the powers that he had taken an oath to the constitution, which he was determined to keep, and proclaiming as his enemies all who should insinuate the contrary. The expressions of this letter were voluntarily exaggerated, that it might appear to have been extorted by violence. This the King himself acknowledged to the envoy of the Emperor Leopold. That prince was then travelling in Italy, and was at this moment in Mantua. Calonne was in negotiation with him. An envoy, M. Alexandre de Durfort, came from Mantua to the King and Queen, to learn their real disposition. He first questioned them concerning the letter addressed to the ambassadors, and they replied that he might see from the language that it was wrung from them. He then inquired what were their hopes, and they answered that they had none since the death of Mirabeau. Lastly, he wished to know their disposition towards the Comte d'Artois, and they assured him that it could not be more favourable.

In order to comprehend the motive of these questions, it should be known that the Baron de Breteuil was the declared enemy of Calonne; that his enmity had not ceased at the time of the emigration; and that charged with the full powers of Louis XVI.* to the Court of Vienna, he crossed all the proceedings of the princes. He assured Leopold that the King would not consent to be saved by the emigrants, because he dreaded their rapacity, and that the Queen personally had quarrelled with Comte d'Artois. He always proposed for the welfare of the throne the very contrary to what Calonne proposed, and he neglected nothing to destroy the effect of this

* *See* Bertrand de Molleville on this subject.

new negotiation. The Comte de Durfort returned to Mantua, and on the 20th of May 1791, Leopold promised to set in motion thirty-five thousand men in Flanders, and fifteen thousand in Alsace. He declared that a like number of Swiss should march upon Lyons, as many Piedmontese upon Dauphiné, and that Spain should assemble twenty thousand men. The Emperor promised the co-operation of the King of Prussia and the neutrality of England. A protest was to be drawn up in the name of the house of Bourbon, and signed by the King of Naples, the King of Spain, the Infant of Palma, and the expatriated princes. Until then the utmost secrecy was to be observed. It was recommended to Louis XVI. not to think of withdrawing, though he had expressed a desire to do so. Breteuil, on the contrary, advised the King to set out. It is possible that this advice was well meant on both sides. Still it must be remarked that it was given with an eye to the interests of each. Breteuil, with a view to counteract Calonne's negotiation at Mantua, recommended departure; and Calonne, whose rule would have been at an end if Louis XVI. had removed beyond the frontiers, caused it to be intimated to him that he ought to remain. Be this as it may, the King resolved to set out, and he frequently said with displeasure, "It is Breteuil who insists on it." * Accordingly he wrote to Bouillé that he was determined to wait no longer. It was not his intention to leave the kingdom, but to retire to Montmedy, where he might, in case of need, be supported by Luxemburg, and receive foreign aid. The Chalons road, by Clermont and Varennes, was preferred, contrary to the advice of Bouillé. All the preparations were made for starting on the 20th of June. The general assembled the troops on which he could place most reliance, prepared a camp at Montmedy, collected forage, and alleged movements which he perceived on the frontiers as a pretext for all these dispositions. The Queen took upon herself all the preparations from Paris to Chalons, and Bouillé from Chalons to Montmedy. Small detachments of cavalry, upon pretext of escorting money, were to proceed to different points, and receive the King on his passage. Bouillé himself purposed to advance to some distance from Montmedy. The Queen had secured a private door for quitting the palace. The royal family was to travel by a foreign name, and with a fictitious passport. Everything was arranged for the 20th; but some alarm caused the journey to be deferred until the 21st, a delay which proved fatal to

* *See* Bertrand de Molleville.

this unfortunate family. M. de Lafayette knew nothing whatever of the plan; nay, even M. de Montmorin, though possessing the confidence of the Court, was entirely ignorant of it: the secret was entrusted to those persons only who were indispensable for its execution. Rumours of flight had been circulated, either because the scheme had transpired, or because it was one of those alarms which are so frequently raised. At any rate the committee of research had been apprized of it, and the vigilance of the national guard had been in consequence increased.

In the evening of the 21st of June, the King, the Queen, Madame Elizabeth,* and Madame de Tourzel, governess of the royal children, disguised themselves, and successively quitted the palace. Madame de Tourzel proceeded with the children to the Petit Carrousel, and got into a carriage driven by M. de Fersen, a young foreign gentleman, disguised as a coachman. The King soon joined them. But the Queen, who had gone away with a life-guardsman, occasioned them all the utmost anxiety. Neither herself nor her guide was acquainted with the streets of Paris; she lost her way, and it was an hour before she found the Petit Carrousel. On her way thither she met the carriage of M. de Lafayette, whose attendants walked by it with torches. She concealed herself beneath the wickets of the Louvre, and having escaped this danger, reached the carriage, where she was awaited with extreme impatience. The whole family, being now together, lost no time in setting out. They arrived, after a long ride, at the Porte St. Martin, and mounted a berline with six horses, stationed there to wait for them. Madame de Tourzel, by the name of Madame de Korff, was to pass for a mother travelling with her children; and the King for her valet-de-chambre. Three of the life-guards in disguise were to precede the carriage as couriers, or to follow it as servants. At length they started, attended by the good wishes of M. de Fersen, who returned to Paris, with the intention of setting out for Brussels. Meanwhile Monsieur proceeded with his consort towards Flanders, travelling a different road, to prevent suspicions, and lest there should be a want of horses at the different stations.

They travelled all night, during which Paris knew nothing of the matter. M. de Fersen hastened to the municipality to ascertain what was known there. At eight o'clock people

* "Madame Elizabeth was an angel of goodness. How often have I witnessed her kindness to those in distress! Her heart was the abode of all the virtues. She was indulgent, modest, sensible, devout, and during the Revolution displayed heroic courage."—*Madame Lebrun's Memoirs.*

were still unacquainted with the circumstance. But the report soon got abroad, and spread with rapidity.* Lafayette sent for his aides-de-camp and ordered them to set out immediately, saying that though there was little hope of their overtaking the fugitives, still they must try what they could do. He issued this order on his own responsibility, and in drawing it up, he expressed his presumption that the royal family had been carried off by enemies of the public welfare. This respectful supposition was admitted by the Assembly, and invariably adopted by all the authorities. At this moment the people, in commotion, reproached Lafayette with having favoured the King's escape. The aristocratic party, on the contrary, has since accused him of having winked at his flight, with the intention of stopping him afterwards, and thus ruining him by this vain attempt. If, however, Lafayette had chosen to wink at the King's flight, would he have sent two aides-de-camp in pursuit of him before any order was issued by the Assembly? And if, as the aristocrats have surmised, he had permitted his flight merely with a view to retake him, would he have allowed the carriage a whole night's start? The populace was soon convinced of its mistake, and Lafayette reinstated in its good opinion.

The Assembly met at nine in the morning. Its attitude was as majestic as it had been in the first days of the Revolution. The supposition adopted was that Louis XVI. had been carried off. The utmost calmness and harmony prevailed during the whole of this sitting. The measures spontaneously taken by Lafayette were approved of. The people had stopped his aides-de-camp at the barriers. The Assembly, universally obeyed, ordered the gates to be opened to them. One of them, young Romeuf, was the bearer of the decree confirming the orders already issued by the general, and enjoining the public functionaries *to stop*, by all the means in their power, *the progress of the said abduction, and to prevent the continuance of the journey.* At the suggestion of the people, and upon the information furnished by them, Romeuf took the road to Chalons, which was the right one, as the appearance upon it of a carriage and six sufficiently indicated. The Assembly then summoned the ministers, and passed a decree that they should receive orders from it alone. At his departure Louis XVI. had commanded the minister of justice to send him the seal of State. The Assembly directed that the seal should be retained for the purpose of being affixed to its decrees: it decided at

* *See* Appendix NN.

the same time that the frontiers should be put in a state of defence, and that the minister for foreign affairs should be charged to assure the powers that the dispositions of the French nation in regard to them remained unchanged.

M. de la Porte, intendant of the civil list, was then heard. He had received several messages from the King; among others, a note, which he begged the Assembly not to open, and a memorial, stating the reasons for departure. The Assembly, ready to pay due regard to all rights, returned unopened the note which M. de la Porte was unwilling to make public, and ordered the memorial to be read. It was listened to with the utmost calmness. It produced scarcely any impression. The King complained of his loss of power without sufficient dignity, and he seemed as much mortified at the reduction of the civil list to thirty millions as at the loss of all his other prerogatives. The Assembly listened to the complaints of the monarch, pitied his weakness, and proceeded to the consideration of other matters.

At this moment very few persons wished for the apprehension of Louis XVI. The aristocrats beheld in his flight the realization of the oldest of their wishes, and flattered themselves with the prospect of a speedy civil war. The most vehement members of the popular party, who already began to be tired of the King, found in his absence an occasion to dispense with him, and indulged the idea and the hope of a republic. The whole moderate party, which at this moment governed the Assembly, wished that the King might arrive safely at Montmedy; and relying upon his equity, it flattered itself that an accommodation between the throne and the nation would be thereby facilitated. Few persons at this time were apprehensive, as formerly, of seeing the monarch threatening the constitution from amidst an army. The populace alone, into whom this apprehension had been studiously instilled, continued to retain it when it was no longer felt by the Assembly, and ardently wished for the recapture of the royal family. Such was the state of things at Paris.*

The carriage, which set out in the night between the 21st

* "The National Assembly never committed so great an error as in bringing back the King from Varennes. A fugitive, and powerless, he was hastening to the frontier, and in a few hours would have been out of the French territory. What should they have done in these circumstances? Clearly have facilitated his escape, and declared the throne vacant by his desertion. They would thus have avoided the infamy of a regicide government, and attained their great object of republican institutions. Instead of which, by bringing him back, they encumbered themselves with a sovereign whom they had no just reason for destroying, and lost the inestimable advantage of getting quit of the royal family without an act of cruelty."—*Napoleon's Memoirs.*

and 22nd, had performed great part of the journey, and arrived without impediment at Chalons about five o'clock the next afternoon. There the King, who had been imprudent enough to put his head frequently out at the window, was recognized. The person who made this discovery would at once have divulged the secret; but he was prevented by the mayor, who was a stanch royalist. On reaching Pont de Sommeville the royal family did not find the detachments which ought to have received it there; those detachments had been waiting for several hours; but the excitement of the people, alarmed at this movement of troops, had obliged them to retire.

The King, meanwhile, arrived at St. Menehould. There, still showing himself at the window, he was perceived by Drouet, the postmaster's son, a violent Revolutionist. This young man, not having time to cause the carriage to be detained at St. Menehould, posted off to Varennes. A worthy quartermaster, who had observed his haste, and suspected his motives, flew after to stop him, but could not overtake him. Drouet used such speed that he arrived at Varennes before the unfortunate family. He immediately gave information to the municipality, and caused all the necessary measures for apprehending the fugitives to be taken forthwith. Varennes is situated on the bank of a narrow but deep river. A detachment of hussars was on the watch there; but the officer, not seeing the treasure arrive which he had been directed to wait for, had left his men in their quarters. The carriage at length drove up and crossed the bridge. No sooner was it beneath an archway through which it was obliged to pass, than Drouet, assisted by another person, stopped the horses. "Your passport!" he exclaimed, and with a musket he threatened the travellers if they persisted in proceeding. The order was complied with, and the passport handed to him. Drouet took it, and said that it must be examined by the solicitor of the commune. The royal family was then conducted to the house of this solicitor, named Sausse. The latter, after examining the passport and pretending to find it quite right, very politely begged the King to wait; he accordingly waited a considerable time. When Sausse had at length ascertained that a sufficient number of the national guards had assembled, he threw off all disguise, and informed the Prince that he was recognized and apprehended. An altercation ensued. Louis declared that he was not what he was taken to be; and the dispute growing too warm, "Since you acknowledge

him to be your King," exclaimed the Queen angrily, "speak to him with the respect that you owe him."

The King, seeing that further denial was useless, took no more trouble to disguise himself. The little room was full of people. He spoke, and expressed himself with a warmth that was unusual with him. He protested his good intentions, asserted that he was going to Montmedy, merely that he might listen more freely to the wishes of his people by withdrawing from the tyranny of Paris. Lastly, he insisted on continuing his journey, and being conducted to the end of it. The unfortunate Prince, with deep emotion, embraced Sausse, and implored him to save his wife and his children. The Queen joined him, and taking the Dauphin in her arms, besought Sausse to release them. Sausse was affected, but withstood their entreaties, and advised them to return to Paris, to prevent a civil war. The King, on the contrary, having a dread of returning, persisted in proceeding to Montmedy.

At this moment Messrs. de Damas and de Goquelas arrived with the detachments which had been stationed at different points. The royal family considered itself as saved; but the hussars were not to be relied on. The officers assembled them, informed them that the King and his family were apprehended, and that they must release them. The men replied that they were for the nation. At the same instant the national guards, called together from all the environs, arrived and filled Varennes. The whole night was passed in this state. At six in the morning young Romeuf arrived with the decree of the Assembly. He found the carriage with six horses harnessed to it, and turned towards Paris. He went upstairs and delivered the decree with pain. A general outcry burst from the whole family against M. de Lafayette, who caused them to be apprehended. The Queen even expressed her astonishment that he had not been put to death by the people. Romeuf replied that his general and himself had only done their duty in pursuing them, but that they had hoped not to overtake them. The Queen took up the decree, threw it on the bed of her children, then snatched it up again, saying that it would pollute them. "Madam," said Romeuf, who was attached to her, "would you rather have any one but me to witness these passions?" The Queen then came to herself, and resumed all her dignity. At the same moment the arrival of different corps, stationed in the environs by Bouillé, was announced. The municipality then gave orders for starting. The royal family was of course obliged to enter the carriage, and

to take the road to Paris, that fatal and deeply dreaded course!

Bouillé, roused in the middle of the night, had mounted a regiment of horse, and set out with shouts of "Long live the King!" This brave general, urged by anxiety, marched with all speed, and proceeded nine leagues in four hours. He arrived at Varennes, where he found several corps already collected. But the King had been gone an hour and a half; Varennes was barricaded, and judicious arrangements had been made for its defence; the bridge was broken down, and the river was not fordable. Thus, after a first combat to carry the barricades, it would have been necessary to seek the means of crossing the river, and after such a loss of time, to overtake the carriage, which had got the start by an hour and a half. These obstacles rendered any attempt at rescue impossible; and it required nothing short of such an impossibility to deter a man so loyal and so enterprising as Bouillé. He retired, therefore, overwhelmed with grief and mortification.

When news of the King's apprehension arrived in Paris, he was believed to be beyond reach. The people manifested extraordinary joy. The Assembly deputed three commissioners, selected from the three sections of the left side, to accompany the monarch, and to conduct him back to Paris. These commissioners were Barnave, Latour-Maubourg, and Petion. They repaired to Chalons, and from the moment that they joined the Court all orders emanated from them alone. Madame de Tourzel removed into a second carriage with Latour-Maubourg; Barnave and Petion entered that of the royal family. Latour-Maubourg, a person of distinction, was a friend of Lafayette, and, like him, was as strongly attached to the King as to the constitution. In yielding to his two colleagues the honour of being with the royal family, it was his intention to interest them in behalf of fallen greatness. Barnave sat at the back, between the King and Queen; Petion, in front, between Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale; the young Dauphin on the lap first of one and then of another. Such had been the rapid course of events! A young advocate of some twenty years, remarkable only for his abilities, and another, distinguished by his talents, but, above all, by the sternness of his principles, were seated beside a Prince lately the most absolute in Europe, and commanded all his movements. The journey was slow, because the carriage followed the pace of the national guards. It took eight days to return from Varennes to Paris. The heat was excessive; and a scorching dust, raised by the



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W. Broadbent sc.

multitude, half-suffocated the travellers. At first a deep silence prevailed. The Queen could not conceal her vexation. The King at length entered into conversation with Barnave. It turned upon all sorts of subjects, and lastly, upon the flight to Montmedy. Both were surprised to find the others what they were. The Queen was astonished at the superior understanding and the delicate politeness of young Barnave.* She soon threw up her veil and took part in the conversation. Barnave was touched by the good-nature of the King and the graceful dignity of the Queen. Petion displayed more rudeness; he showed and received less respect. By the time they reached Paris, Barnave was strongly attached to the unfortunate family, and the Queen, charmed with the merits and the good sense of the young tribune, had granted him all her esteem. Hence it was that in all the intercourse which she afterwards had with the constitutional deputies, it was in him that she placed the greatest confidence. Parties would forgive if they could see and hear one another.†

In Paris the reception to be given to the royal family had been decided upon. A public notice was distributed and posted everywhere: *Whoever applauds the King shall be flogged; whoever insults him shall be hanged.* The order was punctually obeyed. Neither applauses nor insults were heard. The carriage made a circuit, that it might not be obliged to traverse Paris. It entered by the Champs Elysées, which lead directly to the palace. An immense crowd received it in silence and with hats on. Lafayette, followed by a numerous guard, had taken all possible precautions. The three life-guardsmen who had assisted the King's flight were on the box, exposed to the gaze and the wrath of the people; they nevertheless experienced no violence.‡ The moment the carriage arrived at the palace it was surrounded. The royal family hastily alighted, and passed between a double file of national guards drawn up for its protection. The Queen, who was the last to alight, was almost borne along in the arms of Messrs. de Noailles and d'Aiguillon, enemies of the Court, but generous friends of misfortune. On observing them approach, she had at first some doubts respecting their intentions; but she resigned herself to them, and arrived safe and unharmed at the palace.

Such was that journey, the fatal issue of which cannot fairly be attributed to any of those by whom it was planned. An accident thwarted it. An accident might have crowned it with

* *See* Appendix OO. † *See* Appendix PP.

‡ *See* Appendix QQ.

success. If, for instance, Drouet had been overtaken and stopped by his pursuer, the carriage would have escaped. Perhaps, too, the King was deficient in energy when he was recognized. Be that as it may, this journey cannot be matter of reproach to any one, either to those who advised, or to those who executed it. It was the result of that fatality which pursues weakness amidst revolutionary crises.

The journey to Varennes had the effect of destroying all respect for the King, of habituating men's minds to do without him, and of exciting a wish for a republic. On the very morning of his arrival the Assembly had provided for everything by a decree. Louis XVI. was suspended from his functions; a guard was placed over his person, and that of the Queen and the Dauphin. That guard was made responsible for their safe custody. Three deputies, d'André, Tronchet, and Duport, were commissioned to take the declarations of the King and Queen. The utmost delicacy was observed in the expressions, for never was this Assembly deficient in decorum; but the result was evident, and the King was for the time being dethroned.

The responsibility imposed on the national guard rendered it strict and frequently annoying in its duty about the royal persons. Sentinels were constantly stationed at their door, and never lost sight of them. The King, wishing one day to ascertain if he was really a prisoner, went up to a door: the sentinel opposed his passage. "Do you know me?" said Louis XVI. "Yes, Sire," replied the sentinel. All the liberty the King had left to him was to walk in the Tuileries in the morning before the garden was opened to the public.

Barnave and the Lameths then did what they had so severely reproached Mirabeau for doing—they lent their aid to the throne, and reconciled themselves with the Court. It is true that they received no money; but it was not so much the price of the alliance as the alliance itself that they had flung in the teeth of Mirabeau; and after having formerly been so severe, they now followed the custom of all popular chiefs, which is, to ally themselves successively with power as soon as they arrive at it. However, nothing could be more praiseworthy in the state of affairs at that moment than the service rendered to the King by Barnave and the Lameths; and never did they display more address, energy, and talent. Barnave dictated the answer of the King to the commissioners appointed by the Assembly. In this answer Louis XVI. assigned as the motive for his flight a desire to make himself better acquainted with the state of public opinion; he declared that

he had learned much on that head during his journey, and proved by a variety of facts that it had not been his intention to leave France. As for the protestations contained in his memorial transmitted to the Assembly, he justly alleged that they bore not upon the fundamental principles of the constitution, but upon the means of execution that were left him. Now, he added, that the general will was clearly manifested to him, he did not hesitate to submit to it, and to make all the sacrifices requisite for the public welfare.*

Bouillé, in order to draw upon himself the indignation of the Assembly, addressed to it a letter which might be called mad, but for the generous motive which dictated it. He avowed himself the sole author of the King's journey, though, on the contrary, he had opposed it. He declared, in the name of the sovereigns, that Paris should be responsible for the safety of the royal family, and that the slightest injury offered to them should be signally avenged. He added, what he knew to be otherwise, that the military means of France were nearly null; that he was well acquainted with the points where an invading force might enter, and that he would himself lead the hostile armies into the heart of the country. The Assembly winked at this generous bravado, and threw the whole blame on Bouillé, who had nothing to fear, for he was already abroad.

The Court of Spain, apprehending that the slightest movement might produce irritation, and expose the royal family to still greater dangers, prevented an attempt that was about to be made on the southern frontier, in which the Knights of Malta were to assist with two frigates. It then declared to the French government that its good disposition towards it remained unchanged. The North behaved with much less moderation. On that side the powers, instigated by the emigrants, began to threaten. Envoys were despatched by the King to Brussels and Coblentz, to come to an understanding with the emigrants in those places, to acquaint them with the favourable disposition of the Assembly, and the hopes entertained of an advantageous arrangement. But no sooner had they arrived than they were treated with indignity, and immediately returned to Paris. The emigrants raised troops in the name of the King, and thus obliged him to give them a formal contradiction. They pretended that Monsieur, who had by this time joined them, was regent of the kingdom; that the King, being a prisoner, had no will of his own, and that

* *See* Appendix RR.

that which he expressed was only the will of his oppressors. The peace concluded by Catherine with the Turks in the month of August heightened their senseless joy, and they fancied that they had all the powers of Europe at their disposal. Considering the disarming of the fortresses and the disorganization of the army, which all the officers were leaving, they could not suppose the result of the invasion to be doubtful, or the fitting time for it far distant. They had nevertheless been out of France nearly two years, and though daily flattering themselves with the prospect, they had not yet returned victorious. The powers seemed to promise much, but Pitt hung back; Leopold, exhausted by the war, and displeased with the emigrants, wished for peace; the King of Prussia promised a great deal, but had no interest in keeping his word; Gustavus was anxious to command an expedition against France, but he was at a great distance; and Catherine, who was to second him, had scarcely got rid of the Turks, and still had Poland to reduce. Besides, in order to effect this coalition, it would be necessary to reconcile so many conflicting interests that it was scarcely possible to entertain any hope of success.

The declaration of Pilnitz ought more especially to have enlightened the emigrants respecting the zeal of the sovereigns. This declaration, issued jointly by the King of Prussia and the Emperor Leopold, purported that the situation of the King of France was a subject of general interest to all the sovereigns, and that they would undoubtedly unite to furnish Louis XVI. with the means of establishing a government suitable to the interests of the throne and of the people; that in this case the King of Prussia and the Emperor would join the other princes to attain the same end. Meanwhile their troops should be put into a condition for active service. It was afterwards known that this declaration contained secret articles. They purported that Austria would not oppose any obstacle to the claims of Prussia to part of Poland. It required this concession to induce Prussia to neglect her more ancient interests by connecting herself with Austria against France. What could be expected from a zeal that it was necessary to excite by such means? And if it was so reserved in its expressions, what was it likely to be in its acts? France, it is true, was in a disarmed state; but a whole nation aroused is soon armed; and as the celebrated Carnot observed at a later period, what is impossible to twenty-five millions of men? It is true that the officers were retiring; but being generally young, and owing their appointment to favour, they were inexperienced,

and disliked by the army. Besides, the impetus given to all the resources of war was on the point of speedily producing officers and generals. Still it must be confessed, that even without the presumption of Coblentz, one might fairly have doubted the resistance which France opposed somewhat later to her invaders.

Meanwhile the Assembly sent commissioners to the frontiers and ordered great preparations. All the national guards offered to march. Several generals tendered their services, and among others Dumouriez,* who subsequently saved France in the defiles of Argonne.

The Assembly, while attending to the external safety of the State, hastened to complete its constitutional labours, to restore to the King his functions, and if possible some of his prerogatives.

All the subdivisions of the left side, excepting the men who had just assumed the new name of republicans, had rallied around one and the same system of moderation. Barnave and Malouet went hand in hand, and laboured in concert. Petion, Robespierre, Buzot, and some others had adopted the republic; but their number was small. The right side persisted in its imprudent conduct, and protested, instead of joining the moderate majority. This majority, however, governed the Assembly. Its enemies, who would have accused it if it had dethroned the King, nevertheless reproached it for having brought him back to Paris and replaced him on a tottering throne. But what could it do? To supersede the King by a republic would have been too hazardous. To change the dynasty would have been useless; for if they meant to give themselves a King, they might as well keep the one they had. Besides, the Duc d'Orleans did not deserve to be preferred to Louis XVI. In either case, to dispossess the reigning King would have been to infringe acknowledged rights, and to send to the emigrants a chief of inestimable value to them, since he would have brought them titles which they did not possess. On the contrary, to give back to Louis XVI. his authority, to restore to him as many of his prerogatives as they could, would be fulfilling their constitutional task, and taking away all pretext for civil war. In a word, it would be doing their duty; for the duty of the Assembly, according to all the engagements by which it had bound itself, was to establish a free but a monarchical government.

The Assembly did not hesitate, but it had great obstacles

* *See* Appendix SS.

to surmount. The new term, republic, had piqued minds already somewhat tired of those of monarchy and constitution. The absence and the suspension of the King had, as we have seen, taught them to do without him. The journals and the clubs instantly threw off the respect which had hitherto been paid to his person. His departure, which, according to the terms of the decree relative to the residence of public functionaries, rendered deposition imminent, caused it to be asserted that he was deposed. Nevertheless, according to the same decree, before he could incur the penalty of dethronement, he must have left the kingdom and resisted the summons of the Legislative Body. But these conditions were of little consequence to overheated minds, and they declared the King guilty and dethroned. The Jacobins and the Cordeliers were violently agitated, and could not conceive how it was, that after people had got rid of the King, they could burden themselves with him again, and that of their own accord. If the Duc d'Orleans had ever entertained hopes, it was now that they might have been awakened. But he must have seen how little influence his name possessed, and above all, how ill a new sovereign, however popular he might be, would harmonize with the state of people's minds. Some pamphleteers devoted to his interest, endeavoured, perhaps without his knowledge, to place the crown on his head, as Antony did by Cæsar; they proposed to give him the regency, but he found himself obliged to decline the offer in a declaration which was thought as lightly of as himself. "No King!" was the general cry at the Jacobins, at the Cordeliers, in the streets, and in the public papers.

Numberless addresses were published. One of these was posted on all the walls of Paris, and even on those of the Assembly. It was signed with the name of Achille Duchâtelet, a young colonel. He addressed himself to the French: he reminded them of the tranquillity which had prevailed during the journey of the King, and thence concluded that his absence was more beneficial than his presence: he added that his flight was an abdication; that the nation and Louis XVI. were released from all engagements towards one another; finally, that history was full of the crimes of kings, and that the people ought to renounce all intention of giving themselves another.

This address, attributed to young Duchâtelet, was written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, and a principal actor in the American Revolution.* It was denounced to the Assembly, which, after a warm debate, deemed it right to

* *See* Appendix TT.

pass to the order of the day, and to reply by indifference to advice and to abuse, as it had hitherto invariably done.

At length the commissioners charged to make their report on the affair of Varennes presented it on the 16th of July. In the journey, they said, there was nothing culpable; and even if there were, the King was inviolable. Dethronement could not result from it, since the King had not stayed away long enough, and had not resisted the summons of the Legislative Body.

Robespierre, Buzot, and Petion repeated all the well-known arguments against the inviolability. Duport, Barnave, and Salles answered them; and it was at length resolved that the King could not be brought to trial on account of his flight. Two articles were merely added to the decree of inviolability. No sooner was this resolution passed than Robespierre rose and protested strongly against it in the name of humanity.

On the evening preceding this decision a great tumult had taken place at the Jacobins. A petition to the Assembly was there drawn up, praying it to declare that the King was deposed as a perfidious traitor to his oaths, and that it would seek to supply his place by all the constitutional means. It was resolved that this petition should be carried on the following day to the Champ de Mars, where every one might sign it on the altar of the country. Next day it was accordingly carried to the place agreed upon, and the crowd of the seditious was reinforced by that of the curious, who wished to be spectators of the event. At this moment the decree was passed, so that it was now too late to petition. Lafayette arrived, broke down the barricades already erected, was threatened, and even fired at, but though almost close to the muzzle of the weapon, he escaped without injury. The municipal officers having joined him, at length prevailed on the populace to retire. National guards were posted to watch their retreat, and for a moment it was hoped that they would disperse. But the tumult was soon renewed. Two invalids, who happened to be, nobody knows for what purpose, under the altar of the country, were murdered, and then the uproar became unbounded. The Assembly sent for the municipality, and charged it to preserve public order. Bailly repaired to the Champ de Mars, ordered the red flag to be unfurled, and by virtue of martial law, summoned the seditious to retire. This summons, whatever has been said of it, was just. People either agreed or did not agree to the new laws. If they agreed to them, it was requisite that they should be

executed, that there should be something fixed, that insurrection should not be perpetual, and that the will of the Assembly should not be modified by the decisions of the mob. It was Bailly's duty, therefore, to carry the law into execution. He advanced, with that unshrinking courage which he had always displayed, was fired at several times without being hit, and at length read the customary summons. Lafayette at first ordered a few shots to be fired in the air: the crowd quitted the altar of the country, but soon rallied. Thus driven to extremity, he gave the word "Fire!" The first discharge killed some of the rioters. Their number has been exaggerated. Some have reduced it to thirty, others have raised it to four hundred, and others to several thousand. The last statement was believed at the moment, and the consternation became general. This severe example quieted the agitators for a short time. As usual, all the parties were accused of having excited the commotion, and it is probable that several of them had a hand in it, for to several tumult was desirable. The King, the majority of the Assembly, the national guard, the municipal and departmental authorities, were then unanimous for the establishment of constitutional order; but they had to combat the democracy at home, and the aristocracy abroad. The Assembly and the national guard composed that middle class—wealthy, intelligent, and prudent—which wished well to order and the laws; and they could not at the moment but naturally ally themselves with the King, who, for his part, seemed to resign himself to a limited power. But if it suited them to stop at the point at which they had arrived, it did not suit either the aristocracy, which desired a convulsion, or the people, who sought to gain and to raise themselves still more. Barnave was, as Mirabeau had been before him, the mouthpiece of this wise and moderate middle class; and Lafayette was its military chief. Danton and Camille Desmoulins* were the spokesmen, Santerre the general of the rabble, that wished to reign in its turn. A few ardent or fanatic spirits represented this rabble either in the Assembly or in the new administrations, and hastened its rule by their declamations.

Lafayette and Bailly were vehemently reproached for the proceedings in the Champ de Mars; but both of them, considering it their duty to observe the law, and to risk popularity and life in its execution, felt neither regret nor fear

* *See* Appendix UU.

for what they had done.* The factions were overawed by the energy which they displayed. The most conspicuous began already to think of recoiling from the blows which they conceived to be aimed at them. Robespierre, whom we have hitherto seen supporting the most extravagant propositions, trembled in his obscure habitation; and notwithstanding his inviolability as a deputy, applied to all his friends for an asylum. Thus the example had the desired effect, and for a moment all the turbulent spirits were quieted by fear.

About this time the Assembly came to a determination which has since been censured, but the result of which did not prove so mischievous as it has been supposed. It decreed that none of its members should be re-elected. Robespierre was the proposer of this resolution, and it was attributed to the envy which he felt against his colleagues, among whom he had not shone. It was at least natural that he should bear them a grudge, having always been opposed by them; and in his sentiments there might have been at once conviction, envy, and hatred. The Assembly, which was accused of a design to perpetuate its powers, and which, moreover, displeased the rabble by its moderation, was anxious to reply to all censures by a disinterestedness that was perhaps exaggerated; and it decreed that its members should be excluded from the next Legislature. The new Assembly was thus deprived of men whose enthusiasm was somewhat abated, and whose legislative science was matured by an experience of three years. However, when we see by-and-by the cause of the subsequent revolutions, we shall be able to judge what was the importance of that measure which has been so frequently condemned.

This was the moment for completing the constitutional labours of the Assembly, and for bringing its stormy career to a calm conclusion. The members of the left side intended, by means of an agreement among themselves, to amend certain parts of the constitution. It had been resolved that it should be read throughout, in order to judge of the whole together, and to have an opportunity of making its different parts harmonize. This was called the revision, which was afterwards, in the days of the republican fervour, considered as most calamitous. Barnave and the Lameths had agreed with

* "Bailly did not seek the Revolution, but it sought him, by making him play a political part against his will; but from the moment that he conceived he might be useful to his country, he would not refuse to serve it. He devoted to it moments most valuable for science; and when we deplored the suspension of his labours, he said to us, 'I am a Frenchman, and if I can co-operate in the enactment of a good law, that is preferable to a hundred astronomical calculations.'"—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.*

Malouet to modify certain articles which trenched upon the royal prerogative and what was termed the stability of the throne. It was even said that the plan was to re-establish the two chambers. It was arranged, that the moment the reading was finished, Malouet should make his attack; that Barnave should then reply with vehemence, in order the better to disguise his intentions; but that in defending most of the articles, he should give up some as evidently dangerous, and condemned by known experience.

Such were the conditions agreed upon when the ridiculous and dangerous protests of the right side, which had resolved to vote no more, transpired. Accommodation then became impossible. The left side would hear no more, and when the concerted attempt was made, the cries which burst from all quarters prevented Malouet and his partisans from proceeding.* The constitution was therefore completed with some haste, and submitted to the King for his acceptance. From that moment his freedom was restored to him, or, if that expression be objected to, the strict watch kept over the palace ceased, and he had liberty to retire whithersoever he pleased, to examine the constitutional act and to accept it freely. What was Louis XVI. to do in this case? To reject the constitution would have been to abdicate in favour of a republic. The safest way, even according to his own system, was to accept it, and to expect from time those restitutions of power which he considered as due to him. Accordingly, after a certain number of days, he declared that he accepted the constitution. An extraordinary joy burst forth at this intelligence, as if, in fact, some obstacle had been anticipated on the part of the King, and his assent had been an unhoped-for concession. He repaired to the Assembly, where he was received as in the most brilliant times. Lafayette, who never forgot to repair the inevitable evils of political troubles, proposed a general amnesty for all acts connected with the Revolution, which was proclaimed amidst shouts of joy, and the prisons were instantly thrown open. At length, on the 30th of September, Thouret, the last president, declared that the Constituent Assembly had terminated its sittings.

* *See* Appendix VV.

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE Constituent Assembly had now terminated its long and laborious career; and notwithstanding its noble courage, its perfect equity, and its immense toils, it was hated as revolutionary at Coblentz, and as aristocratic at Paris. In order to form a proper judgment of this memorable Assembly, which combined talents so great and so diversified, the resolutions of which were so bold and so persevering, and in which were seen, perhaps for the first time, all the enlightened men of a nation assembled with the will and the power to realize the wishes of philosophy, we must consider the state in which it had found France, and that in which it left her.

In 1789 the French nation knew and felt all evils it suffered under; but it did not conceive the possibility of curing them. All at once, on the unforeseen demand of the parliaments, the States-general were convoked, the Constituent Assembly was formed, and came into the presence of the throne, proud of its ancient power, and disposed at most to put up with a few complaints. Thoroughly impressed with its rights, it then declared itself to be the nation, and dared to declare this to the astonished government. Threatened by the aristocracy, by the Court, and by an army, not yet foreseeing the popular commotions, it declared itself inviolable, and forbade power to touch it. Convinced of its rights, it addressed itself to enemies who were not convinced of theirs, and by the mere expression of its determination, gained the ascendency over a power of several centuries, and an army of thirty thousand men. Such was the Revolution. Such was its first and noblest act. It was just—it was heroic; for never did nation act with greater propriety, or amid greater dangers.

Power being vanquished, it became necessary to reconstitute it in a just and suitable manner. But at the sight of that social ladder, on the summit of which there is a superabundance of everything—power, honours, wealth; whilst at the bottom, everything is wanting, even to the bread that is indispensable for life—the Constituent Assembly experienced a violent

reaction in its ideas, and was for reducing all to one level. It decided, therefore, that the mass of the citizens, placed on a complete equality, should express their will, and that the King should be charged only with its execution.

Its error here consists, not in having reduced royalty to a mere magistracy, for the King had still sufficient power to uphold the laws, and more than magistrates possess in republics, but in having imagined that a king, with the recollection of what he had been, could resign himself to be what he was, and that a nation, scarcely awakened, which had recovered part of the popular power, would not determine to conquer it entirely.

History proves, in fact, that it is necessary to divide magistracies to infinity, or that, if a single chief be appointed, he must be so well endowed as to have no temptation to usurp.

When nations, engrossed by their private interests, find it necessary to transfer the cares of government to a chief, they do right to give themselves one; but in this case that chief must, like the kings of England, possess in reality the greatest part of the sovereignty, and the power of convoking and dissolving the national assemblies, without being compelled to obey their mandates, sanctioning them only when he thinks fit, and being prevented only from doing what is mischievous. The dignity of man can still be preserved under such a government, when the law is strictly observed, when every citizen feels his own value, and knows that powers so extensive left to the prince have only been granted as a concession to human weakness.

But it is not at the moment when a nation suddenly bethinks itself of its rights that it can renounce all its prerogatives, submit to take a secondary part, and yield the supreme power to a chief, lest he should feel an inclination to usurp it. The Constituent Assembly was equally incapable with the nation itself of consenting to such an abdication. It reduced the King, therefore, to a mere hereditary magistrate, hoping that the nation would leave him that, and that he would himself be content with this magistracy, still resplendent with honours, wealth, and power.

But whether the Assembly hoped this or not, could it in such a state of uncertainty evade the question? Could it abolish royalty, or could it confer on it all the power that England grants to her monarchs?

It could not, on the one hand, depose Louis XVI.; for if it is always necessary to introduce a spirit of justice into a government, it is not so to change its form when that spirit exists in it, and suddenly to convert a monarchy into

a republic. Moreover, possession carries with it authority, and if the Assembly had despoiled the reigning dynasty, what would not its enemies have said, who accused it of violating property because it attacked feudal rights?

On the other hand, it could not confer on the King the absolute veto, the appointment of the judges, and other similar prerogatives, because public opinion was adverse to such concessions; and as this opinion constituted its only strength, the Assembly was obliged to defer to it.

With regard to the establishment of a single chamber, its error was perhaps more real, but just as inevitable. If it was dangerous to leave nothing but the remembrance of power to a king who had possessed it entire, while legislating for a people desirous of wresting from him the last remnant of it, much more false was it in principle not to recognize social inequalities and gradations, when they are admitted by republics themselves, and when in all of them there is a senate either hereditary or elective. But we must not require of men and minds more than they are capable of at the time. How can the necessity of ranks be recognized at the moment of a revolt against their injustice? How is it possible to constitute an aristocracy at the moment when war is proclaimed against aristocracy? To constitute royalty would have been an easier task, because placed apart from the people, it would have been less oppressive, and because it moreover performs functions which seem more necessary.

But I repeat it, if these errors had not existed in the Assembly, they existed in the nation; and the course of events will prove that if the Assembly had left the King and the aristocracy all the powers which it did not leave them, the Revolution would nevertheless have taken place, even to its greatest excesses.

To be convinced of this we must make a distinction between the revolutions which have taken place among nations long in a state of subjection, and those which have taken place among free people, that is to say, people in possession of a certain political activity. At Rome, at Athens, and elsewhere, we see the people and their chiefs disputing for the greater or less share of authority. Among modern nations entirely stripped of it the course is different. Completely subjected, their slumber is long. The more enlightened classes are the first to awake. These rouse themselves and recover a portion of power. The awakening is progressive. Ambition is progressive too, and keeps spreading to the lowest classes, till the whole mass is in motion. Presently, satisfied with what they

have obtained, the enlightened classes wish to stop; but they can no longer do so, and are incessantly pushed forward by those behind them. Those who stop, were they in the very last rank but one, if they pretend to oppose the last, are to it an aristocracy, and are stigmatized with the name. The mere tradesman is called aristocrat by the artisan, and hated as such.

The Constituent Assembly represented that class which first awakes and cries out against power while yet all-powerful. Sagacious enough to perceive what was due to those who had everything, and to those who had nothing, it wished to leave the former part of what they possessed, because they had always possessed it, and to procure for the latter, above all things, knowledge, and the rights which it confers. But regret sways the one, ambition the other. Regret wishes to recover all, ambition to conquer all, and a war of extermination commences. The Constituents then are those first good men who, shaking off slavery, attempt to establish a just system, try it without apprehension, nay, accomplish this immense task, but fail in endeavouring to persuade the one to yield something, the other not to grasp at everything.

The Constituent Assembly, in its equitable allotments, had shown forbearance towards the former possessors of power. Louis XVI., with the title of King of the French, an income of thirty millions, the command of the armies, and the right of suspending the national decrees, still possessed extensive prerogatives. The recollection of absolute power alone can excuse him for not having been content with so brilliant a remnant of absolute power.

The clergy, stripped of the immense possessions which had formerly been given to it on condition of relieving the poor whom it did not relieve, and of performing that divine worship which it left to be performed by poor curates, was no longer a political order. But its ecclesiastical dignities were preserved, its dogmas respected, its scandalous wealth changed into a sufficient, nay, we may say, an abundant revenue, for it still possessed considerable episcopal luxury. The nobility was no longer an order; it no longer possessed the exclusive right of killing game and the like; it was no longer exempt from taxes; but could it make these things a subject of reasonable regret? Its immense possessions were left to it. Instead of the favour of the Court, it had a certainty of the distinctions conferred on merit. It had the privilege of being elected by the people, and of representing it in the State, if it could but show the slightest goodwill and resignation. The robe and

the sword were ensured to its talents: why then was it not all at once inspired with a generous emulation? What an avowal of incapacity did it not make in regretting the favours of former times!

The old pensioners had been spared; the ecclesiastics had received indemnities; every one had been treated with indulgence: was then the lot which the Constituent Assembly had assigned to all so intolerable?

The constitution being completed, the King had no hope left of recovering by means of the legislation the prerogatives which he regretted. He had but one course to pursue—to be resigned and to uphold the constitution, unless he reckoned upon the foreign powers. But he hoped very little from their zeal, and distrusted the emigrants. He decided, therefore, in favour of the former line of conduct; and what proves his sincerity is, that he meant frankly to point out to the Assembly the defects which he found in the constitution. But he was dissuaded from doing so, and he resolved to trust to time for those restitutions of power which he deemed his due. The Queen was not less resigned. "Courage!" said she to Bertrand the minister, who waited upon her, "all is not yet lost. The King is determined to adhere to the constitution; that course is certainly the best." And there is every reason to believe, that if she had had other thoughts to utter, she would not have hesitated to express them before Bertrand de Molleville.*

The old Assembly had broken up. Its members had returned to the bosom of their families, or were scattered throughout Paris. Some of the most conspicuous, such as Lameth, Duport, Barnave, communicated with the Court, and gave it their advice. But the King, resolved as he was to observe the constitution, could not make up his mind to follow the advice that he received; for not only was it recommended to him not to violate that constitution, but by all his acts to induce the belief that he was sincerely attached to it. These members of the late Assembly, joined by Lafayette since the revision, were the chiefs of that first revolutionary generation, which had laid down the first rules of liberty, and desired that they should be adhered to. They were supported by the national guard, whom long service under Lafayette had strongly attached to him and to his principles. The constituents then fell into an error—that of disdaining the new Assembly, and frequently irritating it by their contempt. A sort of aristocratic vanity had already seized these first

* *See* Appendix WW.

legislators; and it seemed as though all legislative science had disappeared along with them.

The new Assembly was composed of different classes of men. It included enlightened partisans of the first Revolution: Ramond, Girardin, Vaublanc, Dumas, and others, who called themselves constitutionalists, and occupied the right side, where not one of the late privileged class was to be found. Thus, by the natural and progressive march of the Revolution, the left side of the first Assembly was destined to become the right of the second. Next to the constitutionalists came many distinguished men whose heads were heated and whose expectations were exaggerated by the Revolution. Witnesses of the labours of the Constituent Assembly, and impatient as lookers-on, they were of opinion that enough had not yet been done. They durst not avow themselves republicans, because on all sides people mutually exhorted one another to be faithful to the constitution; but the experiment of a republic which had been made during the journey of Louis XVI., and the suspicious intentions of the Court, were incessantly leading their minds back to that idea; and they could not but attach themselves to it more and more from their continual hostilities with the government.

Among this new generation of talents, the most remarkable were the deputies of La Gironde, from whom the whole party, though composed of men from all the departments, derived the name of Girondins. Condorcet,* a writer celebrated for the comprehensiveness of his ideas, and for an extreme austerity of mind and character, was its writer; and Vergniaud,† a pure and persuasive extempore speaker, was its orator. This party, increased continually by all who despaired of the Court, did not want such a republic as fell to it in 1793. It dreamt of one with all its fascinations, with its severe virtues and manners. Enthusiasm and vehemence were, of course, its principal characteristics.

Such a party could not but have its extremes. There were Bazire, Merlin de Thionville, and others, who, though its inferiors in talent, were its superiors in boldness. They became the party of the Mountain, when after the overthrow of the throne they separated from the Girondins. This second Assembly had also, like the first, a middle mass, which, without being bound to any party, voted first with the one, and then with the other. Under the Constituent Assembly, when real liberty still prevailed, this mass had remained independent;

* *See* Appendix XX. † *See* Appendix YY.

but as it was not so from energy but from indifference, in the subsequent Assemblies, and during the reign of violence, it became cowardly and contemptible, and received the trivial and ignominious name of *belly* (*ventre*).

The clubs gained at this period a very different kind of importance. Agitators under the Constituent, they became rulers under the Legislative Assembly. The National Assembly could not contain all the ambitious; they betook themselves therefore to the clubs, where they found a theatre for their declamations and passions. Thither resorted all who longed to speak, to take an active part, to agitate themselves, that is to say, almost the whole nation. The people ran to this new sight, they filled the tribunes of all the Assemblies, and there found from this time forward a lucrative employment, for they began to be paid for their applause. Bertrand the minister confesses that he paid them himself.

The oldest of the clubs, that of the Jacobins, had acquired extraordinary importance. A church was scarcely sufficient to hold the crowd of its members and auditors. An immense amphitheatre rose in the form of a circus and occupied the whole great nave of the church of the Jacobins. A desk was placed in the centre, at which sat the president and the secretaries. Here the votes were collected, and here reports of the deliberations were entered in a register. An active correspondence kept up the zeal of the societies which were scattered over the entire surface of France, and were called affiliated societies. This club, from its seniority and persevering violence, had constantly maintained an ascendency over all those that had desired to show themselves more moderate or even more vehement. After the journey to Varennes, the Lameths, with all its most distinguished members, left it and joined the Feuillans. In this latter were blended all the attempts at moderate clubs, attempts which had never succeeded, because they ran counter to the feeling which caused people to frequent the clubs—the desire of agitation. It was at the Feuillans that the constitutionalists, or partisans of the first Revolution, now met. Hence the name of Feuillant became a ground of proscription, when that of moderate was unpopular.

Another club, that of the Cordeliers, endeavoured to rival in violence that of the Jacobins. Camille Desmoulins was its secretary, and Danton its president. The latter, who had not been successful at the bar, had gained the adoration of the multitude, which he powerfully excited by his athletic figure, his sonorous voice, and his popular passions. The Cordeliers, however, were not able, even with the aid of exaggeration, to

eclipse their rivals, to whom habit brought a concourse of auditors. But almost all of them belonged to the Jacobin club, and when occasion required, they repaired thither in the train of Danton, to swell the majority in his favour.

Robespierre, whom we have seen in the time of the Constituent Assembly distinguishing himself by the severity of his principles, was excluded from the Legislative Assembly by the decree of non-re-election, to the passing of which he had himself contributed. He had entrenched himself at the Jacobins, where he ruled without partner, by the dogmatism of his opinions, and by a reputation for integrity which had gained him the epithet of incorruptible. Panic-struck, as we have seen, at the moment of the revision, he had since taken courage, and continued the work of his popularity. Robespierre had found two rivals whom he began to hate, Brissot * and Louvet.† Brissot, mixed up with all the men of the first Assembly, a friend of Mirabeau and Lafayette, known to be a republican, and one of the most distinguished members of the Legislature, was fickle in character, but remarkable for certain qualities of mind. Louvet, with an ardent spirit, an excellent understanding, and great boldness, was one of those who, having outstripped the Constituent Assembly, dreamt of a republic. Hence they naturally approximated to the Girondins. His contests with Robespierre soon attached him still more to them. This party of the Gironde, formed by degrees, without design, by men possessing too much merit to ally themselves to the populace, and distinction enough to be envied by it and its leaders, and who were united rather by their situation than by any concert, was destined to be brilliant but weak, and to fall before the more resolute factions which sprang up around it.

Such then was the state of France. The lately privileged persons had retired beyond the Rhine. The partisans of the constitution comprehended the right of the Assembly, the national guard, and the club of the Feuillans. The Girondins had the majority in the Assembly, but not in the clubs, where low violence had greater sway. Lastly, the hot-headed democrats of this new epoch, seated on the highest benches of the

* *See* Appendix ZZ.

† "Jean Baptiste Louvet de Couvray was an advocate, and distinguished actor in the Revolution. He attached himself to the Girondins, and was included in an order of arrest issued in 1794 against that party. He, however, managed to escape, and lay concealed in Paris until after the fall of Robespierre. He subsequently published an account of his adventures during the time of his proscription—a work written in a romantic style, and which has been translated into many languages. Louvet died at Paris in 1797. He is chiefly known in literature as the author of that licentious novel, *The Chevalier Faublas*."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

Assembly, and thence denominated *the Mountain*, were all-powerful in the clubs and among the populace.

Lafayette had resigned all military rank, and had been accompanied to his country-seat by the homage and regret of his companions in arms. The command had not been conferred on a new general; but six chiefs of legions commanded by turns the whole national guard. Bailly, the faithful ally of Lafayette during those three arduous years, likewise resigned the mayoralty. The voices of the electors were divided between Lafayette and Petion; but the Court, which would not at any rate have Lafayette, who was nevertheless favourably disposed towards it, preferred Petion, though a republican. It hoped more from his coldness, which it mistook for stupidity, but which was quite the reverse, and it incurred considerable expense in order to secure him a majority. He was accordingly appointed mayor. Petion, with an enlightened understanding, a cold but settled conviction, and considerable address, constantly served the republicans against the Court, and found himself allied to the Gironde by conformity of views, and by the envy which his new dignity excited among the Jacobins.

If, however, notwithstanding these dispositions of the parties, the King could have been relied upon, it is possible that the distrust of the Girondins might have worn off, and that, the pretext for disturbances no longer existing, the agitators would thenceforward have found no pretexts for urging the populace to commotion.

The intentions of the King were formed; but he was so weak that they were never irrevocable. It was requisite that he should prove them before they could gain belief; and till he could afford proof, he was liable to more than one outrage. His disposition, though good, was not without a certain tendency to ill-humour. His resolutions were in consequence easily shaken by the first faults of the Assembly. This Assembly having been constituted, took the oath with pomp on the book of the constitution. Its first decree relative to the ceremonial abolished the titles of *Sire* and *Majesty*, usually given to the King. It ordered, moreover, that whenever he appeared in the Assembly he should sit in an arm-chair exactly similar to that of the president.

Such were the first results of the republican spirit, and the pride of Louis XVI. was cruelly wounded by them. To spare himself what he regarded as an humiliation, he resolved not to attend the Assembly, but to send his ministers to open the legislative session. The Assembly, repenting this first hostility, revoked its decree on the following day, and thus gave a rare

example of recantation. The King then went, and was warmly received. Unluckily it had been decreed that if the King continued sitting, the members should likewise keep their seats. They did so, and Louis XVI. considered this as a fresh insult. The applause with which he was greeted could not heal the wound. He returned home pale and with agitated looks. No sooner was he alone with the Queen than he threw himself into a chair, sobbing., "Ah! madam," he exclaimed, "you witnessed this humiliation! What! come to France to see. . . ." The Queen strove to comfort him; but his heart was too deeply lacerated,. and his good intentions must have been shaken by this treatment.*

If, however, he henceforth thought only of having recourse to foreigners, the dispositions of the powers were not such as to give him much hope. The declaration of Pilnitz had remained inoperative, either from want of zeal on the part of the sovereigns, or perhaps on account of the danger which Louis XVI. would have incurred, having been ever since his return from Varennes the prisoner of the Constituent Assembly. The acceptance of the constitution was an additional motive for the sovereigns to await the results of experience before they proceeded to action. This was the opinion of Leopold, and of Kaunitz the minister. Accordingly, when Louis XVI. had notified to all the Courts that he had accepted the constitution, and that it was his intention to observe it faithfully, Austria returned a most pacific answer. Prussia and England did the same, and protested their amicable intentions. It is to be observed that the neighbouring powers acted with more reserve than the remote powers, such as Sweden and Russia, because they were more immediately compromized by a war. Gustavus, who dreamt of some brilliant expedition against France, replied to the notification that he did not consider the King as free. Russia deferred the explanation of her sentiments. Holland, the Italian principalities, and Switzerland in particular, gave satisfactory answers. The Electors of Treves and Mentz, in whose territories the emigrants resided, used evasive expressions. Spain also, importuned by the emigrants of Coblentz, abstained from speaking out; alleging that she wished for time to ensure the liberty of the King. She nevertheless declared that she had no intention of disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Such answers, not one of which was hostile, the assured neutrality of England, the hesitation of Frederick William, the

* See *Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 129.

pacific and well-known disposition of Leopold, all seemed to promise peace. It is impossible to tell what passed in the vacillating mind of Louis XVI.; but his evident interest, and the very fears with which the war subsequently filled him, must induce a belief that he, too, was desirous of the maintenance of peace. Amidst this general concert, the emigrants alone continued to be obstinately bent on war, and to prepare for it.

They still kept thronging to Coblentz, where with great activity they armed themselves, prepared magazines, contracted for accoutrements, and formed skeletons of regiments, which, however, were not filled up, for none of them would become soldiers. Moreover, they instituted ranks which were sold; and if they attempted nothing really dangerous, they nevertheless made great preparations, which they themselves deemed formidable, and by which they expected to strike terror into the imagination of the French people.*

The grand point was to ascertain whether Louis XVI. were favourable to them or not; and it was difficult to suppose that he could be otherwise than well-disposed towards kinsmen and servants who were taking up arms to restore to him his former powers. It would have required nothing less than the utmost sincerity and continual demonstrations to produce a contrary conviction. The letters of the King to the emigrants contained invitations, nay, even orders, to return; but he kept up, it was said,† a secret correspondence, which contradicted his public correspondence, and destroyed its effect. That secret communications took place with Coblentz cannot indeed be denied; but I cannot believe that Louis XVI. made use of them to contradict the injunctions which he had publicly addressed to the emigrants. His most evident interest was that they should return. Their presence at Coblentz could not be serviceable so long as they entertained the design of fighting; and Louis XVI. dreaded civil war above all things.

Not desiring then that the emigrants should employ their swords on the Rhine, it was better that he should have them about him, that he might employ them as occasion required,

* "The continued and increasing emigration of the landholders contributed in the greatest degree to unhinge the public mind, and proved, perhaps, in the end the greatest cause of the subsequent miseries of the Revolution. Their number was by this time, with their families, nearly one hundred thousand of the most wealthy and influential body in France. Coblentz became the centre of this anti-revolutionary party. In thus deserting their country at the most critical period of its history, the French nobility betrayed equal baseness and imprudence."—*Alison.*

† *See* Appendix AAA.

and combine their efforts with those of the constitutionalists for the protection of his person and his throne. Moreover, their presence at Coblentz provoked severe laws, which he would not sanction—a refusal which compromized him with the Assembly; and we shall see that it was the use which he now made of the *veto* that completely stripped him of popularity, and caused him to be considered as an accomplice of the emigrants. It would be strange if he had not perceived the cogency of these reasons, which was felt by all his ministers, who were unanimously of opinion that the emigrants ought to return and to keep near the person of the King, in order to defend him, to put an end to alarms, and to deprive agitators of every pretext. This was the opinion of Bertrand de Molleville himself,* whose principles were anything but constitutional. "It was necessary," says he, "to use all possible means to increase the popularity of the King. The most efficacious and the most useful of all at this moment was to recall the emigrants. Their return, generally desired, would have revived in France the royalist party, which the emigration had completely disorganized. This party, strengthened by the unpopularity of the Assembly, and recruited by numerous deserters from the constitutional party, and by all the discontented, would soon have become powerful enough to render decisive in favour of the King, the explosion—more or less speedy—which there was every reason to expect."

Louis XVI., conformably with this advice of his ministers, addressed exhortations to the principal officers of the army and navy, to recall them to their duty, and to keep them at their posts. His exhortations, however, were useless, and the desertion continued without intermission. The minister at war reported that nineteen hundred officers had deserted. The Assembly could not moderate its wrath, and resolved to take vigorous measures. The Constituent Assembly had gone no further than to decree that public functionaries who were out of the kingdom should be superseded, and that the property of emigrants should be burdened with a triple contribution, to indemnify the State for the services of which they deprived it by their absence. The new Assembly proposed more severe penalties.

Several plans were presented. Brissot distinguished three classes of emigrants: the leaders of the desertion, the public functionaries who abandoned their duties, and lastly, those who out of fear had fled from their country. They ought,

* Tome vi. p. 42.

he said, to deal severely with the former, to despise and pity the others.

It is certain that the liberty of man does not allow him to be chained down to the soil; but when a certainty is obtained, from a multitude of circumstances, that the citizens who forsake it are going to assemble abroad for the purpose of declaring war against it, then indeed it is justifiable to take precautions against such dangerous projects.

The debate was long and warm. The constitutionalists condemned all the measures proposed, and asserted that they ought to despise useless attempts, as their predecessors had invariably done. The opposite party, however, carried their point; and a first decree was passed, enjoining Monsieur, the King's brother, to return within two months, in default of which he should lose his eventual right to the regency. A second and more severe decree was levelled against the emigrants in general: it declared that the French assembled beyond the frontiers of the kingdom were suspected of conspiring against France; that if on the 1st of January next they still continued assembled, they should be declared guilty of conspiracy, prosecuted as such, and punished with death; and that the revenues of those who refused to comply should be levied during their lives for the benefit of the nation, without prejudice to the rights of wives, children, and lawful creditors.

The act of emigration not being in itself reprehensible, it is difficult to characterize the case in which it becomes so. All that the law could do was to apprize people that they would become culpable in such and such cases; and all who wished not to be so had only to obey. Those who, when apprized of the term beyond which absence from the kingdom became a crime, should not return, would consent by this very circumstance to pass for criminals. It was incumbent on those who without any hostile or political motive were out of the kingdom, to hasten their return: in fact, it is a very trifling sacrifice to the safety of a State to abridge a journey of pleasure or profit.

Louis XVI., in order to satisfy the Assembly and public opinion, assented to the decree requiring Monsieur to return upon pain of losing his right to the regency; but he affixed his veto to the law against the emigrants. The ministers were directed to go in a body to the Assembly, for the purpose of communicating the pleasure of the King. They first read several decrees to which the sanction was given. When they came to that relative to the emigrants, profound

silence pervaded the Assembly; and when the keeper of the seals pronounced the official formula, *The King will examine it*, great discontent was expressed on all sides. He would have entered into a development of the forms of the veto, but a great number of voices were raised, and told the minister that the constitution granted to the King the right of opposing, but not that of assigning motives for opposition. The minister was therefore obliged to withdraw, leaving behind him a deep irritation. This first resistance of the King to the Assembly was a definitive rupture; and though he had sanctioned the decree which deprived his brother of the regency, yet people could not help discovering in his rejection of the second decree an affection for the insurgents at Coblentz. They considered that he was their kinsman, their friend, and in some degree their copartner; and thence concluded that it was impossible for him not to make common cause with them against the nation.

The very next day Louis XVI. published a proclamation to the emigrants, and two separate letters to his two brothers. The reasons which he stated to both were excellent, and appeared to be sincerely urged. He exhorted them to put an end by their return to the distrust which evil-disposed persons took delight in spreading. He besought them not to compel him to employ severe measures against them; and as to his want of liberty, which was made a pretext for not obeying him, he adduced as an evidence of the contrary the veto which he had just affixed in their favour.* Be this as it might, those reasons produced neither at Coblentz nor at Paris the effect which they were, or appeared to be, intended to produce. The emigrants did not return; and in the Assembly the tone of the proclamation was deemed too mild; nay, the power of the executive to issue one was called in question. That body was in fact too much irritated to be content with a proclamation, and above all, to suffer the King to substitute a useless measure for the vigorous resolutions which had just been adopted.

A similar trial was at the same moment imposed upon the King, and produced an equally unfortunate result. The first religious disturbances had broken out in the West; the Constituent Assembly had sent thither two commissioners, one of whom was Gensonné, afterwards so celebrated in the party of the Gironde. Their report had been made to the Legislative Assembly, and though very moderate, this report had filled it

* *See* Appendix BBB.

with indignation. It will be recollected that the Constituent Assembly, in depriving the nonjuring priests of their functions, had nevertheless left them a pension, and liberty to perform religious service apart. They had ever since endeavoured to excite the people against their colleagues who had taken the oath, and inveighed against them as impious wretches whose ministry was null and dangerous. They drew the peasants after them to great distances for the purpose of saying mass to them. The latter were irritated to see their churches occupied by a worship which they were taught to consider as bad, and to be obliged to go so far in quest of that which they looked upon as good. Civil war was imminent.* Fresh information communicated to the Assembly proved that the danger had become still greater. It then determined to adopt measures against these new enemies of the constitution similar to those which it had taken against the armed enemies beyond the Rhine, and to put the disposition of the King to a new test.

The Constituent Assembly had required all priests to take the civic oath. Those who refused to comply, though they lost the character of ministers of public worship paid by the State, retained their pensions as mere ecclesiastics, and the liberty of exercising their ministry in private. Nothing could be milder or more moderate than such a restriction. The Legislative Assembly required the oath to be taken anew, and deprived those who refused of any salary whatever. As they abused their liberty by exciting civil war, it ordered that according to their conduct they should be removed from one place to another, and even sentenced to imprisonment if they refused to obey. Lastly, it forbade them the free exercise of their private worship, and directed the administrative bodies to transmit to it a list, with notes, relative to the conduct of each of them.

This measure, as well as that which had just been taken against the emigrants, originated in the anxiety which seizes governments that are threatened to surround themselves with excessive precautions. It is not the ascertained fact which they punish, but the presumed attack against which they proceed, and their measures become as arbitrary and cruel as they are suspicious.

The bishops and the priests who had remained in Paris, and who had kept up a correspondence with the King, immediately sent to him a memorial against the decree. The King, who

* *See* Appendix CCC.

was already full of scruples, and had always reproached himself for having sanctioned the decree of the Constituent Assembly, needed no encouragement for this refusal. "As for this," said he, speaking of the new plan, "they shall take my life before they shall oblige me to sanction it." The ministers were nearly all of the same opinion. Barnave and Lameth, whom the King occasionally consulted, advised him to refuse his sanction; but to this counsel they added other recommendations, which the King could not make up his mind to follow. These were, that in opposing the decree he should not leave any doubt respecting his disposition, and for this purpose he should remove from about his person all priests who refused to take the oath, and compose his chapel of none but constitutional ecclesiastics.

But of all the counsels which they gave him, the King adopted only such as harmonized with his weakness or his devotion. Duport-Dutertre, keeper of the seals, and the organ of the constitutionalists with the ministry, procured its approbation of their advice; and when the council had decided, to the great satisfaction of Louis XVI., that the veto should be affixed, he added, as his opinion, that it would be well to surround the person of the King with priests who were not liable to suspicion. To this proposal Louis XVI., usually so flexible, manifested invincible obstinacy, and said that the freedom of religious worship, decreed for everybody, ought to be allowed to him as well as to his subjects, and that he ought to have the liberty of appointing about him such priests as he approved. The ministers did not insist, and without as yet communicating the circumstance to the Assembly, the veto was decided upon.

The constitutional party, to which the King seemed to consign himself at this moment, brought him a fresh reinforcement. This was the directory of the department, which was composed of the most esteemed members of the Constitutional Assembly. Among them were the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the Bishop of Autun, Baumetz, Desmeuniers, Ansons, &c. It presented a petition to the King, not as an administrative body, but as a meeting of petitioners, and called for the affixing of the veto to the decree against the priests.

"The National Assembly," they said, "certainly meant well; we love to avenge it here on its guilty detractors; but so laudable a design has propelled it towards measures of which neither the constitution, justice, nor prudence can approve. It makes the payment of the pensions of all ecclesiastics not in office depend on the taking of the civic oath, whereas the constitution has expressly and literally classed those pensions

with the public debts. Now, can the refusal to take any oath whatever destroy the title of an acknowledged credit? The Constituent Assembly has done what it could do on behalf of the nonjuring priests; they refused to take the prescribed oath, and it has deprived them of their functions; in dispossessing them it has reduced them to a pension. The Legislative Assembly proposes that the ecclesiastics who have not taken the oath, or who have retracted it, may, during religious disturbances, be temporarily removed, and imprisoned if they fail to obey the order which shall be intimated to them. Is not this renewing the system of arbitrary orders, since it permits the punishing with exile, and soon afterwards with imprisonment, one who has not yet been convicted of having offended against any law? The National Assembly refuses all those who shall not take the civic oath the free exercise of their religious worship. Now, this liberty cannot be wrested from any person: it is guaranteed for ever in the declaration of rights."

These reasons were certainly excellent; but it is impossible to allay with arguments either the animosities or the fears of parties. How persuade an Assembly that it ought to permit refractory priests to excite disturbance and civil war? The directory was abused, and its petition to the King was combated by a multitude of others addressed to the Legislative Body. Camille Desmoulins presented a very bold petition at the head of a section, in which might be already perceived an increasing violence of language, and a renunciation of all the respect hitherto paid to the authorities and to the King. Desmoulins told the Assembly that a signal example was required; that the directory ought to be tried; that it was the leaders who ought to be prosecuted; that it ought to strike at the head, and launch thunderbolts at the conspirators; that the power of the royal veto had a limit, and that a veto would not prevent the taking of a Bastille.

Louis XVI., though determined to refuse his sanction, hesitated to acquaint the Assembly with his resolution. He wished first by certain acts to conciliate the public opinion. He selected his ministers from among the constitutional party. Montmorin,* weary of his laborious career under the Constituent

* "Of all the men who played an important part in the Revolution M. de Montmorin is perhaps the person who is the least known, and has been judged with the greatest severity. He was neither constitutionalist nor democrat, but a real royalist. The extreme weakness of his character prevented him from being useful to his Majesty in circumstances that required much energy. This moral weakness had its source in a sickly constitution, and can no more be imputed to him as a crime than his being of a low stature and slender frame of body."—*Bertrand de Molleville.*

Assembly, and of his arduous negotiations with all the parties, could not be induced to encounter the storms of a new Legislature, and had retired in spite of the entreaties of the King. The ministry for foreign affairs, refused by several persons, was accepted by Delessart, who, in order to assume it, relinquished that of the interior. Delessart, an upright and enlightened man, was under the influence of the constitutionalists, or Feuillans; but he was too weak to fix the will of the King, and to overawe foreign powers and domestic factions. Cahier de Gerville, a decided patriot, but rather rough than persuasive, was appointed to the interior, to gratify public opinion. Narbonne, a young man, full of activity and ardour, a zealous constitutionalist, and who understood the art of making himself popular, was placed at the head of the war department by the party which then composed the ministry. He might have had a beneficial influence upon the council, and reconciled the Assembly with the King, if he had not had an adversary in Bertrand de Molleville, a counter-revolutionary minister, who was preferred by the Court to all the others.* Bertrand de Molleville, detesting the constitution, artfully wrapped himself up in the letter for the purpose of attacking its spirit, and sincerely desired that the King would attempt to execute it, "merely," as he said, "to prove that it was not practicable." The King could not make up his mind to dismiss him, and with this mixed ministry he endeavoured to pursue his course. After he had endeavoured to gratify public opinion by these appointments, he tried other means for attaching it to him still more; and he appeared to accede to all the diplomatic and military measures proposed against the assemblages formed upon the Rhine.

The last repressive laws had been prevented by the veto, and yet every day fresh denunciations apprized the Assembly of the preparations and the threats of the emigrants. The reports (*procès-verbaux*) of the municipalities and departments on the frontiers, and the accounts given by commercial men coming from beyond the Rhine, attested that the Vicomte de Mirabeau, brother of the celebrated member of the Constituent Assembly, was at the head of six hundred men in the bishopric of Strasburg; that in the territory of the

* "Two of the ministers were zealous patriots; two others were moderate, but honest; the fifth, Bertrand de Molleville, minister of the navy, was a decided aristocrat; the sixth, M. de Narbonne, a constitutionalist, full of ardour and activity. The latter had cause to be dissatisfied with M. Bertrand. Narbonne was displeasing to the Court, from the frankness of his disposition, the patriotism of his conduct, and his attachment to Lafayette."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

Elector of Mentz, and near Worms, there were numerous corps of emigrants, under the command of the Prince de Condé; that the same was the case at Coblentz and throughout the whole electorate of Treves; that outrages and acts of violence had been committed upon Frenchmen; and lastly, that a proposal had been made to General Wimpfen to deliver up New Brisach.

These accounts, in addition to many other circumstances that were matter of public notoriety, drove the Assembly to the last degree of irritation. A decree was immediately proposed, to require of the Electors the disarming of the emigrants. The decision was deferred for two days, that it might not appear to be too much hurried. After this delay the discussion commenced.

Isnard* was the first speaker. He insisted upon the necessity of ensuring the tranquillity of the kingdom, not in a temporary but in a durable manner; of overawing by prompt and vigorous measures, which should attest to all Europe the patriotic resolutions of France. "Fear not," said he, "to bring upon yourselves a war with the great powers. Interest has already decided their intentions. Your measures will not change them, but will oblige them to explain themselves. The conduct of the Frenchman ought to correspond with his new destiny. A slave under Louis XVI., he was nevertheless intrepid and great. Now that he is free, ought he to be weak and timid? They are mistaken, said Montesquieu, who imagine that a people in a state of revolution are disposed to be conquered. They are ready, on the contrary, to conquer others. (*Applause.*)

"Capitulations are proposed to you. It is proposed to increase the power of the King—of a man whose will can paralyze that of the whole nation, of a man who receives thirty millions, while thousands of citizens are perishing from want! (*Fresh applause.*) It is proposed to bring back the nobility. Were all the nobles on earth to attack us, the French, holding their gold in one hand and the sword in the other, would combat that haughty race, and force it to endure the punishment of equality.

"Talk to the ministers, to the King, and to Europe, the language befitting the representatives of France. Tell the ministers that so far you are not satisfied with their conduct, and that by responsibility you mean death. (*Prolonged applause.*) Tell Europe that you will respect the constitutions

* *See* Appendix DDD.

of all other countries; but that if a war of kings is raised against France, you will raise a war of people against kings." The applause was here renewed. "Say," he added, "that the battles which nations fight at the command of despots are like the blows which two friends, excited by a perfidious instigator, strike at each other in the dark. The moment a light appears they embrace, and take vengeance on him who deluded them. In like manner, if at the moment when the hostile armies shall be engaged with ours, the light of philosophy bursts upon their sight, the nations will embrace one another before the face of dethroned tyrants, of consoled earth, and of delighted Heaven!"

The enthusiasm excited by these words was such that the members thronged around the speaker to embrace him. The decree which he supported was instantly adopted. M. de Vaublanc was directed to carry it to the King, at the head of a deputation of twenty-four members. By this decree the Assembly declared that it considered it indispensably necessary to require the Electors of Treves and Mentz, and the other princes of the empire, to break up the assemblages formed on the frontiers. At the same time it prayed the King to accelerate the negotiations commenced respecting the indemnities due to the princes who had possessions in Alsace.

M. de Vaublanc accompanied this decree with a firm and respectful address, which was highly applauded by the Assembly. "Sire," said he, "if the French, driven from their country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had assembled in arms on the frontiers, and had been protected by German princes, we ask you, Sire, what would have been the conduct of Louis XIV.? Would he have suffered these assemblages? What he would have done for the sake of his authority your Majesty cannot hesitate to do for the maintenance of the constitution."

Louis XVI. having determined, as we have said, to counteract the effect of the veto by acts which should gratify public opinion, resolved to go to the Assembly and personally reply to its message in a speech likely to give it satisfaction.

On the 14th of December, in the evening, the King accordingly went, after having announced his intention in the morning by a mere note. He said that the message of the Assembly deserved mature consideration, and that in a circumstance in which French honour was involved, he deemed it right to come in person; that, sharing the intentions of the Assembly, but dreading the scourge of war, he had endeavoured to bring back

the misled French; that friendly remonstrances having proved ineffectual, he had anticipated the message of the representatives, and signified to the Electors that if before the 15th of January the assemblage of troops should not have ceased, they should be considered as enemies of France; that he had written to the Emperor to claim his interference as head of the empire; and that in case satisfaction were not obtained, he should propose war. He concluded with saying that it would be vain to attempt to surround the exercise of his authority with disgust; that he would faithfully guard the deposit of the constitution; and that he deeply felt how glorious it was to be King of a free people.

Applause succeeded the silence, and made the King amends for the reception which he had experienced on entering. The Assembly having resolved in the morning that he should be answered by a message, could not immediately express its satisfaction, but gave orders that his speech should be sent to the eighty-three departments. Narbonne soon afterwards entered to communicate the means which had been adopted to ensure the effect of the intimations addressed to the empire. One hundred thousand men were to be assembled on the Rhine; and this, he added, was not impossible. Three generals were appointed to command them, Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette.* The last name was received with applause. Narbonne added that he should set out immediately to inspect the frontiers, to ascertain the state of the fortresses, and to give the greatest activity to defensive operations; that no doubt the Assembly would grant the necessary funds, and not cheapen liberty. Cries of "No, no," burst from all sides. Lastly, he asked the Assembly if, though the legal number of marshals was complete, it would not permit the King to confer that rank on the two generals, Luckner and Rochambeau, who were charged to save liberty. Acclamations testified the consent of the Assembly, and the satisfaction caused by the activity of the young minister. It was by persevering in such conduct that Louis XVI. might have succeeded in gaining popularity, and reconciling the republicans, who wished for a republic solely because they believed the King to be incapable of loving and defending liberty.

Advantage was taken of the satisfaction produced by these measures to notify the veto affixed to the decree against the priests. Care was taken to publish in the journals of the same morning the dismissal of the former diplomatic agents accused

* *See* Appendix EEE.

of aristocracy, and the appointment of new ones. Owing to these precautions the message was received without a murmur. The Assembly indeed expected it, and the sensation was not so unfavourable as might have been apprehended. We see how extremely cautious the King was obliged to be in making use of his prerogative, and what danger he incurred in employing it. Had the Constituent Assembly, which is accused of having ruined by stripping him of his authority, conferred on him the absolute veto, would he have been more powerful on that account? Had not the suspensive veto in this case all the effect of the absolute veto? Was it legal power that the King lacked, or the power of opinion? We see from the effect itself that it was not the want of sufficient prerogatives which ruined Louis XVI., but the indiscreet use of those which were left him.

The activity promised to the Assembly was not delayed. The propositions for the expenses of the war and for the nomination of the two marshals, Luckner and Rochambeau, followed without interruption. Lafayette, forced from the retirement which he had sought in order to recruit himself after three years' fatigues, presented himself before the Assembly, where he was cordially received. Battalions of the national guard escorted him on leaving Paris, and everything proved to him that the name of Lafayette was not forgotten, but that he was still regarded as one of the founders of liberty.

Meanwhile Leopold, naturally peaceful, was not desirous of war, for he knew that it was not consistent with his interests; but he wished for a congress, backed by an imposing force, in order to bring about an accommodation and some modifications in the constitution. The emigrants wished not to modify but to destroy it.* More prudent and better informed, the Emperor knew that it was necessary to concede a great deal to the new opinions, and that the utmost that could be expected was to restore to the King certain prerogatives, and to modify the composition of the Legislative Body by the establishment of two chambers instead of one.†

* "The emigrants were unanimous in their desire for an invasion, and in their exertions at all foreign Courts. M. de Calonne, the principal agent of the princes, had publicly said at Brussels, 'If the powers delay making war, we shall know how to make the French declare it.' The King and Queen hesitated between various parties. The Queen especially, who would have consented to owe her deliverance to Austrian or even Prussian arms, was withheld by her reluctance to lay herself under obligations to Monsieur, whom she never liked, and the Comte d'Artois, whom she no longer liked. 'The Comte d'Artois will then become a hero!' she exclaimed in a tone of bitterness."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

† *See* Appendix FFF.

This last measure was the most dreaded, and it was with the plan of it that the Feuillant or constitutional party was most frequently reproached. It is certain that if this party had in the early time of the Constituent Assembly opposed the upper chamber, because it justly apprehended that the nobility would there entrench themselves, it had not now the same fears. On the contrary, it had just hopes of filling such a chamber almost of itself. Many constituents, reduced to mere ciphers, would there have found occasion to appear again on the political stage. If then this upper chamber did not accord with their views, still less did it accord with their interests. It is certain that the newspapers frequently adverted to it, and that this report was universally circulated. How rapid had been the progress of the Revolution! The right side at this time was composed of members of the former left side; and the plan so dreaded and condemned was not a return to the old system, but the establishment of an upper chamber. What a difference from 1789! How swiftly a foolish resistance had hurried on vents.

Leopold perceived then no other possible amelioration for Louis XVI. Meanwhile his object was to protract the negotiations, and without breaking with France, to awe her by his firmness. But this aim he thwarted by his answer. This answer consisted in a notification of the resolutions of the Diet of Ratisbon, which refused to accept any indemnity for the princes who had possessions in Alsace. Nothing could be more absurd than such a decision; for the whole territory subject to one and the same rule ought also to be subject to the same laws. If princes of the empire had estates in France, it was right that they should be comprehended in the abolition of feudal rights, and the Constituent Assembly had done a great deal in granting indemnities for them. Several of those princes having already treated on this point, the Diet annulled their agreements, and forbade them to accept any composition. The empire thus pretended not to recognize the Revolution in as far as itself was concerned. With regard to the assemblages of emigrants, Leopold, without entering into explanation on the subject of their dispersion, answered Louis XVI., that as the Elector of Treves might, according to the intimations of the French government, be exposed to speedy hostilities, he had ordered General Bender to give him prompt assistance.

Nothing could have been more injudicious than this answer. It obliged Louis XVI., in order that he might not compromise himself, to adopt vigorous measures and to propose war. Delessart was immediately sent to the Assembly to communi-

cate this answer, and to express the astonishment which the King felt at the conduct of Leopold. The minister alleged that the Emperor had probably been deceived, and that he had been falsely persuaded that the Elector had performed all the duties of a friendly neighbour. Delessart communicated also the reply returned to Leopold. It was intimated to him, that notwithstanding his answer and the orders given to Marshal Bender, if the Electors had not by the time prescribed, namely, the 15th of January, complied with the requisition of France, arms would be employed against them.

"If," said Louis XVI. in his letter to the Assembly, "this declaration fails to produce the effect which I have reason to hope from it, if it is the destiny of France to be obliged to fight her own children and her allies, I will make known to Europe the justice of our cause: the French people will uphold it by their courage, and the nation will see that I have no other interest but its interests, and that I shall ever consider the maintenance of its dignity and safety as the most essential of my duties."

These words, in which the King seemed in the common danger to unite with the nation, were warmly applauded. The papers were delivered to the diplomatic committee, with directions to make a speedy report upon them to the Assembly.

The Queen was once more applauded at the Opera as in the days of her splendour and her power, and quite overjoyed, she told her husband on her return that she had been received as formerly. But this was the last homage paid to her by a people which had once idolized her royal graces. That feeling of equality, which remains so long dormant in men, and which is so capricious when it does awake, began already to manifest itself on all sides. It was very near the conclusion of the year 1791; the Assembly abolished the ancient ceremonial of New Year's Day, and decided that the homage paid to the King on that solemn day should thenceforth cease. Just about the same time a deputation complained that the folding-doors of the council chamber had not been opened for it. The discussion was scandalous, and the Assembly, in writing to the King, suppressed the titles of *Sire* and *Majesty*. On another occasion a deputy entered the King's apartment with his hat on, and in a very unsuitable dress. This conduct was frequently provoked by the rude reception given by the courtiers to the deputies; and in these reprisals the pride of both was determined not to be outdone.

Narbonne prosecuted his tour with extraordinary activity. Three armies were formed on the threatened frontier. Rocham-

beau, a veteran general, who had formerly displayed ability in war, but who was now ailing, ill-humoured, and discontented, commanded the army stationed in Flanders, and called the army of the North. Lafayette had the army of the centre, and was encamped near Metz. Luckner, an old warrior, an ordinary general, a brave soldier, and very popular in the army for his exclusively military manners, commanded the corps which occupied Alsace. These were all the generals that a long peace and a general desertion had left us.

Rochambeau, dissatisfied with the new system, and irritated with the want of discipline which prevailed in the army, was constantly complaining, and held out no hope to the ministers. Lafayette, young, active, and anxious to distinguish himself forthwith in the defence of the country, re-established discipline among his troops, and overcame all the difficulties raised by the ill-will of the officers, who were the aristocrats of the army. He called them together, and addressing them in the language of honour, he told them that they must quit the camp if they would not serve loyally; that if any of them wished to retire, he would undertake to procure them either pensions in France, or passports for foreign countries; but that if they persisted in serving, he expected from them zeal and fidelity. In this manner he contrived to introduce into his army better order than that which prevailed in any of the others. As for Luckner, having no political opinion, and being consequently indifferent to all systems, he promised the Assembly a great deal, and actually succeeded in gaining the attachment of the soldiers.

Narbonne travelled with the greatest expedition, and returned to give an account of his rapid journey to the Assembly. He reported that the repair of the fortresses was already considerably advanced; that the army, from Dunkirk to Besançon, presented a mass of two hundred and forty battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, with artillery requisite for two hundred thousand men, and supplies for six months. He bestowed the highest encomiums on the patriotism of the volunteer national guards, and declared that in a short time their equipment would be complete. The young minister no doubt gave way to the illusions of zeal; but his intentions were so noble, and his operations so prompt, that the Assembly loaded him with applause, held forth his report to the public gratitude, and sent it to all the departments—the usual way of expressing esteem for those with whom it was satisfied.

War then was the great question of the moment. For the Revolution it was a question of existence itself. Its enemies

being now abroad, it was there that it became necessary to seek and to conquer them. Would the King, as chief of the armies, act cordially against his relatives and his former courtiers? Such was the doubt which it was of importance to clear up to the satisfaction of the nation. This question of war was discussed at the Jacobins, which suffered none to pass without pronouncing a sovereign decision upon it. What will appear singular is, that the outrageous Jacobins, and Robespierre, their leader, were in favour of peace, and the moderate Jacobins, or Girondins, for war.* Brissot and Louvet were at their head. Brissot advocated war with his talents and influence. He thought, with Louvet and all the Girondins, that it was desirable for the nation, because it would put an end to a dangerous uncertainty, and unveil the real intentions of the King. These men, judging of the result by their own enthusiasm, could not believe that the nation would be conquered; and they thought that if through the fault of the King it experienced any transient check, it would instantly be enlightened, and depose an unfaithful chief. How happened it that Robespierre and the other Jacobins opposed a determination which must produce so speedy and so decisive a *dénouement?* In answer to this question nothing but conjectures can be offered. Was the timid Robespierre afraid of war? Or did he oppose it only because Brissot, his rival at the Jacobins, supported it, and because young Louvet had defended it with ability? Be this as it may, he fought with extreme obstinacy for peace. The Cordeliers, who were Jacobins, attended the discussion, and supported Robespierre. They seemed more especially afraid lest war should give too many advantages to Lafayette, and soon procure for him the military dictatorship. This was the continual fear of Camille Desmoulins, who never ceased to figure him to himself at the head of a victorious army, as in the Champ de Mars, crushing Jacobins and Cordeliers. Louvet and the Girondins attributed a different motive to the Cordeliers, and supposed them to be hostile to Lafayette, because he was an enemy of the Duc d'Orleans, with whom they were said to be secretly united.

The Duc d'Orleans, now again brought before the public by the suspicions of his enemies rather than by the Revolution,

* "The Jacobins attached to Robespierre were opposed to war, because they feared its being directed by their political rivals, and also because several of them from pecuniary interests, like Danton, or from causes of which they themselves were ignorant, were under the guidance of that small party of the Court who were engaged in secret negotiations. The Girondins at that period wished for war at any price, in the hope that it would facilitate their vague projects of ambition." —*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

was then nearly eclipsed. At the commencement his name might have had some weight, and he himself might have conceived some hope of those to whom he lent it; but everything had since greatly changed. Feeling himself how much he was out of his place in the popular party, he had endeavoured to obtain the pardon of the Court during the latter days of the Constituent Assembly, and had been repulsed. Under the Legislative, he had been retained in the list of admirals, and he had made fresh solicitations to the King. On this occasion he was admitted to his presence, had a long conversation with him, and was not unfavourably received. He was to return to the palace. He repaired thither. The Queen's dinner was served, and numerous courtiers were in attendance. No sooner was he perceived than the most insulting expressions were uttered. "Take care of the dishes!" was the general cry, as though they had been afraid that he would throw poison into them. They pushed him, trod on his toes, and obliged him to retire. As he went downstairs he received fresh insults, and departed in deep indignation, conceiving that the King and Queen had prepared for him this humiliating scene. They, however, were totally ignorant of it, and were extremely shocked at the imprudence of the courtiers.* That Prince had a right to be more exasperated than ever; but he certainly became neither a more active nor a more able party-leader than before. His friends at the Jacobins and in the Assembly no doubt thought fit to make a little more noise; hence it was supposed that his faction was again raising its head, and it was thought that his pretensions and his hopes were renewed by the dangers of the throne.

The Girondins imagined that the extreme Cordeliers and Jacobins advocated peace with no other view than to deprive Lafayette, the rival of the Duc d'Orleans, of the reputation which war might give him. Be this as it may, war, deprecated by the Jacobins, but supported by the Girondins, could not fail to be adopted by the Assembly, in which the latter had the ascendency. The Assembly began by putting under accusation, from the 1st of January, Monsieur, the King's brother, the Comte d'Artois,† the Prince de Condé, Calonne, Mirabeau the younger,‡ and Lequeille as charged with the commission of hostilities against France. As a decree of accusation was not

* *See* Appendix GGG.

† Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., who died in the year 1824. Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., who died in exile at Gratz, in Styria, in the ear 1836.

‡ *See* Appendix HHH.

submitted to the King for his sanction, no veto was in this case to be apprehended. The sequestration of the property of the emigrants, and the application of their revenues to the benefit of the State, enacted by the unsanctioned decree, were prescribed anew by another decree, to which the King made no opposition. The Assembly took possession of the revenues as indemnities for the war. Monsieur was deprived of the regency by virtue of the resolution previously adopted.

The report on the last despatch of the Emperor was at length presented to the Assembly by Gensonné. He represented that France had always lavished her treasures and her troops for Austria without ever obtaining any return; that the treaty of alliance concluded in 1756 had been violated by the declaration of Pilnitz, and the subsequent declarations, the object of which was to raise up an armed coalition of sovereigns; that this had likewise been done by the arming of the emigrants, permitted and even seconded by the princes of the empire. Gensonné, moreover, insisted that though orders had recently been given for the dispersion of such assemblages, those apparent orders had not been executed; that the white cockade had not ceased to be worn beyond the Rhine, the national cockade to be insulted, and French travellers maltreated: that in consequence it behoved the Assembly to demand of the Emperor a final explanation relative to the treaty of 1756. The report was ordered to be printed, and the consideration of it adjourned.

On the same day, January 14, 1792, Guadet ascended the tribune. "Of all the facts," said he, "communicated to the Assembly, that by which it has been most struck is the plan of a congress to be assembled for the purpose of obtaining the modification of the French constitution—a plan long suspected, and at length denounced as possible by the committees and the ministers. If it be true," added Guadet, "that this intrigue is conducted by men who fancy that they discover in it the means of emerging from that political nonentity into which they have just sunk; if it be true that some of the agents of the executive power are seconding with all the influence of their connections this abominable plot; if it be true that they think to bring us by delay and discouragement to accept this ignominious mediation—ought the National Assembly to shut its eyes to such dangers? Let us swear," exclaimed the speaker, "to die, all of us, on this spot, rather. . . ." He was not allowed to finish: the whole Assembly rose, crying, "Yes, yes, we swear it;" and with enthusiasm it declared every Frenchman who should take part in a congress, the object of which was to modify the constitution, infamous and a traitor to his country. It was more

especially against the members of the late Constituent Assembly, and Delessart, the minister, that this decree was directed. It was Delessart who was accused of protracting the negotiations. On the 17th the discussion on Gensonné's report was resumed, and it was resolved that the King should not treat further, unless in the name of the French nation, and that he should require of the Emperor a definitive explanation before the 1st of March ensuing. The King replied that it was more than a fortnight since he had demanded positive explanations from Leopold.

During this interval news arrived that the Elector of Treves, alarmed at the urgency of the French Cabinet, had issued fresh orders for the dispersion of the assemblages of troops, for the sale of the magazines formed in his dominions, and for prohibiting recruiting and military exercises; and that these orders were in fact carried into execution. In the then prevailing disposition this intelligence was coldly received. The Assembly would not regard these measures in any other light than as empty demonstrations without result; and persisted in demanding the definitive answer of Leopold.

Dissensions existed in the ministry between Bertrand de Molleville and Narbonne. Bertrand was jealous of the popularity of the minister at war, and found fault with his condescension to the Assembly. Narbonne complained of the conduct of Bertrand de Molleville, and of his unconstitutional sentiments, and wished that the King would dismiss him from the ministry. Cahier de Gerville held the balance between them, but without success. It was alleged that the constitutional party was desirous of raising Narbonne to the dignity of prime minister; it would even appear that the King was imposed upon, that the popularity and the ambition of Narbonne were employed as bugbears to frighten him, and that he was represented to him as a presumptuous young man who wanted to govern the Cabinet. The newspapers were informed of these dissensions. Brissot and the Gironde warmly defended the minister who was threatened with disgrace, and as warmly attacked his colleagues and the King. A letter written by the three generals of the North to Narbonne, in which they expressed their apprehensions respecting his dismissal, which was said to be near at hand, was published. The King, irritated at this, immediately dismissed him; but to counteract the effect of this dismissal, he declared his determination to remove Bertrand de Molleville also. The effect of the first, however, was not weakened by the latter step. It excited an extraordinary sensation, and the Assembly

resolved to declare, agreeably to the form previously adopted in Necker's case, that Narbonne carried with him the confidence of the nation, and that the entire ministry had lost it. From that condemnation, however, it proposed to except Cahier de Gerville, who had always been hostile to Bertrand de Molleville, and who had even just had a violent quarrel with him. After much agitation Brissot offered to prove that Delessart had betrayed the confidence of the nation. This minister had communicated to the diplomatic committee his correspondence with Kaunitz. It was without dignity, and even gave Kaunitz a very unfavourable notion of the state of France, and seemed to have authorized the conduct and the language of Leopold. It should be observed that Delessart and his colleague Duport-Dutertre were the two ministers who belonged more particularly to the Feuillans, and who were most disliked, because they were accused of favouring the plan of a congress.

In one of the most stormy sittings of the Assembly the unfortunate Delessart was accused by Brissot of having compromized the dignity of the nation; of having neglected to apprize the Assembly of the concert of the powers and the declaration of Pilnitz; of having professed unconstitutional doctrines in his notes; of having given Kaunitz a false notion of the state of France; of having protracted the negotiation, and conducted it in a manner contrary to the interests of the country. Vergniaud joined Brissot, and added new grievances to those imputed to Delessart. He reproached him for having, when minister of the interior, kept too long in his portfolio the decree which incorporated the Comtat with France, and thus having caused the massacres at Avignon.* "From this tribune from which I address you," added Vergniaud, "may be seen the palace where perverse advisers mislead and deceive the King whom the constitution has given us. I see the windows of the palace where they are hatching counter-revolution, where they are combining the means of plunging us back into slavery. In ancient times terror has often stalked forth in the name of despotism from this famous

* "On Sunday the 30th of October 1791, the gates were closed, the walls guarded so as to render escape impossible, and a band of assassins, commanded by the barbarous Jourdan, sought out in their own houses the individuals destined for death. Sixty unhappy wretches were speedily thrust into prison, where, during the obscurity of the night, the murderers wreaked their vengeance with impunity. One young man put fourteen to death with his own hand, and only desisted from excess of fatigue! Twelve women perished, after having undergone tortures which my pen cannot describe. When vengeance had done its worst, the remains of the victims were torn and mutilated, and heaped up in a ditch, or thrown into the Rhone."—*Lacretelle.*

palace; let it now return thither in the name of the law; let it there seize every heart; let all those who dwell in it know that our constitution grants inviolability to the King alone."

The decree of accusation was immediately put to the vote and carried. Delessart was sent to the high national court, established at Orleans, which was empowered by the constitution to try crimes against the State. The King felt the greatest pain at his departure. He had given him his confidence, and been delighted with his moderate and pacific sentiments. Duport-Dutertre, minister of the constitutional party, was also threatened with accusation, but he anticipated it, demanded permission to justify himself, was absolved by the order of the day, and immediately afterwards resigned. Cahier de Gerville also gave in his resignation, and thus the King found himself deprived of the only one of his ministers who had a reputation for patriotism with the Assembly.

Separated from the ministers whom the Feuillans had given him, and not knowing to whom to cling amidst this storm, Louis XVI., who had dismissed Narbonne because he was too popular, thought of connecting himself with the Gironde, which was republican. It is true that it was so only from distrust of the King; and it was possible that when he had once committed himself to this party it might attach itself to him. But it would have been requisite that he should give himself up sincerely; and that everlasting question of sincerity arose here as on all other occasions. No doubt Louis XVI. was sincere when he consigned himself to a party; but it was not without ill-humour and regret. Thus when this party imposed upon him a difficult but necessary condition he rejected it. Distrust instantly sprang up, animosity followed, and very soon a rupture was the consequence of those unhappy alliances between hearts which were exclusively occupied by two opposite interests. Thus it was that Louis XVI., after admitting the Feuillant party to his presence, had in a fit of ill-humour dismissed Narbonne, who was its most conspicuous chief, and now found himself reduced to the necessity of giving himself up to the Gironde, in order to allay the storm. The example of England, where the King frequently takes his ministers from the opposition, was one of the motives of Louis XVI. The Court then conceived a hope—for people cannot help forming hopes even in the most gloomy conjectures—that Louis XVI., by taking incapable and ridiculous demagogues, would ruin the reputation of the party from which he should have selected them. This hope, however, was not

realized; and the new ministry was not such as the malice of the courtiers would have desired.

Above a month before this time Delessart and Narbonne had selected a man whose talents they held in high estimation, and placed him near them for the purpose of availing themselves of his abilities. This was Dumouriez, who, having successfully commanded in Normandy and in La Vendée, had everywhere displayed extraordinary firmness and intelligence. He had first offered himself to the Court, and then to the Constituent Assembly, because all parties were the same to him, provided he had opportunities to exercise his activity and his superior talents. Dumouriez, kept down by the times in which he lived, had spent part of his life in diplomatic intrigues. With his bravery, and his military and political genius, he was still, at the age of fifty, and at the commencement of the Revolution, only a brilliant military adventurer.* He had nevertheless retained the fire and the hardihood of youth, and as soon as there appeared a prospect of a war or a revolution, he formed plans and addressed them to all the parties, ready to act for any, provided he could but act. He was thus accustomed not to take any account of the nature of the cause; but though too little swayed by conviction, he was generous, sensible, and capable of attachment, if not for principles, at least for persons. Yet with such a graceful, prompt, and comprehensive mind, and courage alternately calm and impetuous, he was admirable for serving, but incapable of directing. He had neither the dignity of a profound conviction nor the pride of a despotic will, and he could command none but soldiers. If with his genius he had possessed the passions of a Mirabeau, or the resolution of a Cromwell, or merely the dogmatism of a Robespierre, he might have directed the course of the Revolution and France.

No sooner was Dumouriez connected with Narbonne than he formed a vast military plan. He was at once for offensive and defensive war. Wherever France extended to her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea, he pro-

* "The following expressions paint Dumouriez completely. 'Honour to the patriots who took the Bastille!' he exclaims in his memoirs; yet a few pages after, we find that 'being at Caen, in 1789, when an insurrection was feared in Paris, he composed a memorial on the best means of maintaining order and defending the Bastille!' A sister of the famous emigrant Rivarol was Dumouriez's mistress. The son of a commissary of war, known by the poem of 'Richardet,' Dumouriez had been wounded during the Seven Years' War, and was much engaged in the *secret correspondence*, a sort of diplomatic system of *espionage*, of which Louis XVI. had given the superintendence to the Comte de Broglie."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

posed that she should confine herself to the defensive. But in the Netherlands, where our territory did not extend to the Rhine, and in Savoy, where it did not extend to the Alps, he proposed that we should attack immediately, and that on reaching the natural limits we should resume the defensive. This would have been reconciling at once our interests with our principles, as it would have been profiting by a war which we had not provoked, to return on the score of boundaries to the genuine laws of nature. Dumouriez proposed a fourth army, destined to occupy the South, and applied for the command of it, which was promised him.

Dumouriez had gained the goodwill of Gensonné, one of the civil commissioners sent into La Vendée by the Constituent Assembly, afterwards a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and one of the most influential members of the Gironde. He had remarked, moreover, that the Jacobins were the predominating power. He had attended their club and read several memorials, which had been highly applauded, but had nevertheless kept up his former intimacy with Delaporte, intendant of the civil list, and a devoted friend of Louis XVI. Connected thus with the different powers which were on the point of uniting, Dumouriez could not fail to carry all before him and to be called to the ministry. Louis XVI. offered him the portfolio of foreign affairs, which the decree of accusation against Delessart had just rendered vacant; but still attached to the accused minister, the King offered it only *ad interim*. Dumouriez, feeling that he was powerfully supported, and disliking to appear to keep the place for a Feuillant minister, refused the portfolio, and obtained it without an *ad interim* stipulation. He found only Cahier de Gerville and Degraves in the ministry. Cahier de Gerville, though he had given in his resignation, had not yet relinquished duties. Degraves had succeeded Narbonne. He was young, easy, and inexperienced. Dumouriez contrived to gain him, and thus he held in his hands the foreign relations and the military administration of the war. Nothing less would have satisfied his enterprising spirit.

No sooner had he attained the ministry than Dumouriez put on the red cap at the Jacobins—a new distinction borrowed from the Phrygians, and which had become the emblem of liberty. He promised to govern for them and by them. On being presented to Louis XVI., he pacified him respecting his conduct at the Jacobins. He removed the prejudices which that conduct had excited; he had the art to touch him by testimonies of attachment, and to dispel his gloomy melancholy

by his wit. He persuaded him that if he sought popularity, it was only for the benefit of the throne, and for the purpose of strengthening it. But notwithstanding all his deference, he took care to make the Prince sensible that the constitution was inevitable, and endeavoured to console him by striving to prove that with it a king might still be very powerful. His first despatches to the powers, full of sound reason and firmness, changed the nature of the negotiations, and gave France quite a new attitude, but rendered war imminent. It was natural that Dumouriez should desire war, since he had a genius for it, and had meditated thirty-six years on that great art; but it must also be admitted that the conduct of the Cabinet of Vienna and the irritation of the Assembly had rendered it inevitable.

Dumouriez, from his conduct at the Jacobins and his known connection with the Gironde, could not, even without any hatred against the Feuillans, help embroiling himself with them. Besides, he had displaced them. He was therefore in continual opposition to all the chiefs of that party. Braving the sarcasms and the contempt which they levelled against the Jacobins and the Assembly, he determined to pursue his career with his accustomed assurance.

It was necessary to complete the ministry. Petion, Gensonné, and Brissot were consulted respecting the persons to be selected. According to the law the ministers could not be taken either from the present or from the last Assembly; the choice, therefore, was extremely limited. Dumouriez proposed for the marine, Lacoste,* who had formerly been employed in that department, an industrious and experienced man, an obstinate patriot, who nevertheless was attached to the King, was esteemed by him, and remained about him longer than all the others. It was further proposed to give the ministry of justice to young Louvet, who had recently distinguished himself at the Jacobins, and who had won the favour of the Gironde, since he had so ably supported the opinion of Brissot in favour of war. The envious Robespierre † caused him to be

* "Lacoste was a true jack-in-office of the old order of things, of which he had the insignificant and awkward look, cold manner, and dogmatic tone. He was deficient both in the extensive views and activity necessary for a minister."—*Memoirs of Madame Roland.*

† "I once conversed," says Madame de Staël, "with Robespierre at my father's house, in 1789. His features were mean, his complexion pale, his veins of a greenish hue." Speaking of the same demagogue, Dumont observes: "I had twice occasion to converse with Robespierre. He had a sinister expression of countenance, never looked you in the face, and had a continual and unpleasant winking of the eyes."

immediately denounced. Louvet successfully justified himself; but as it was not deemed right to take one whose popularity was contested, Duranthon,* an advocate of Bordeaux, an enlightened, upright, but weak man, was sent for. The ministry of the finances and of the interior yet remained to be filled up. The Gironde again proposed Clavières,† who was known by some highly esteemed works on finance. The minister appointed to the interior was Roland,‡ formerly inspector of manufactories, who had distinguished himself by some excellent publications on industry and the mechanical arts. This man, with austere manners, inflexible opinions, and a cold, forbidding look, yielded, without being aware of it, to the superior ascendency of his wife. Madame Roland was young and beautiful. Bred in the depths of retirement, and imbued with philosophic and republican ideas, she had conceived notions superior to those of her sex, and had formed a severe religion out of the then prevailing principles. Living in the closest friendship with her husband, she lent him her pen, communicated to him a portion of her own vivacity, infused her own ardour not only into him, but into all the Girondins, who, enthusiasts for liberty and philosophy, admired her beauty and intelligence, and were influenced by her opinions, which were in fact their own opinions.§

The new ministry comprehended abilities great enough for its prosperity; but it behoved it not to displease Louis XVI., and to keep up its alliance with the Gironde. It might then prove adequate to its task; but if blunders of individuals were to be added to the incompatibility of the parties which had united, all would be lost—and this was what could not fail to happen very speedily. Louis XVI., struck by the activity of his ministers, by their good intentions, and by their talent for business, was for a moment delighted, especially with their economical reforms; for he had always been fond of that kind of improvement which required no sacrifice either of power or of principle. If he could always have felt the confidence which he did then, and have separated himself from the hangers-on of the Court, he might easily have reconciled himself to the constitution. This he repeated with sincerity to the ministers, and succeeded in convincing the two most difficult, Roland and Clavières. The persuasion was complete on both sides. The Gironde, which was republican solely from distrust of the King, ceased then to be so; and Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Guadet

* *See* Appendix III.
† *See* Appendix KKK.
‡ *See* Appendix LLL.
§ *See* Appendix MMM.

entered into correspondence with Louis XVI., which was subsequently one of the charges in the accusation preferred against them. The inflexible wife of Roland was alone doubtful, and kept back her friends, who were too ready, as she said, to surrender themselves. The reason of her distrust is natural. She never saw the King. The ministers, on the other hand, had daily interviews with him, and honest men, when they meet, soon feel satisfied with one another. But this confidence could not last, because inevitable questions were on the point of displaying the wide difference of their opinions.

The Court strove to throw ridicule on the somewhat republican simplicity of the new ministry, and on the unpolished rudeness of Roland, who appeared at the palace without buckles to his shoes.* Dumouriez returned these sarcasms, and mingling mirth with the most serious business, pleased the King, charmed him by his wit, and perhaps, too, suited him better than the others, from the flexibility of his opinions. The Queen, perceiving that he had more influence over the mind of the monarch than any of his colleagues, was desirous of seeing him. He has recorded in his memoirs this extraordinary interview, which shows the agitation of that Princess, worthy of another reign, other friends, and another fate.

On being ushered into the Queen's apartment, he found her, he says, alone, her face much flushed, walking hastily to and fro, with an agitation which seemed to betoken a warm explanation. He was going to post himself at the corner of the fireplace, painfully affected at the state of this Princess, and the terrible sensations from which she was suffering. She advanced towards him with a majestic air and angry look, and said, "Sir, you are all-powerful at this moment, but it is through the favour of the people, who soon break their idols in pieces. Your existence depends on your conduct. It is said that you possess great abilities. You must be aware that neither the King nor myself can endure all these innovations on the constitution. This I tell you frankly: choose your side."

"Madam," he replied, "I am deeply pained by the secret which your Majesty has just imparted to me. I will not betray it; but I stand between the King and the nation, and I belong to my country. Permit me to represent to

* "The first time that Roland presented himself at the palace, he was dressed with strings in his shoes, and a round hat. The master of the ceremonies refused to admit him in such an unwonted costume, not knowing who he was; being afterwards informed, and in consequence obliged to do so, he turned to Dumouriez, and said with a sigh, 'Ah, sir, no buckles in his shoes!' 'All is lost!' replied the minister for foreign affairs, with sarcastic irony."—*Alison.*

you that the welfare of the King, your own, and that of your august children, is linked with the constitution, as well as the re-establishment of legitimate authority. I should do you disservice, and the King too, if I were to hold any other language. You are both surrounded by enemies, who are sacrificing you to their private interest. The constitution, when once it shall be in vigour, so far from bringing misery upon the King, will constitute his happiness and his glory. It is absolutely necessary that he should concur in establishing it solidly and speedily." The unfortunate Queen, shocked at this contradiction of her opinions, raising her voice, angrily exclaimed, "That will not last. Take care of yourself!"

Dumouriez rejoined with modest firmness, "Madam, I am past fifty; my life has been crossed by many perils, and in accepting the ministry I was thoroughly sensible that responsibility is not the greatest of my dangers." "Nothing more was wanting," she cried, with deep chagrin, "but to calumniate me. You seem to think me capable of causing you to be murdered," and tears trickled from her eyes.

"God preserve me," said Dumouriez, as much agitated as herself, "from doing you so cruel an injury! The character of your Majesty is great and noble; you have given heroic proofs of it, which I have admired, and which have attached me to you." At this moment she became more calm, and drew nearer to him. He continued: "Believe me, madam, I have no interest in deceiving you. I abhor anarchy and crime as much as you do. This is not a transient popular movement, as you seem to think. It is an almost unanimous insurrection of a mighty nation against inveterate abuses. Great factions fan this flame. In all of them there are villains and madmen. In the Revolution I keep in view only the King and the entire nation; all that tends to part them leads to their mutual ruin; I strive as much as possible to unite them; it is for you to assist me. If I am an obstacle to your designs, if you persist in them, tell me so; I will instantly send my resignation to the King, and hide myself in some corner, to mourn over the fate of my country and over yours."

The concluding part of this conversation entirely restored the confidence of the Queen. They reviewed together the different factions: he pointed out to her the blunders and crimes of all; he proved to her that she was betrayed by those about her; and repeated the language held by persons in her most intimate confidence. The Princess appeared in

the end to be entirely convinced, and dismissed him with a serene and affable look. She was sincere; but those around her, and the horrible excesses of the papers written by Marat* and the Jacobins, soon drove her back to her baneful resolutions.

On another occasion she said to Dumouriez, in the presence of the King, "You see me very sad. I dare not approach the window which looks into the garden. Yesterday evening I went to the window towards the court, just to take a little air; a gunner of the guard addressed me in terms of vulgar abuse, adding, 'How I should like to see your head on the point of my bayonet!' In this horrid garden you see on one side a man mounted on a chair, reading aloud the most abominable calumnies against us; on the other, a military man or an abbé dragged through one of the basins, overwhelmed with abuse, and beaten; whilst others are playing at ball or quietly walking about. What an abode! What a people!"†

Thus, by a kind of fatality, the supposed intentions of the palace excited the distrust and the fury of the people, and the uproar of the people increased the anxiety and the imprudence of the palace. Despair therefore reigned within and without. But why, it may be asked, did not a candid explanation put an end to so many evils? Why did not the palace comprehend the fears of the people? Why did not the people comprehend the afflictions of the palace? But why are men men? At this last question we must pause, submissively resign ourselves to human nature, and pursue our melancholy story.

Leopold II. was dead. The pacific dispositions of that Prince were to be regretted for the tranquillity of Europe, and the same moderation could not be hoped for from his successor and nephew, the King of Bohemia and Hungary. Gustavus, King of Sweden, had just been assassinated during an entertainment.‡ The enemies of the Jacobins attributed this murder to them; but it was fully proved to be the crime of the nobility, humbled by Gustavus in the last Swedish Revolution. Thus the nobility, who in France cried out against the revolutionary fury of the people, gave in the North an example of what it had formerly been itself, and of what it still was in countries where civilization was least

* *See* Appendix NNN.

† *Dumouriez's Memoirs*, book iii. chap. 6, but *see* Appendix OOO.

‡ "Gustavus III., King of Sweden, was born in 1746, and assassinated by Ankarstrom, at a masked ball at Stockholm, on the night of March 15, 1792."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*



MARAT.

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advanced. What an example for Louis XVI., and what a lesson, if at the moment he could have comprehended it! The death of Gustavus thwarted the enterprise which he had meditated against France—an enterprise for which Catherine was to furnish soldiers, and Spain subsidies. It is doubtful, however, if the perfidious Catherine would have performed her promise; and the death of Gustavus, from which most important consequences were anticipated, was in reality a very insignificant event.*

Delessart had been impeached on account of the feeble tone of his despatches. It was not consonant either with the disposition or the interest of Dumouriez to treat feebly with the powers. The last despatches appeared to satisfy Louis XVI. on account of their aptness and their firmness. M. de Noailles, ambassador at Vienna, and by no means a sincere servant, sent his resignation to Dumouriez, saying that he had no hope of making the head of the empire listen to the language that had just been dictated to him. Dumouriez lost no time in communicating the circumstance to the Assembly, which, indignant at this resignation, immediately passed a decree of accusation against M. de Noailles. A new ambassador was instantly sent with fresh despatches. Two days afterwards Noailles recalled his resignation, and sent the categorical answer which he had required from the Court of Vienna.

Among all the faults committed by the powers, this note of M. de Cobentzel's is one of the most impolitic. M. de Cobentzel insisted, in the name of his Court, on the re-establishment of the French monarchy on the bases fixed by the royal declaration of the 23rd of June 1789. This was equivalent to requiring the re-establishment of the three orders, the restitution of the property of the clergy, and that of the Comtat-Venaissin to the Pope. The Austrian minister, moreover, demanded the restoration of the domains in Alsace, with all their feudal rights, to the princes of the empire. In order to propose such conditions, a man must have known nothing of France unless through the medium of the passions of Coblentz. It was demanding at once the destruction of a constitution sworn to by the King and the nation, and the repeal of a decisive determination in regard to Avignon. Lastly, it was imposing the necessity of bankruptcy by the restitution of the possessions of the clergy already sold. Besides, what right had the Emperor

* *See* Appendix PPP.

to claim such a submission? What right had he to interfere in our affairs? What complaint had he to make for the princes of Alsace, since their domains were enclosed by the French territory, and must of course submit to the same laws as that?

The first movement of the King and Dumouriez was to hasten to the Assembly and to communicate to it this note. The Assembly was indignant, and justly so. The cry for war was universal. But Dumouriez did not inform the Assembly that Austria, which he had threatened with a fresh revolution at Liege, had sent an agent to treat with him on that subject; that the language of this agent was totally different from that held at this moment by the Austrian ministry; and that this note was evidently the effect of a sudden and suggested resolution. The Assembly annulled the decree of accusation passed against Noailles, and demanded a speedy report. The King could no longer recede. That fatal war was at length on the point of being declared. In no case could it be favourable to his interests. If victorious, the French would become more urgent and more inexorable relative to the observance of the new law. If vanquished, they would find fault with the government, and accuse it of having feebly carried on the war.

Louis XVI. was perfectly aware of this double danger, and this resolution was one of those which were most painful to him.* Dumouriez drew up his report with his usual celerity, and carried it to the King, who kept it three days. It became a question whether the King, obliged to take the initiative with the Assembly, would urge it to declare war, or whether he would content himself with consulting it on this subject, in announcing that, agreeably to the injunctions given, France was in a state of war. The ministers Roland and Clavières were in favour of the former procedure. The orators of the Gironde likewise supported it, and were for dictating the speech from the throne. Louis XVI. felt repugnance to declare war, and preferred declaring the country in a state of war. The difference was unimportant; yet to his mind the one was preferable to the other. Dumouriez, whose mind was more easily made up, listened to none of the ministers; and supported by Degraves, Lacoste, and Duranthon, caused the King's opinion to be adopted. This was his first quarrel with the Gironde. The King composed his speech himself, and repaired in person to the Assembly, followed by all his ministers.

* *See* Appendix QQQ.

A considerable concourse of spectators added to the effect of this sitting, which was about to decide the fate of France and of Europe. The King's features appeared careworn, and indicated deep thought. Dumouriez read a detailed report of the negotiations of France with the empire; he showed that the treaty of 1756 was *de facto* broken, and that according to the last ultimatum France *was in a state of war.* He added, that the King having no other legal medium for consulting the Assembly but the *formal proposal of war*, submitted to consult in that manner. Louis XVI. then spoke with dignity, but with a faltering voice.* "Gentlemen," said he, "you have just heard the result of the negotiations in which I have been engaged with the Court of Vienna. The conclusions of the report have been unanimously approved by my council: I have myself adopted them. They are conformable with the wish which the National Assembly has several times expressed, and with the sentiments communicated to me by a great number of citizens in different parts of the kingdom: all would rather have war than see the dignity of the French people any longer insulted, and the national security threatened.

"Having previously, as it was my duty, employed all possible means to maintain peace, I now come, agreeably to the terms of the constitution, to propose to the National Assembly war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

This proposal was most warmly received: shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" resounded on all sides. The Assembly answered that it would deliberate, and that the King should be apprized by a message of the result of the deliberation. A most stormy discussion immediately commenced, and continued till the night was far advanced. The reasons already given *pro* and *con* were here repeated; the decree was at length passed, and war resolved upon by a great majority.

"Considering," said the Assembly, "that the Court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has not ceased to grant open protection to French rebels; that it has provoked and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and the safety of the French nation;

* "I was present at the sitting in which Louis was forced to a measure which was necessarily painful to him for many reasons. His features were not expressive of his thoughts, but it was not from dissimulation that he concealed them; a mixture of resignation and dignity repressed in him every outward sign of his sentiments. On entering the Assembly he looked to the right and left with that kind of vacant curiosity which is not unusual with persons who are so short-sighted that their eyes seem to be of no use to them. He proposed war in the same tone of voice as he might have used in requiring the most indifferent decree possible."—*Madame de Staël's Memoirs.*

"That Francis I., King of Hungary and Bohemia,* has, by his notes of the 18th of March and the 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert;

"That notwithstanding the proposal made to him by the note of the 11th of March 1792, to reduce the troops upon the frontiers, on both sides, to the peace establishment, he has continued and augmented his hostile preparations;

"That he has formally attacked the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring his determination to support the pretensions of the German princes holding possessions in France, to whom the French nation has not ceased to offer indemnities;

"That he has sought to divide the French citizens, and to arm them, one against the other, by offering to support the malcontents in concert with the other powers;

"Considering, lastly, that the refusal to answer the last despatches of the King of the French leaves no hope of obtaining an amicable redress of these various grievances by means of an amicable negotiation, and is equivalent to a declaration of war, the Assembly declares that it is compelled," &c. &c.

It must be admitted that this cruel war, which for so long a period afflicted Europe, was not provoked by France, but by the foreign powers. France, in declaring it, did no more than recognize by a decree the state in which she had been placed. Condorcet was directed to draw up an exposition of the motives of the nation. History ought to preserve this paper, an admirable model of reasoning and moderation.†

The war occasioned general joy. The patriots beheld in it the end of those apprehensions which they felt on account of the emigration and the wavering conduct of the King. The moderates, alarmed by divisions, hoped that the common danger would put an end to them, and that the fields of battle would absorb all the turbulent spirits generated by the Revolution. Some Feuillans alone, glad to find faults in the Assembly, reproached it with having violated the constitution, according to which, France ought never to be in a state of aggression. It is but too evident that here France was not the assailant. Thus war was the general wish of all excepting the King and a few discontented persons.

Lafayette prepared to serve his country bravely in this new career. It was he who was more particularly charged with the execution of the plan conceived by Dumouriez, and apparently ordered by Degraves. Dumouriez had justly flattered

* Francis I. was not yet elected Emperor.

† *See* Appendix RRR.

himself, and given all the patriots reason to hope, that the invasion of the Netherlands would be an easy task. That country, recently agitated by a revolution, which Austria had suppressed, might naturally be expected to be disposed to rise on the first appearance of the French, and then would be fulfilled the warning of the Assembly to the sovereigns—"If you send us war, we will send you back liberty." It was, moreover, the execution of the plan conceived by Dumouriez, which consisted in extending the French territory to its natural frontiers.

Rochambeau commanded the army close to the scene of action; but he could not be charged with this operation on account of his peevish and discontented disposition, and more especially because he was less fitted than Lafayette for an invasion half military, half popular. It was wished that Lafayette might have the general command; but Dumouriez refused to comply, no doubt from ill-will. He alleged as a reason, that it was impossible in the presence of a marshal to give the chief command of that expedition to a mere general. He said, moreover, and this reason was not quite so bad, that Lafayette was suspected by the Jacobins and by the Assembly. It is certain that, young, active, the only one of all the generals who was beloved by his army, Lafayette was a terror to over-heated imaginations, and furnished occasion, by his influence, to the calumnies of the malignant. Be this as it may, he cheerfully offered to execute the plan of the ministry, at once diplomatic and military: he demanded fifty thousand men, with whom he proposed to push forward by Namur and the Meuse to Liege, the possession of which would make him master of the Netherlands.

This plan was judicious, and it was approved by Dumouriez. War had been declared only a few days. Austria had not had time to cover her possessions in the Netherlands, and success appeared certain. Accordingly Lafayette was ordered at first to advance with ten thousand men from Givet to Namur, and from Namur to Liege or Brussels. He was to be followed immediately by his whole army. While he was executing this movement Lieutenant-General Biron was to set out from Valenciennes with ten thousand men, and to march upon Mons. Another officer had orders to proceed to Tournay, and to take possession of it immediately. These movements, conducted by officers of Rochambeau's, were intended to support and mask the real attack committed to Lafayette.

The orders given to this effect were to be executed between the 20th of April and the 2nd of May. Biron commenced his

march, left Valenciennes, made himself master of Quievrain, and found a few hostile detachments near Mons. All at once two regiments of dragoons, though not in presence of the enemy, cried out, "We are betrayed!" betook themselves to flight, and were followed by the whole army. In vain the officers strove to stop the fugitives; they threatened to shoot them, and continued their flight. The camp was given up, and all the military effects fell into the hands of the imperialists.

While this event was occurring at Mons, Theobald Dillon left Lille, according to a preconcerted plan, with two thousand infantry and a thousand horse. In the very same hour that Biron's disaster happened, the cavalry, at the sight of some Austrian troops, gave way, crying out that it was betrayed. It hurried the infantry along with it, and again the whole of the baggage was abandoned to the enemy. Theobald Dillon and an officer of engineers named Berthois were murdered by the soldiers and the populace of Lille, who insisted that they were traitors.

Meanwhile Lafayette, apprized too late of these circumstances, had proceeded from Metz to Givet, after encountering extreme difficulties, and by roads that were scarcely passable. Nothing but the ardour of his troops enabled him to perform in so short a time the considerable distance which he had traversed. There, learning the disasters of Rochambeau's officers, he thought it right to halt.

This intelligence produced a general agitation. It was natural to suppose that these two events had been concerted, judging from their coincidence and their simultaneous occurrence. All the parties accused one another. The Jacobins and the furious patriots insisted that there was a design to betray the cause of liberty. Dumouriez, not accusing Lafayette, but suspecting the Feuillans, conceived that there had been a scheme to thwart his plan, in order to make him unpopular. Lafayette complained, but less bitterly than his party, that he had been directed too late to commence his march, and that he had not been furnished with all the means necessary for accomplishing it. The Feuillans, moreover, reported that Dumouriez had designed to ruin Rochambeau and Lafayette by chalking out a plan for them without giving them the means of executing it. Such an intention was not to be supposed; for Dumouriez, in stepping beyond the duty of minister for foreign affairs in order to form a plan of campaign, incurred a grievous risk in case of its failure. Besides, the project of gaining Belgium for France and liberty formed part of a plan

which he had long meditated: how then could it be imagined that he wished to make it miscarry? It was evident that in this case neither the minister nor the generals could be insincere, because they were all interested in succeeding. But parties always put persons in the place of circumstances, that they may throw upon some one the blame of the disasters which befall them.

Degraves, alarmed at the tumult excited by the recent military events, determined to resign an office which had long been too arduous for him; and Dumouriez was wrong in not undertaking it. Louis XVI., still under the sway of the Gironde, gave that department to Servan, an old soldier, known for his patriotic opinions.* This choice gave increased strength to the Gironde, which found itself almost in a majority in the council, having Servan, Clavières, and Roland at its disposal. From that moment discord began to prevail among the ministers. The Gironde daily became more distrustful, and consequently more urgent for demonstrations of sincerity on the part of Louis XVI. Dumouriez, who was but little guided by opinions, and who was touched by the confidence of the King, always took his part. Lacoste, who was strongly attached to the Prince, did the same. Duranthon was neuter, and had no preference but for the weakest parties. Servan, Clavières, and Roland were inflexible. Filled with the fears of their friends, they daily showed themselves more impracticable and inexorable at the council.

Another circumstance completed the rupture between Dumouriez and the principal members of the Gironde. Dumouriez, on accepting the ministry for foreign affairs, had demanded six millions for secret services, and insisted that he should not be called upon to account for the expenditure of that sum. The Feuillans had opposed this; but through the influence of the Gironde his demand proved triumphant, and the six millions were granted. Petion had applied for funds for the police of Paris: Dumouriez had allowed him thirty thousand francs per month; but ceasing to be a Girondin, he permitted only one payment to be made. On the other hand, it was learnt or suspected that he had just spent one hundred thousand francs upon his pleasures. Roland, around whom rallied the Gironde, was, with all his friends, highly indignant at this circumstance.

* "Servan was born at Romano in 1741, and died in Paris in 1808. 'He was,' says Madame Roland, 'an honest man in the fullest signification of the term; an enlightened patriot, a brave soldier, and an active minister; he stood in need of nothing but a more sober imagination and a more flexible mind.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

The ministers dined with one another by turns, for the purpose of conversing on public affairs. When they met at the house of Roland, it was in the presence of his wife and all his friends; and we may say that the council was then held by the Gironde itself. It was at such a meeting that remonstrances were made to Dumouriez on the nature of his secret expenses. At first he replied with gaiety and good-humour, afterwards lost his temper, and quarrelled decidedly with Roland and the Girondins. He ceased to attend at these accustomed parties, and alleged as his reason that he would not talk of public affairs either before a woman or before Roland's friends. He nevertheless went occasionally to Roland's, but either said very little or nothing at all concerning business. Another discussion widened still further the breach between him and the Girondins. Guadet, the most petulant of his party, read a letter, proposing that the ministers should induce the King to choose for his spiritual director a priest who had taken the oath. Dumouriez maintained that the ministers could not interfere in the religious exercises of the King. He was supported, it is true, by Vergniaud and Gensonné; but the quarrel was not the less violent, and a rupture became inevitable.

The newspapers commenced the attack upon Dumouriez. The Feuillans, who were already leagued against him, then found themselves aided by the Jacobins and the Girondins. Dumouriez, assailed on all sides, firmly confronted the storm, and caused severe measures to be taken against some of the journalists.

A decree of accusation had already been directed against Marat, author of the *Ami du Peuple;* an atrocious work, in which he openly advocated murder, and heaped the most audacious insults on the royal family, and on all who were objects of suspicion to his frenzied imagination. To counterbalance the effect of this measure, a decree of accusation was obtained against Royou, who was the author of the *Ami de Roi*, and who inveighed against the republicans with the same violence that Marat displayed against the royalists.

For a long time past a great deal had been said concerning an Austrian committee. The patriots talked of it in the city, as the Orleans faction was talked of at Court. To this committee a secret and mischievous influence was attributed, which was exercised through the medium of the Queen. If anything resembling an Austrian committee had existed in the time of the Constituent Assembly, there was nothing of the kind under the Legislative. At the former period an illustrious personage, who held an appointment in the Nether-

lands, communicated to the Queen, in the name of her family, some very prudent advice, which was still more prudently commented upon by the French intermediate agent. But under the Legislative Assembly these private communications had ceased; the Queen's family had continued its correspondence with her, but never omitted to recommend patience and resignation to her. It is true that Bertrand de Molleville and Montmorin still paid visits to the palace after their removal from the ministry. It was against them that all suspicions were directed, and they were, in fact, the agents of all the secret commissions. They were publicly accused by Carra the journalist. Determined to prosecute him as a calumniator, they summoned him to produce documents in support of his denunciation. The journalist backed himself by three deputies, and named Chabot, Merlin, and Bazire as the authors of the particulars which he had published. Larivière, justice of the peace, who was devoted to the cause of the King, prosecuted this affair with great courage, and had the boldness to issue a summons against the three abovementioned deputies. The Assembly, indignant at this attack on the inviolability of its members, replied to the justice of peace by a decree of accusation, and sent the unfortunate Larivière to Orleans.*

This unlucky attempt served only to increase the general agitation, and the hatred which prevailed against the Court. The Gironde no longer considered itself as guiding Louis XVI., since Dumouriez had established his influence over him, and it had resumed its part of violent opposition.

The new constitutional guard of the King had been recently formed. Agreeably to the law, the civil establishment also ought to have been composed; but the nobility would not enter into it, that they might not recognize the constitution by filling posts which it had created. On the other hand, there was a determination not to compose it of new men, and it was abandoned. "How will you, madam," wrote Barnave to the Queen, "continue to raise the least doubt in those people concerning your sentiments? When they decree you a military and a civil establishment, like young Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes, you eagerly grasp the sword and put away mere ornaments." † The ministers and Bertrand himself remonstrated on their part to the same purpose as Barnave; but they could not carry their point, and the composition of the civil establishment was abandoned.

* *See* Appendix SSS.

† *Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 154.

The military establishment, formed agreeably to a plan proposed by Delessart, had been composed, one-third of troops of the line, and two-thirds of young citizens selected from the national guards. This composition could not but appear satisfactory. But the officers and the soldiers of the line had been chosen in such a manner as to alarm the patriots. Combined against the young men taken from the national guards, they had rendered the situation of the latter so disagreeable that most of them had been obliged to retire. The vacancies had soon been filled up by trusty men: the number of this guard had been singularly increased; and instead of eighteen hundred men fixed by the law, the number had been swelled, it is said, to nearly six thousand. Dumouriez had apprized the King of this circumstance, and he always replied that the old Duc de Brissac, who commanded these troops, could not be regarded as a conspirator.

Meanwhile the conduct of the new guard at the palace and at other places was such that suspicions were expressed in all quarters, and the clubs took up the subject. At the same period twelve Swiss hoisted the white cockade at Neuilly; a considerable quantity of paper was burned at Sèvres;* and these proceedings gave rise to serious suspicions. The alarm then became general; the Assembly declared itself permanent, as though it was still the time when thirty thousand men threatened Paris. It is true, however, that the disturbances were general; that the nonjuring priests were exciting the people in the southern provinces, and abusing the secrecy of confession to kindle fanaticism; that the concert of the powers was manifest; that Prussia was on the point of joining Austria; that the foreign armies became threatening, and that the recent disasters of Lille and Mons was the general topic of conversation. It is, moreover, true that the power of the people excites little confidence, that it is never believed till it has been exercised, and that an irregular multitude, how numerous soever it may be, cannot counterbalance the force of six thousand men armed and disciplined.

The Assembly therefore lost no time in declaring itself permanent, and it caused an accurate report to be drawn up respecting the composition of the King's military establishment, and the number, choice, and conduct of those who composed it. After deciding that the constitution had been violated, it issued a decree for disbanding the guard, and another of accusation against the Duc de Brissac, and sent both these

* *See* Appendix TTT.

decrees for the royal sanction. The King was disposed at first to affix his veto. Dumouriez reminded him of the dismissal of his life-guards, who had been much longer in his service than his new military household, and exhorted him to make this second and much less difficult sacrifice. He recapitulated, besides, the positive faults committed by his guard, and obtained the execution of the decree. But he immediately insisted on its recomposition; and the King, either returning to his former policy of appearing to be oppressed, or relying upon this disbanded guard, whose pay he secretly continued, refused to replace it, and was thus exposed without protection to the popular fury.

The Gironde, despairing of the King's sincerity, followed up its attack with perseverance. It had already issued a new decree against the priests, instead of that which the King had refused to sanction. As reports of their factious conduct were continually arriving, it pronounced the sentence of banishment upon them. The designation of the culprits was difficult; and as this measure, like all those of safety, rested upon suspicion, it was according to their notoriety that the priests were judged and banished. On the denunciation of twenty active citizens, and with the approbation of the directory of the district, the directory of the department pronounced sentence. The condemned priest was obliged to leave the canton in twenty-four hours, the department in three days, and the kingdom in a month. If he was indigent, three livres a day were granted him till he reached the frontiers.

This severe law proved the increasing irritation of the Assembly. It was immediately followed by another. Servan, the minister, without having received any orders from the King, or consulting his colleagues, proposed that on the approaching anniversary of the Federation of the 14th of July there should be formed a camp of twenty thousand federalists, destined to protect the Assembly and the capital. It may easily be conceived with what enthusiasm this plan was hailed by the majority of the Assembly, consisting of Girondins. At this moment the power of the latter was at its height. They governed the Assembly, where the constitutionalists and the republicans were in a minority, and where those who called themselves impartial were, as at all times, but indifferent persons, ever more complying the more powerful the majority became. Moreover, they had Paris at their beck, through Petion, the mayor, who was wholly devoted to them. Their plan was, by means of the proposed camp, without personal ambition, but from ambition of party and of opinion, to make

themselves masters of the King, and to forestall his suspicious intentions.

No sooner was Servan's proposal known than Dumouriez asked him, in full council, and with the strongest emphasis, in what character he made such a proposition. He replied, that it was in the character of a private individual. "In that case," replied Dumouriez, "you should not put after the name of Servan the title of minister at war." The dispute became so warm, that but for the King's presence, blood would probably have been spilt in the council. Servan offered to withdraw his motion; but this would have been useless, as the Assembly had taken it up, and the King, instead of gaining anything by it, would have appeared to exercise a violence upon his minister. Dumouriez therefore opposed this; the motion was persevered in, and was combated by a petition signed by eight thousand of the national guard, who were offended because it seemed to be thought that their service was insufficient for the protection of the Assembly. It was nevertheless carried, and sent to the King. Thus there were two important decrees awaiting his sanction, and it was already surmised that the King would refuse his adhesion to them. In this case the Assembly was prepared to pass a definitive resolution against him.

Dumouriez maintained, in full council, that this measure would be fatal to the throne, but still more so to the Girondins, because the new army would be formed under the influence of the most violent Jacobins. He nevertheless added that it ought to be adopted by the King, because if he refused to convoke twenty thousand men regularly chosen, forty thousand would spontaneously rise and make themselves masters of the capital. Dumouriez, moreover, declared that he had an expedient for annulling this measure, and which he would communicate at the fitting time. In like manner he insisted that the decree respecting the banishment of the priests ought to be sanctioned, because they were culpable, and besides, exile would withdraw them from the fury of their enemies. Still Louis XVI. hesitated, and replied that he would consider it further. At the same council Roland insisted on reading, in the King's presence, a letter which he had already addressed to him, and which it was consequently superfluous to communicate to him a second time *vivâ voce*. This letter had been determined upon at the instigation of Madame Roland, and it was her composition. It had been previously proposed that one should be written in the name of all the ministers. They had refused; but Madame Roland continued to urge the point

upon her husband, till he resolved to take the step in his own name. To no purpose did Duranthon, who was weak but discreet, object with reason that the tone of his letter, so far from persuading the King, would only sour him against his ministers, who possessed the public confidence, and that a fatal rupture between the throne and the popular party would be the result of it. Roland persisted, agreeably to the advice of his wife and his friends. The Gironde, in fact, was bent on coming to an explanation, and preferred a rupture to an uncertainty.

Roland therefore read this letter to the King, and made him listen, in full council, to the harshest remonstrances. This famous letter was as follows:—

"SIRE,—The present state of France cannot last long. It is a state of crisis, the violence of which has nearly attained the highest degree; it must terminate in a catastrophe which cannot but interest your Majesty as deeply as it concerns the whole empire.

"Honoured by your confidence, and placed in a post which renders truth an imperative duty, I will venture to tell the whole truth: it is an obligation which is imposed upon me by yourself.

"The French have given themselves a constitution, which has made malcontents and rebels: nevertheless the majority of the nation is determined to uphold that constitution. It has sworn to defend it at the price of its blood, and it has hailed with joy the war which presented a powerful medium for securing it. The minority, however, supported by hopes, has united all its efforts to gain the advantage. Hence that intestine struggle against the laws, that anarchy which good citizens deplore, and of which the malevolent eagerly avail themselves to calumniate the new system. Hence that division everywhere diffused and everywhere excited, for nowhere does indifference exist. People desire either the triumph or a change of the constitution. They act either to maintain or to alter it. I shall abstain from examining what it is of itself, in order to consider only what circumstances require; and expressing myself as dispassionately as possible, I will seek what we are authorized to expect, and what it is right to favour.

"Your Majesty possessed great prerogatives which you considered as pertaining to royalty. Brought up in the idea of retaining them, you could not see them taken from you with pleasure. The desire of recovering them was therefore as

natural as regret on seeing them annihilated. These sentiments, inherent in the nature of the human heart, must have entered into the calculation of the enemies of the Revolution; they reckoned, therefore, upon a secret favour, till circumstances should admit of a declared protection. This disposition could not escape the nation, nor fail to excite its jealousy.

"Your Majesty has therefore been constantly under the alternative of yielding to your first habits, to your private affections, or of making sacrifices dictated by philosophy, and required by necessity; consequently of encouraging rebels by alarming the nation, or of appeasing the latter by uniting yourself with it. Everything has its time, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived.

"Can your Majesty at the present day ally yourself openly with those who pretend to reform the constitution, or ought you generously to strive without reserve to render it triumphant? Such is the real question, the solution of which the present state of affairs renders inevitable. As for that highly metaphysical one, whether the French are ripe for liberty, its discussion is not to the purpose here; for it is not the point to judge what we shall become in a century, but to discover what the present generation is capable of.

"Amidst the agitations in which we have been living for four years past, what has happened? Privileges burdensome to the people have been abolished. Ideas of justice and equality have been universally diffused. The opinion of the rights of the people has justified the feelings of its rights. The recognition of the latter, solemnly proclaimed, has become a sacred doctrine; the hatred inspired for ages by feudalism has been exasperated by the manifest opposition of most of the nobles to the constitution, which destroys that system.

"During the first year of the Revolution the people beheld in those nobles men odious for the oppressive privileges which they had possessed, but whom they would have ceased to hate after the suppression of those privileges, if the conduct of the nobility since that time had not strengthened every possible reason for dreading it, and for combating it as an irreconcilable enemy.

"Attachment to the constitution has increased in the like proportion. Not only are the people indebted to it for manifest benefits, but they have judged that it was preparing for them still greater; since those who were accustomed to make them bear all the burdens were striving so powerfully to overthrow or to modify it.

"The declaration of rights is become a political gospel, and

the French constitution a religion for which the people are ready to perish.

"Thus zeal has sometimes proceeded so far as to take the place of the law; and when the latter was not sufficiently restrictive to repress disturbers, the citizens have ventured to punish them themselves.

"Thus it is that the property of emigrants has been exposed to ravages instigated by revenge. Hence, too, so many departments have deemed themselves constrained to pursue severe measures against the priests whom public opinion had proscribed, and of whom it would have made victims.

"In this collision of interests the sentiments of all have taken the tone of passion. The country is not a word which the imagination has delighted to embellish. It is a being to which people have made sacrifices, to which they are becoming daily more and more strongly attached on account of the anxieties which it occasions, which they have created with mighty efforts, which rises from amidst alarms, and which is loved as much for what it has cost as for what is hoped from it. All the attacks made upon it are but means of kindling enthusiasm in its behalf. To what a height will this enthusiasm attain at the moment when hostile forces, assembled without, combine with internal intrigues for the purpose of striking the most fatal blows! In all parts of the empire the ferment is extreme; it will burst forth in a terrible manner, unless a well-founded confidence in the intentions of your Majesty can at length allay it: but this confidence cannot be established upon protestations; it can no longer have anything but facts for its basis.

"It is evident to the French nation that its constitution can go alone, that the government will have all the strength that is necessary for it, the moment that your Majesty, absolutely bent on the triumph of that constitution, shall support the Legislative Body with all the power of the executive, shall remove all pretext for the alarm of the people, and take away all hope from the discontented.

"For example, two important decrees have been passed. Both essentially concern the public tranquillity and the welfare of the State. The delay in their sanction excites distrust. If it be further prolonged, it will cause discontent; and I am obliged to confess that, in the present effervescence of opinions, discontent may lead to any consequences.

"It is too late to recede, and there are no longer any means of temporizing. The Revolution is accomplished in people's minds. It will be consummated at the expense of their blood,

and cemented with it, if prudence does not prevent the calamities which it is yet possible to avoid.

"I know that it may be imagined that everything may be effected and everything repressed by extreme measures; but when force has been employed to overawe the Assembly, when terror has been spread throughout Paris, and dissension and stupor in its environs, all France will rise with indignation, and tearing herself in pieces amidst the horrors of a civil war, will develop that stern energy which is the parent alike of virtues and of crimes, and is always fatal to those by whom it has been called forth.

"The welfare of the State and the happiness of your Majesty are intimately connected. No power is capable of separating them. Cruel pangs and certain calamities will environ your throne, if it is not placed by yourself upon the bases of the constitution, and strengthened by the peace which its maintenance must at length procure us. Thus the state of opinion, the course of events, motives for any particular line of policy, the interest of your Majesty, render indispensable the obligation of uniting yourself with the Legislative Body and responding to the wish of the nation, who make a necessity of that which principles present as a duty. But the sensibility natural to this affectionate people is ready to find in that necessity a motive for gratitude. You have been cruelly deceived, Sire, when you have been filled with aversion or distrust for a people so easily touched. It is by being kept in perpetual uneasiness that you yourself have been led to a conduct calculated to alarm. Let them see that you are determined to aid the progress of that constitution to which they have attached their felicity, and you will soon become the object of their thanksgiving.

"The conduct of the priests in many places, and the pretexts with which fanaticism furnished the discontented, have caused a wise law to be enacted against the disturbers. Be pleased, Sire, to give it your sanction. The public tranquillity claims it. The safety of the priests solicits it. If this law be not put in force, the departments will be constrained to substitute for it, as they do in every instance, violent measures, and the incensed people will, for want of it, have recourse to outrages.

"The attempts of our enemies, the commotions which have broken out in the capital, the extreme uneasiness excited by the conduct of your guard, and which is still kept up by the testimonies of satisfaction which your Majesty has been induced to bestow upon it in a proclamation truly impolitic under existing circumstances, and the situation of Paris, and

its proximity to the frontiers, have caused the want of a camp in its vicinity to be felt. This measure, the prudence and urgency of which have struck all well-meaning persons, is still waiting only for your Majesty's sanction. Why should delays be allowed to produce the appearance of reluctance, when celerity would deserve gratitude?

"Already have the proceedings of the staff of the national guard of Paris against this measure awakened a suspicion that it was acting from superior instigation. Already are the declamations of certain furious demagogues raising surmises of their connection with the parties concerned for the overthrow of the constitution. Already is public opinion compromizing the intentions of your Majesty. A little longer delay, and the disappointed people will imagine that in their King they behold the friend and accomplice of the conspirators.

"Gracious Heaven! hast thou stricken with blindness the powers of the earth, and are they never to have any counsels but such as shall lead them to perdition?

"I know that the austere language of truth is seldom relished near the throne. I know, too, that it is because it is scarcely ever proclaimed there that revolutions are become necessary; and above all, I know that it is my duty to hold such language to your Majesty, not only as a citizen subject to the laws, but as a minister honoured by your confidence, or, clothed with functions which suppose it; and I know nothing that can prevent me from performing a duty of which I am conscious.

"It is in the same spirit that I shall repeat my representations to your Majesty on the utility of executing the law which directs that there shall be a secretary to the council. The mere existence of the law speaks so powerfully that it would seem that the execution ought to follow without delay; but it is of importance to employ all the means of ensuring to the deliberations the necessary gravity, discretion, and maturity; and for the responsible ministers there ought to be a medium of recording their opinions. Had such a medium existed, I should not on this occasion have addressed myself in writing to your Majesty.

"Life is not a consideration with the man who prizes his duties above all things; but next to the happiness of having performed them, the highest satisfaction he can enjoy is that of thinking that he has performed them faithfully; which is an obligation incumbent on the public man.

(Signed) "ROLAND.

"PARIS, *June* 10, 1792, *the fourth year of liberty.*"

The King listened to this lecture with the utmost patience, and withdrew, saying that he would communicate his intentions.

Dumouriez was summoned to the palace. The King and Queen were together. "Ought we," said they, "to endure any longer the insolence of these three ministers?" "No," replied Dumouriez. "Will you undertake to rid us of them?" asked the King. "Yes, Sire," answered the bold minister; "but in order to succeed, your Majesty must consent to one condition. I have become unpopular, and I shall make myself still more so by dismissing three colleagues, the leaders of a powerful party. There is but one way of persuading the public that they are not dismissed on account of their patriotism." "What is that?" inquired the King. "It is," replied Dumouriez, "to sanction the two decrees;" and he repeated the reasons which he had already given in full council. The Queen exclaimed that the condition was too hard: but Dumouriez represented to her that the twenty thousand men were not to be feared; that the decree did not mention the place where they were to be encamped; that they might be sent to Soissons, for instance; that there they might be employed in military exercises, and afterwards marched off by degrees to the armies when the want of them began to be felt. "But then," said the King, "it is necessary that you should be minister at war." "Notwithstanding the responsibility I consent to it," replied Dumouriez, "but your Majesty must sanction the decree against the priests. I cannot serve you unless at that price. This decree, so far from being injurious to the ecclesiastics, will place them beyond the reach of the popular fury. Your Majesty could do no other than oppose the first decree of the Constituent Assembly which prescribed the oath; now you can no longer recede." "I was wrong then," exclaimed Louis XVI.; "I must not commit a second fault." The Queen, who did not share the religious scruples of her husband, joined Dumouriez, and for a moment the King appeared to comply.

Dumouriez pointed out the new ministers to supply the places of Servan, Clavières, and Roland. These were Mourgues for the interior, and Beaulieu for the finances. The war was consigned to Dumouriez, who for the moment held two departments, till that of foreign affairs should be filled. The ordinance was immediately issued, and on the 13th, Roland, Clavières, and Servan received their official dismission. Roland, who possessed all the nerve necessary for

executing what the bold spirit of his wife was capable of conceiving, repaired immediately to the Assembly, and read to it the letter which he had written to the King, and for which he was dismissed. This step was certainly allowable when once hostilities were declared; but as a promise had been given to the King to keep the letter secret, it was by no means generous to read it publicly.

The Assembly bestowed the greatest applause on Roland's letter, and ordered it to be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments. It declared, moreover, that the three displaced ministers carried with them the confidence of the nation. It was at this very moment that Dumouriez, nothing daunted, ventured to appear in the tribune with his new title of minister at war. He had drawn up in the utmost haste a circumstantial report of the state of the army, of the faults of the administration and of the Assembly. He did not spare those whom he knew to be disposed to give him the most unfavourable reception. The moment he appeared he was assailed with violent hootings by the Jacobins. The Feuillans maintained the most profound silence. He first gave an account of a slight advantage gained by Lafayette, and of the death of Gouvion, an officer, a deputy, and an upright man, who, driven to despair by the calamities of the country, had purposely sought death. The Assembly bestowed its regrets on the loss of this generous citizen; but listened coldly to those of Dumouriez, and above all, to the wish that he expressed to escape the same calamities by the same fate. But when he announced his report as minister at war, a refusal to listen to him was manifested on all sides. He coolly desired to be heard, and at length obtained silence. His remonstrances irritated some of the deputies. "Do you hear him?" exclaimed Guadet; "he is lecturing us!" "And why not?" coldly replied the intrepid Dumouriez. Quiet was restored; he finished reading, and was by turns hooted and applauded. As soon as he had done he folded up the paper for the purpose of taking it with him. "He is running away!" cried one. "No," rejoined he, and boldly laying his memorial upon the desk again, he calmly signed it, and walked through the Assembly with unshaken composure. Some of the members, who thronged round him as he passed, said, "You will be sent to Orleans." "So much the better," he replied; "for I shall then take baths and curds, and get a little rest, which I stand in need of."

His firmness cheered the King, who expressed his satisfaction; but the unhappy Prince was already shaken and tormented with scruples. Beset by false friends, he had already

taken up his former determinations, and refused to sanction the two decrees.

The four ministers met in council, and entreated the King to give his double sanction, which he had seemed to promise. The King drily replied, that he could assent only to the decree relative to the twenty thousand men; that as for that concerning the priests, he was determined to oppose it; that his mind was made up, and that threats could not frighten him. He read the letter communicating his determination to the president of the Assembly. "One of you," said he to his ministers, "will countersign it;" and these words he uttered in a tone which he had never been known to use before.

Dumouriez then wrote to him, soliciting his dismissal. "That man," exclaimed the King, "has made me dismiss three ministers because they wanted to oblige me to adopt the decrees, and now he insists on my sanctioning them!" This reproach was unjust, for it was only on condition of the double sanction that Dumouriez had consented to remain in office after his colleagues. Louis XVI. saw him, and asked him if he persisted. "In that case," said he, "I accept your resignation." The other ministers had given in theirs also. The King, however, detained Lacoste and Duranthon, and prevailed on them to remain. Messrs. Lajard, Chambonas, and Terrier de Mont-Ciel, selected from among the Feuillans, were appointed to the vacant ministerial departments.

"The King," says Madame Campan, "sunk about this time into a despondency that amounted even to physical debility. He was for ten days together without uttering a word even in the midst of his family, excepting at a game at backgammon which he played with Madame Elizabeth after dinner, when he merely pronounced the words which are used in that game. The Queen roused him from this state, so ruinous in a crisis when every minute brought with it the necessity for acting, by throwing herself at his feet, and sometimes by employing images calculated to terrify him, at others, expressions of her affection for him. She also urged the claims which he owed to his family; and went so far as to say that if they must perish, they ought to perish with honour, and not wait to be both stifled on the floor of their own apartment."*

It is not difficult to guess the disposition of Louis XVI. when he recovered his spirits and returned to business. After having once forsaken the party of the Feuillans to throw himself into the arms of the Girondins, he could not go back to

* *Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 205.

the former with much cordiality and hope. He had made the twofold experiment of his incompatibility with both, and what was still worse, he had caused them all to make it too. Thenceforward he could not but think more than ever of foreign powers, and rest all his hopes upon them. This disposition became evident to all, and it alarmed those who beheld in the invasion of France the fall of liberty, the execution of its defenders, and perhaps the partition and dismemberment of the kingdom. Louis XVI. saw none of these things, for we always shut our eyes to the inconveniences of the course that we prefer.

Alarmed at the tumult produced by the rout of Mons and Tournay, he had sent Mallet du Pan to Germany, with instructions in his own handwriting. He there recommended to the sovereigns to advance cautiously, to treat the inhabitants of the provinces through which they should pass with the utmost indulgence, and to send forth before them a manifesto professing their pacific and conciliatory intentions.* Moderate as was this plan, it was nevertheless an invitation to advance into the country; and besides, if such was the wish of the King, was that of the foreign princes and rivals of France and of the inveterately hostile emigrants the same? Was Louis XVI. assured that he should not be hurried away beyond his intentions? The ministers of Prussia and Austria themselves expressed to Mallet du Pan the apprehensions which they felt on account of the violence of the emigrants, and it appears that he had some difficulty to satisfy them on this head.† The Queen felt equally strong apprehensions on the same subject. She dreaded Calonne in particular as the most dangerous of her enemies;‡ but she nevertheless conjured her family to act with the greatest celerity for her deliverance. From that moment the popular party could not help considering the Court as an enemy so much the more dangerous, because it had at its disposal all the forces of the State; and the combat that

* *See* Appendix UUU.

† *See* Appendix VVV.

‡ "The party of the princes," says Madame Campan, "having been informed of the coalition of the remains of the constitutional party with the Queen, was greatly alarmed at it. The Queen, for her part, always dreaded the party of the princes, and the pretensions of the French who composed it. She did justice to Comte d'Artois, and frequently said that his party would act in a spirit contrary to his own sentiments for the King, her brother, and for herself, but that he would be led away by persons over whom Calonne had the most mischievous ascendency. She reproached Comte d'Esterhazy, on whom favours had been heaped through her means, with having become so decided a partisan of Calonne's, that she could even consider him as an enemy."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 193.

was commencing became a combat for life and death. The King, in composing his new ministry, did not select any conspicuous man. In expectation of his speedy deliverance, he had only to wait a few days more, and for that interval the most insignificant ministry was sufficient.

The Feuillans thought to profit by the occasion to unite themselves again to the Court, less, it must be confessed, from personal ambition of party than from the interest which they felt for the King. They were far from reckoning upon an invasion. Most of them regarded it as a crime, and pregnant, moreover, with equal danger to the Court and the nation. They rightly foresaw that the King must succumb before succour could arrive; and they dreaded lest the invasion should be followed by the atrocities of revenge, perhaps the dismemberment of the territory, and certainly the abolition of all liberty.

Lally Tollendal, who, as we have seen, quitted France as soon as the formation of the two chambers became impossible; Malouet, who had made a last attempt in their favour at the time of the revision; Duport, Lameth, Lafayette, and others, who were desirous that things should remain as they were, united to make a last effort. This party, like all the other parties, was not in perfect harmony with itself. It united with one view only, that of saving the King from his errors, and of saving the constitution with him. Every party, obliged to act in secret, is forced to resort to proceedings which are termed intrigues when they are not successful. In this sense the Feuillans intrigued. As soon as they saw the dismissal of Servan, Clavières, and Roland, effected by Dumouriez, they sought the latter, and offered him their alliance, on condition that he would sign the veto to the decree against the priests. Dumouriez, perhaps from spleen, perhaps from want of confidence in their means, and no doubt also on account of the engagement he had made to obtain the King's sanction of the decree, refused this alliance, and repaired to the army, wishing, as he wrote to the Assembly, that some cannon-ball might reconcile all the opinions respecting him.

The Feuillans still had Lafayette left. Without taking part in their secret proceedings, he had shared their dislike of Dumouriez, and was, above all, desirous of saving the King without injuring the constitution. Their means were feeble. In the first place, the Court which they strove to save would not be saved by them. The Queen, who cheerfully confided in Barnave, had always adopted the greatest precautions in her interviews with him, and had never admitted him except

in secret. The emigrants and the Court would not have forgiven her for seeing constitutionalists. They recommended to her, in fact, not to treat with them, and rather to prefer the Jacobins, because, as they said, it would be necessary to make concessions to the former, but it would not be bound to any terms with the latter.* If to this oft-repeated advice be added the personal hatred of the Queen for M. de Lafayette,† it will be easy to conceive that the Court would be very reluctant to accept the services of constitutionalists and Feuillans. Besides this aversion of the Court from them, we must also consider the feebleness of the means which they had to employ against the popular party. Lafayette, it is true, was adored by his soldiers, and could rely upon his army; but he was in front of the enemy, and he could not leave the frontier uncovered for the purpose of marching into the interior. Old Luckner, by whom he was supported, was weak, fickle, and easily intimidated, though very brave in the field. But could they even have reckoned upon their military resources, the constitutionalists possessed no civil means. The majority of the Assembly belonged to the Gironde. The national guard was in part devoted to them, but it was disunited and disorganized. In order to employ their military forces, they would therefore have been compelled to march from the frontiers upon Paris—that is to say, to attempt an insurrection against the Assembly; and insurrections, however advantageous for a violent party which adopts the offensive side, are unsuitable and ruinous to a moderate party, which, in resisting, supports itself by the laws.

Many nevertheless rallied round Lafayette, and concerted with him the plan of a letter to the Assembly. This letter, written in his name, was intended to express his sentiments

* "Meanwhile the emigrants betrayed great apprehension of all that might be done at home, in consequence of the coalition with the constitutionalists, whom they described as existing only in idea, and as mere ciphers in regard to the means of repairing their blunders. The Jacobins were to be preferred to them, because, it was alleged, there would be no occasion to treat with any one at the moment when the King and the royal family should be rescued from the abyss into which they were plunged."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 194.

† "On one occasion, when Madame Elizabeth advised the Queen to place confidence in Lafayette, her Majesty made answer, that it was better to perish than to be saved by Lafayette and the constitutionalists. 'We know that the general will save the King, but he will not save royalty,' was the public language of the Tuileries. The Queen remembered that Mirabeau, shortly before his death, had predicted to her, that in case of a war, 'Lafayette would desire to keep the King a prisoner in his tent.' She was in the habit of replying to those who spoke to her in the general's favour, 'It would be too hard upon us to be twice indebted to him for our lives.' "—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

relative to the King and the constitution, and his disapprobation of everything that tended to attack either. His friends were divided. Some excited, others restrained his zeal. But thinking only of what was likely to serve the King, to whom he had sworn fidelity, he wrote the letter, and defied all the dangers which were about to threaten his life. The King and Queen, though determined not to make use of him, allowed him to write, because they beheld in this step only an exchange of reproaches between the friends of liberty. The letter reached the Assembly on the 18th of June. Lafayette, disapproving, in the first place, of the late minister, whom, he said, he meant to denounce at the moment when he was informed of his dismissal, proceeded in these terms :—

"It is not enough that this branch of the government be delivered from a baneful influence; the public weal is in danger; the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives—from them the nation expects its salvation; but in giving itself a constitution, it has marked out for them the only route by which they are to save it."

Then protesting his inviolable attachment to the law which had been sworn to, he expatiated on the state of France, which he saw placed between two kinds of enemies—those abroad and those at home :—

"Both must be destroyed. But you will not have the power to destroy them unless you be constitutional and just. Look around you; can you deny that a faction—and to avoid every vague denomination, that the Jacobin faction—has caused all these disorders? It is to this faction that I loudly attribute them. Organized like a separate empire, in its principal society and its affiliations, blindly directed by a few ambitious leaders, this party forms a distinct corporation amongst the French people, whose powers it usurps by overawing its representatives and its functionaries.

"It is there that, in the public sittings, love of the laws is called aristocracy, and their violation, patriotism; there the assassins of Desilles receive triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan *

* "M. Jouve Jourdan, entitled the 'Beheader,' was born in 1749. He was successively a butcher, a blacksmith's journeyman, a smuggler, a servant, general of the army of Vaucluse in 1791, and finally, leader of a squadron of national gendarmerie. In the massacres at Versailles he cut off the heads of two of the King's bodyguards. He boasted also of having torn out the hearts of Foulon and Bertier, and called on the National Assembly to reward him for this deed with a civic medal! He was also one of the chief instigators of the massacres at Avignon. In 1794 he was condemned to death as a federalist. Jourdan was remarkable for wearing a long beard, which was often besprinkled with blood."—*Biographie Moderne.*

find panegyrists; there the account of the murder which has sullied the city of Metz has but just now excited infernal acclamations.

"Will they expect to escape from these reproaches by bragging of an Austrian manifesto in which these sectaries are mentioned? Have they become sacred since Leopold has pronounced their name? And because we must combat foreigners who interfere in our quarrels, are we to dispense with the duty of delivering our country from a domestic tyranny?"

Then recapitulating his former services for liberty, and enumerating the guarantees which he had given to the country, the general answered for himself and his army, and declared that the French nation, if it was not the vilest in the world, could and ought to resist the conspiracy of the kings who had coalesced against it. "But," added he, "in order that we, soldiers of liberty, should fight with efficacy, and die with benefit for her, it is requisite that the number of the defenders of the country should be speedily proportioned to that of its adversaries; that supplies of all kinds be multiplied to facilitate our movements; that the well-being of the troops, their equipments, their pay, and the arrangements relative to their health, be no longer subject to fatal delays." Then followed other advice, the principal and last of which was this: "Let the reign of the clubs annihilated by you give place to the reign of the law—their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims, to the genuine principles of liberty; their frantic fury, to the calm and persevering courage of a nation which knows its rights and defends them; and lastly, their sectarian combinations, to the true interests of the country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to rally around them all those to whom its subjugation and ruin are not objects of atrocious satisfaction and infamous speculation!"

This was saying to exasperated passions, "Stop!"—to the parties themselves, "Put an end to your own existence!"—to a torrent, "Cease to flow!" But though the advice was useless, it was not the less a duty to give it. The letter was highly applauded by the right side; the left was silent. No sooner was the reading of it finished than it was proposed to print and send it to the departments.

Vergniaud asked and obtained permission to speak. According to him, it was of importance to that liberty which M. de Lafayette had hitherto so ably defended, to make a distinction between the petitions of private citizens, who offered advice or

claimed an act of justice, and the lectures of an armed general. The latter ought never to express his sentiments, unless through the medium of the ministry, otherwise liberty would be undone. It was therefore expedient to pass to the order of the day. M. Thevenot replied, that the Assembly ought to receive from the lips of M. de Lafayette truths which it had not dared to tell itself. This last observation excited a great tumult. Some members denied the authenticity of the letter. "Even if it were not signed," exclaimed M. Coubé, "none but M. de Lafayette could have written it." Guadet demanded permission to speak upon a matter of fact, and asserted that the letter could not be that of M. de Lafayette, because it adverted to the dismissal of Dumouriez, which had not taken place till the 16th, and it was dated the very same day. "It is therefore impossible," he added, "that the person whose name is signed to it should have made mention of a fact which could not have been known to him. Either the signature is not his, or it was attached to a blank, which was left for a faction to fill up at its pleasure."

A great uproar followed these words. Guadet resumed: he said that M. de Lafayette was incapable, according to his known sentiments, of having written such a letter. "He must know," added he, "that when Cromwell—" Dumas the deputy, unable to contain himself, at this last word desired to be heard. Agitation prevailed for a considerable time in the Assembly. Guadet, however, regained possession of the tribune, and began: "I was saying—" Again he was interrupted. "You were at Cromwell," said some one to him. "I shall return to him," he replied. "I was saying that M. de Lafayette must know that when Cromwell held similar language, liberty was lost in England. It is expedient either that we ascertain whether some coward has not sheltered himself beneath the name of M. de Lafayette, or prove by a signal example to the French people that we have not taken a vain oath in swearing to maintain the constitution."

A great number of members attested the signature of M. de Lafayette. The letter was nevertheless referred to the committee of twelve, for the purpose of ascertaining its authenticity. It was thus deprived of the honour of being printed and sent to the departments.

This generous procedure then proved absolutely useless, and could not be otherwise in the existing state of the public mind. From that moment the general became almost as unpopular as the Court; and if the leaders of the Gironde, more enlightened than the populace, did not believe M. de Lafayette capable of

betraying his country because he had attacked the Jacobins, the mass nevertheless believed him to be so, because it was constantly repeated in the clubs, in the newspapers, and in the public places, that he was.

Thus the alarm which the Court had excited in the popular party was heightened by that which M. de Lafayette had just added to it by a step of his own. This party then became absolutely desperate, and resolved to strike a blow at the Court before it could carry into execution the plots of which it was accused.

We have already seen how the popular party was composed. In speaking out more decidedly, it also manifested a more decided character, and several additional persons rendered themselves conspicuous in it. Robespierre has already been mentioned at the Jacobins, and Danton at the Cordeliers. The clubs, the municipality, and the sections comprised many men who, from the ardour of their disposition and opinions, were ready for any enterprise. Among these were Sergent and Panis, whose names at a later period were connected with a terrible event. In the faubourgs were remarked several commanders of battalions who had rendered themselves formidable. The principal of these was a brewer named Santerre. By his stature, his voice, and a certain fluency of speech, he pleased the people, and had acquired a kind of sway in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the battalion of which he commanded. Santerre had already distinguished himself in the attack on Vincennes, repulsed by Lafayette in February 1791; and like all men who are too easily wrought upon, he was capable of becoming very dangerous, according to the excitement of the moment.* He attended all the factious meetings held in the distant faubourgs. There, too, were to be found Carra the journalist, prosecuted for an attack on Bertrand de Molleville and Montmorin; Alexandre, commandant of the Faubourg St. Marceau; a person well known by the name of Fournier the American; Legendre† the butcher, who was afterwards a deputy to the Convention; a journeyman goldsmith named Rossignol; and several others, who, by their communications with the populace, set all the faubourgs in commotion. By the most conspicuous among them they communicated with the chiefs of the popular party, and were thus able to conform their movements to a superior direction.

It is impossible to designate in a precise manner such of the deputies as contributed to this direction. The most dis-

* *See* Appendix WWW. † *See* Appendix XXX.

tinguished of them were strangers to Paris, and possessed no other influence there but that of their eloquence. Guadet, Isnard, Vergniaud, were all natives of the provinces, and communicated more with their departments than with Paris. Besides, though extremely ardent in the tribune, they were not at all active out of the Assembly, and were not capable of exciting the multitude. Condorcet and Brissot, deputies of Paris, were not more active than those just mentioned, and by the conformity of their opinions with those of the deputies of the West and South, they had become Girondins. Roland, since the dismissal of the patriot ministry, had returned to private life. He occupied an humble and obscure dwelling in the Rue St. Jacques. Persuaded that the Court entertained the design of delivering up France and liberty to foreigners, he deplored the calamities of his country in conjunction with some of his friends who were members of the Assembly. It does not, however, appear that any plans were formed in his society for attacking the Court. He merely promoted the printing of a paper entitled *La Sentinelle*, which was conducted in a patriotic spirit by Louvet, already known at the Jacobins by his controversy with Robespierre. Roland during his ministry had allowed funds for the purpose of enlightening the public opinion by means of the press, and it was with a remnant of these funds that *La Sentinelle* was carried on.

About this period there was at Paris a young native of Marseilles, full of ardour, courage, and republican illusions, and who, on account of his extraordinary beauty, was called the Antinous. He had been deputed by his commune to the Legislative Assembly, to complain of the directory of his department; for this division between the inferior and superior authorities, between the municipalities and the directories of departments, was general throughout all France. The name of this young man was Barbaroux.* Possessing intelligence and great activity, he was likely to become very serviceable to the popular cause. He met Roland, and deplored with him

* "Charles Barbaroux, deputy to the Convention, was born at Marseilles. He embraced the cause of the Revolution with uncommon ardour, and came to Paris in July 1792, with a few hundred Marseillais, to bring about a revolution against the Court. He had a considerable share in the insurrection of the 10th of August. He belonged to the party of the Girondins, and was guillotined in Bordeaux in 1794."—*Biographie Moderne.*

"Barbaroux's ingenious disposition and ardent patriotism inspired us with confidence. Discoursing on the bad situation of affairs, and of our apprehensions of despotism in the North under Robespierre, we formed the conditional plan of a republic in the South. Barbaroux was one whose features no painter would disdain to copy for the head of an Antinous."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.*

the dangers with which the patriots were threatened. They agreed, that as the danger was daily growing greater in the North of France, they ought, if driven to the last extremity, to retire to the South, and there found a republic, which they might some day extend, as Charles VII. had formerly extended his kingdom from Bourges. They examined the map with Servan the ex-minister, and said to each other that Liberty, if beaten upon the Rhine and beyond it, ought to retire behind the Vosges and the Loire; that driven from these entrenchments, she would still have left, in the East, the Doubs, the Ain, and the Rhône; in the West, the Vienne and the Dordogne; in the centre, the rocks and the rivers of the Limousin. "And beyond these," added Barbaroux, "we have the Auvergne, its steep hills, its ravines, its aged forests, and the mountains of the Velay, laid waste of old by fire, now covered with pines; a wild country, where men plough amidst snow, but where they live independently. The Cevennes would offer us another asylum too celebrated not to be formidable to tyranny; and in the extreme South we should find for barriers the Isère, the Durance, the Rhône from Lyons to the sea, the Alps, and the ramparts of Toulon. Lastly, if all these points were forced, we should have Corsica left—Corsica, where neither Genoese nor French have been able to naturalize tyranny; which needs but hands to be fertile, and philosophers to be enlightened." *

It was natural that the natives of the South should think of betaking themselves to their provinces in case the North should be invaded. They did not, however, neglect the North, for they agreed to write to their departments to induce them to form spontaneously a camp of twenty thousand men, though the decree relative to this camp had not yet been sanctioned. They reckoned much upon Marseilles, an opulent city, with a numerous population, and extremely democratic. It had sent Mirabeau to the States-general, and it had since diffused over all the South the spirit with which it was itself animated. The mayor of that city was a friend of Barbaroux, and held the same opinions as he did. Barbaroux wrote, desiring him to provide supplies of corn, to send trusty persons into the neighbouring departments, as well as to the armies of the Alps, of Italy, and of the Pyrenees, in order to prepare the public opinion there; to sound Montesquiou, the commander of the army of the Alps, and to turn his ambition to the advantage of liberty; lastly, to concert with Paoli and the Corsicans, so

* *Mémoires de Barbaroux*, pp. 38, 39.

as to secure a sure aid and a last asylum. It was also recommended to the same mayor to retain the produce of the taxes in order to deprive the executive government of it, and in case of need to employ it against the latter. What Barbaroux did for Marseilles, others did for their departments, and thought of ensuring a refuge for themselves. Thus distrust, converted into despair, paved the way for a general insurrection, and in the preparations for insurrection, there was already a marked difference between Paris and the departments.

Petion, the mayor, connected with all the Girondins, and subsequently classed and proscribed with them, had from his functions much intercourse with the agitators of Paris. He had great composure, an appearance of coldness which his enemies mistook for stupidity, and an integrity which was extolled by his partisans and never attacked by his slanderers. The people, who give distinct appellations to all those who engage their attention, called him *Virtue Petion.* We have already mentioned him on occasion of the journey to Varennes, and of the preference given him by the Court to Lafayette for the mayoralty of Paris. The Court hoped to bribe him, and certain swindlers promised to accomplish this matter. They demanded a sum of money, which they kept, without having even made overtures to Petion, whose well-known character would have rendered them useless. The joy felt by the Court at the prospect of gaining a supporter and corrupting a popular magistrate was of short duration. It soon discovered that it had been cheated, and that its adversaries were not so venal as it had imagined.

Petion had been one of the first to take for granted that the propensities of a king born to absolute power are not to be modified. He was a republican before any one ever dreamt of a republic; and in the Constituent Assembly he was from conviction what Robespierre was from the acerbity of his temper. Under the Legislative Assembly he became still more convinced of the incorrigibility of the Court. He was persuaded that it would call in foreigners, and as he had before been a republican from system, he now became so for the sake of safety. Thenceforward he resolved in his mind, as he said, how to promote a new revolution. He checked ill-directed movements, favoured, on the contrary, such as were judicious, and strove above all things to reconcile them with the law, of which he was a strict observer, and which he was determined not to violate but at the last extremity.

Though we are not well acquainted with the extent of the

participation of Petion in the movements which were preparing, and know not whether he consulted his friends of the Gironde for the purpose of promoting them, we are authorized by his conduct to assert that he did nothing to impede them. It is alleged that in the latter part of June he went to the house of Santerre with Robespierre, Manuel, *procureur syndic* of the commune, Sillery, ex-constituent, and Chabot, ex-Capuchin and deputy; that the latter harangued the section of the Quinze-Vingts, and said that the Assembly was waiting for it. Whether these circumstances be true or not, it is certain that clandestine meetings were held; and from the well-known opinions and subsequent conduct of the persons above named, it is not to be believed that they had any scruple to attend them.* From that moment a fête for the 20th of June, the anniversary of the oath at the tennis-court, was talked of in the faubourgs. It was said that a tree of liberty was to be planted on the terrace of the Feuillans, and a petition presented to the Assembly as well as to the King. This petition, moreover, was to be presented in arms. It is obvious that the real intention of this scheme was to strike terror into the palace by the sight of forty thousand pikes.

On the 16th of June a formal application was addressed to the general council of the commune that the citizens of the Faubourg St. Antoine should be authorized to meet on the 20th, in arms, and to present a petition to the Assembly and to the King. The general council of the commune passed to the order of the day, and directed that its resolution (*arrêté*) should be communicated to the directory and to the municipal body. The petitioners did not regard this proceeding as a condemnation of their purpose, and declared loudly that they would meet in spite of it. It was not till the 18th that Petion, the mayor, made the communications ordered on the 16th; he made them, moreover, to the department only, and not to the municipal body.

On the 19th the directory of the department, which we have seen exerting itself on all occasions against agitators, passed a resolution (*arrêté*) forbidding armed assemblages, and enjoining the commandant-general and the mayor to employ the measures necessary for dispersing them. This resolution was notified to the Assembly by the minister of the interior, and the discussion immediately arose on the question whether it should be read or not.

* *See* Appendix YYY.

Vergniaud opposed its being read, but unsuccessfully. The reading of the resolution was immediately followed by the order of the day.

Two circumstances of considerable importance had just occurred in the Assembly. The King had signified his opposition to the two decrees, one of which related to the nonjuring priests, and the other to the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men. This communication had been received in profound silence. At the same time some persons from Marseilles had appeared at the bar for the purpose of reading a petition. We have just seen what kind of correspondence Barbaroux kept up with them. Excited by his counsels, they had written to Petion, offering him all their forces,* and this offer was accompanied with a petition to the Assembly. In this petition they said among other things:—

"French liberty is in danger, but the patriotism of the South will save France. . . . The day of the people's wrath is arrived. . . . Legislators, the power of the people is in your hands; make use of it: French patriotism demands your permission to march with a more imposing force towards the capital and the frontiers. . . . You will not refuse the sanction of the law to those who would cheerfully perish in its defence."

This petition gave rise to long debates in the Assembly. The members of the right side maintained that to send such a decree to the departments would be inviting them to insurrection. Its transmission was nevertheless decreed, in spite of these remarks, which were certainly very just, but unavailing, since people were persuaded that nothing but a new revolution could save France and liberty.

Such had been the occurrences of the 19th. Notwithstanding the resolution of the directory, the movements continued in the faubourgs, and it is affirmed that Santerre said to his trusty partisans, who were somewhat intimidated by that resolution, "What are you afraid of? The national guard will not have orders to fire, and M. Petion will be there."

At midnight the mayor, whether he conceived that the

* "When the Marseillais soon afterwards arrived in Paris, though only about five hundred in number, they marched through the city to the terror of the inhabitants, their keen black eyes seeming to seek out aristocratic victims, and their songs partaking of the wild Moorish character that lingers in the South of France, denouncing vengeance on kings, priests, and nobles. 'I never,' says Madame de Larochejaquelein, 'heard anything more impressive and terrible than their songs.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

movement was irresistible, or that he ought to favour it, as he did that of the 10th of August, wrote to the directory, soliciting it to authorize the assemblage by permitting the national guard to receive the citizens of the faubourgs into its ranks. This expedient fully accomplished the views of those who, without wishing for any disturbance, were nevertheless desirous of overawing the King; and everything proves that such were in fact the views of Petion and the popular chiefs.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 20th of June the directory replied that it persisted in its preceding resolutions. Petion then ordered the commandant-general on duty to keep up all the posts to their full complement, and to double the guard of the Tuileries. But he did nothing more; and unwilling either to renew the scene in the Champ de Mars, or to disperse the assemblage, he waited till nine o'clock for the meeting of the municipal body. As soon as it met it came to a decision contrary to that of the directory, and the national guard was enjoined to open its ranks to the armed petitioners. Petion did not oppose a resolution which violated the administrative subordination, and was thus guilty of a species of inconsistency, with which he was afterwards reproached. But whatever was the character of that resolution, its objects were rendered useless, for the national guard had not time to assemble, and the concourse soon became so considerable that it was no longer possible to change either its form or its direction.

It was eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The Assembly had just met in expectation of some great event. The members of the department hastened to it for the purpose of acquainting it with the inutility of their efforts. Rœderer, the *procureur syndic*, obtained permission to speak. He stated that an extraordinary assemblage of citizens had met, in spite of the law and various injunctions of the authorities; that the object of this assemblage appeared to be to celebrate the anniversary of the 20th of June, and to pay a new tribute of respect to the Assembly; but that if this was the intention of the greater number, it was to be feared that evil-disposed persons were desirous of availing themselves of this concourse to carry an address to the King, to whom none ought to be presented but in the peaceful form of a mere petition.

Then referring to the resolutions of the directory and of the general council of the commune, the laws enacted against armed assemblages, and those which limit to twenty the

number of citizens who could present a petition, he exhorted the Assembly to enforce them; "for," added he, "armed petitioners are to-day thronging hither by a civic movement; but to-morrow a crowd of evil-disposed persons may collect, and then, I ask you, gentlemen, what should we have to say to them?"

Amidst the applause of the right and the murmurs of the left, which, by disapproving the apprehensions and the foresight of the department, evidently approved the insurrection, Vergniaud ascended the tribune, and observed that the abuse with which the *procureur syndic* was alarming the Assembly for the future, had already taken place; that on several occasions armed petitioners had been received, and even permitted to file through the hall; that this was perhaps wrong, but that the petitioners of that day would have reason to complain if they were treated differently from others; that if, as it was said, they purposed to present an address to the King, no doubt they would send to him unarmed petitioners; and at any rate, if any danger was apprehended for the King, they had but to send him a deputation of sixty members for a safeguard.

Dumolard admitted all that Vergniaud had asserted, confessed that the abuse had taken place, but declared that a stop ought to be put to it, and more especially on this occasion, if they did not wish the Assembly and the King to appear in the eyes of all Europe the slaves of a destructive faction. He proposed, like Vergniaud, the sending of a deputation; but he required, moreover, that the municipality and the department should be responsible for the measures taken for the maintenance of the laws. The tumult became more and more violent. A letter was brought from Santerre. It was read amidst the applause of the tribunes. It purported that the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine were celebrating the 20th of June; that they were calumniated, and begged to be admitted to the bar of the Assembly, in order that they might confound their slanderers, and prove that they were still the men of the 14th of July.

Vergniaud then replied to Dumolard, that if the law had been violated, the example was not new; that to attempt to oppose the violation of it this time would be to renew the sanguinary scene in the Champ de Mars; and that after all, there was nothing reprehensible in the sentiments of the petitioners. Justly anxious about the future, added Vergniaud, they wish to prove that, in spite of all the intrigues carried on against liberty, they are still ready to defend it.

Here, as we see, the true sentiment of the day was disclosed by an ordinary effect of the discussion. The tumult continued. Ramond desired permission to speak, but a decree was required before he could obtain it. At this moment it was stated that the petitioners were eight thousand. "Eight thousand!" exclaimed Calvet, "and we are but seven hundred and forty-five. Let us adjourn." Cries of "Order! order!" arose on all sides. Calvet was called to order, and Ramond was urged to speak, because eight thousand citizens were waiting. "If eight thousand citizens are waiting," said he, "twenty-four millions of French are waiting for me too." He then repeated the reasons urged by his friends of the right side. All at once the petitioners rushed into the hall. The Assembly, indignant at the intrusion, rose; the president put on his hat, and the petitioners quietly withdrew. The Assembly, gratified by this mark of respect, consented to admit them.

This petition, the tone of which was most audacious, expressed the prevailing idea of all the petitions of that period. "The people are ready. They wait but for you. They are disposed to employ great means for carrying into execution Article 2 of the declaration of rights—*resistance to oppression.* . . . Let the minority among you, whose sentiments do not agree with ours, cease to pollute the land of liberty, and betake yourselves to Coblentz. Investigate the cause of the evils which threaten us. If it proceeds from the executive, let the executive be annihilated!"

The president, after a reply in which he promised the petitioners the vigilance of the representatives of the people, and recommended obedience to the laws, granted them, in the name of the Assembly, permission to file off before it. The doors were then thrown open, and the mob, amounting at that moment to at least thirty thousand persons, passed through the hall. It is easy to conceive what the imagination of the populace, abandoned to itself, is capable of producing. Enormous tables, upon which lay the declaration of rights, headed the procession. Around these tables danced women and children, bearing olive-branches and pikes, that is to say, peace or war, at the option of the enemy. They sang in chorus the famous *Ça ira.* Then came the porters of the markets, the working-men of all classes, with wretched muskets, swords, and sharp pieces of iron fastened to the ends of thick bludgeons. Santerre and the Marquis de St. Hurugues, who had already attracted notice on the 5th and 6th of October, marched with drawn swords at their head. Battalions of the national guard

followed in good order, to prevent tumult by their presence. After them came women and more armed men. Waving flags were inscribed with the words, "The constitution or death." Ragged breeches were held up in the air, with shouts of "*Vivent les sans-culottes!*" Lastly, an atrocious sign was displayed to add ferocity to the whimsicality of the spectacle. On the point of a pike was borne a calf's heart, with this inscription: "Heart of an aristocrat."

Grief and indignation burst forth at this sight. The horrid emblem instantly disappeared, but was again exhibited at the gates of the Tuileries. The applause of the tribunes, the shouts of the people passing through the hall, the civic songs, the confused uproar, and the silence of the anxious Assembly, composed an extraordinary scene, and at the same time an afflicting one to the very deputies who viewed the multitude as an auxiliary.* Why, alas! must reason prove so insufficient in such times of discord? Why did those who called in the disciplined barbarians of the North oblige their adversaries to call in those other undisciplined barbarians, who, by turns merry and ferocious, abound in the heart of cities, and remain sunk in depravity amid the most polished civilization!

This scene lasted for three hours. At length Santerre again came forward to express to the Assembly the thanks of the people, and presented it with a flag in token of gratitude and attachment.

The mob at this moment attempted to get into the garden of the Tuileries, the gates of which were closed. Numerous detachments of the national guard surrounded the palace, and extending in line from the Feuillans to the river, presented an imposing front. By order of the King the garden-gate was opened. The people instantly poured in, and filed off under the windows of the palace and before the ranks of the national guard, without any hostile demonstration, but shouting, "Down with the veto! The *sans-culottes* for ever!" Meanwhile some persons, speaking of the King, said, "Why does

* "It may be alleged in excuse that the Assembly had no resource but submission. Yet brave men, in similar circumstances, have, by a timely exertion of spirit, averted similar insolences. When the furious anti-Catholic mob was in possession of the avenues to, and even lobbies of, the House of Commons in 1780, General Cosmo Gordon, a member of the House, went up to the unfortunate nobleman under whose guidance they were supposed to act, and addressed him thus: 'My lord, is it your purpose to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? for if so, I apprize you that the instant one of them enters, I pass my sword, not through his body, but your lordship's.' The hint was sufficient, and the mob was directed to another quarter."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

he not show himself? . . . We mean to do him no harm." The old expression, *He is imposed upon*, was occasionally but rarely heard. The people, quick at catching the opinions of its leaders, had, like them, despaired.

The crowd, moving off by the garden-gate leading to the Pont Royal, proceeded along the quay and through the wickets of the Louvre to the Place du Carrousel. This place, now so spacious, was then intersected by numerous streets. Instead of that immense court extending from the body of the palace to the gate, and from one wing to the other, there were small courts separated by walls and houses. Ancient wickets opened from each of them into the Carrousel. All the avenues were crowded with people, and they appeared at the royal gate. They were refused admittance. Some of the municipal officers addressed them, and appeared to have prevailed upon them to retire. It is asserted that at this moment Santerre, coming from the Assembly, where he had stayed till the last moment to present a flag, whetted the almost blunted purpose of the people, and caused the cannon to be drawn up to the gate.

It was nearly four o'clock. Two municipal officers all at once ordered the gate to be opened.* The troops, which were in considerable force at this point, and consisted of battalions of the national guard and several detachments of gendarmerie, were then paralyzed. The people rushed headlong into the court, and thence into the vestibule of the palace. Santerre, threatened, it is said, by two witnesses, on account of this violation of the royal residence, exclaimed, turning to the assailants, "Bear witness that I refuse to go into the King's apartments." This apostrophe did not stop the mob, which had received a sufficient stimulus. They poured into every part of the palace, took possession of all the staircases, and by main force dragged a piece of cannon up to the first floor. At the same instant the assailants commenced an attack with swords and hatchets upon the doors which were closed against them.

Louis XVI. had just at this moment sent away a great number of his dangerous friends, who, without possessing the power to save, had so often compromized him. They had hastened to him, but he had made them leave the Tuileries, where their presence would only have served to exasperate, without repressing, the people. He had with him the old Marshal de Mouchy Acloque, *chef de bataillon*, some of the

* All the witnesses examined agreed respecting this fact, differing only as to the names of the municipal officers.

servants of his household, and several trusty officers of the national guard. It was at this moment that the cries of the people and the strokes of the hatchets were heard. The officers of the national guard immediately surrounded him and implored him to show himself, vowing to die by his side. Without hesitation he ordered the door to be opened. At that instant the panel, driven in by a violent blow, fell at his feet. It was at length opened, and a forest of pikes and bayonets appeared. "Here I am!" said Louis XVI., showing himself to the furious rabble. Those who surrounded him kept close to him and formed a rampart of their bodies. "Pay respect to your King," they exclaimed; and the mob, which certainly had no definite purpose, relaxed its intrusion.

Several voices announced a petition, and desired that it might be read. Those about the King prevailed upon him to retire to a more spacious room to hear this petition. The people, pleased to see their desire complied with, followed the Prince, whom his attendants had the good sense to place in the embrasure of a window. He was made to mount a small bench; several others were set before him, and a table was added. All who had accompanied him were ranged around. Some grenadiers of the guard and officers of the household arrived to increase the number of his defenders, who formed a rampart, behind which he could listen with less danger to this terrible lecture of the rabble. Amidst uproar and shouts were heard the oft-repeated cries of "No veto! No priests! No aristocrats! The camp near Paris!" Legendre, the butcher, stepped up, and in popular language demanded the sanction of the decree. "This is neither the place nor the moment," replied the King with firmness; "I will do all that the constitution requires." This resistance produced its effect. "*Vive la nation! vive la nation!*" shouted the assailants. "Yes," resumed Louis XVI., "*Vive la nation!* I am its best friend." "Well, prove it then," said one of the rabble, holding before him a red cap at the point of a pike. A refusal might have been dangerous; and certainly in the situation of the King, dignity did not consist in throwing away his life by rejecting a vain sign, but in doing as he did, in bearing with firmness the assault of the multitude. He put the cap upon his head, and the applause was general.* As he felt oppressed by the heat of the

* "While we were leading a somewhat idle life, the 20th of June arrived. We met that morning, as usual, in a coffee-room in Rue St. Honoré. On going out we saw a mob approaching, which Bonaparte computed at five or six thousand men, all in rags, and armed with every sort of weapon, vociferating

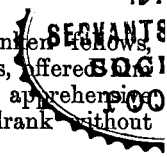


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THE MOB AT THE TUILERIES, JUNE 20, 1792.



weather and the crowd, one of the half-drunken fellows, who had brought with him a bottle and a glass, offered the King some of his drink. The King had long been apprehensive lest he should be poisoned; he nevertheless drank without hesitation, and was loudly applauded.

Meanwhile Madame Elizabeth, who was fondly attached to her brother, and who was the only one of the royal family that could get to him, followed him from window to window, to share his danger. The people when they saw her took her for the Queen. Shouts of "There's the Austrian!" were raised in an alarming manner. The national grenadiers, who had surrounded the Princess, endeavoured to set the people right. "Leave them," said that generous sister, "leave them in their error, and save the Queen!"

The Queen, with her son and her daughter, had not been able to join her royal consort. She had fled from the lower apartments, hurried to the council-chamber, and could not reach the King on account of the crowd which filled the whole palace. She was anxious to rejoin him, and earnestly begged to be led to the room where he was. On being dissuaded from this attempt, standing behind the council table, with some grenadiers, she watched the people file off, with a heart full of horror, and eyes swimming in tears, which she repressed. Her daughter was weeping by her side; her young son, frightened at first, had soon recovered his cheerfulness, and smiled in the happy ignorance of his age. A red cap had been handed to him, and the Queen had put it on his head. Santerre recommended respect to the people, and spoke cheeringly to the Princess. He repeated to her the accustomed and unfortunately useless expression, "Madam, you are imposed upon; you are imposed upon." Then seeing the young Prince encumbered with the red cap, "The boy is stifling," said he, and relieved him from that ridiculous head-dress.

Some of the deputies, on receiving intelligence of the danger of the palace, had hastened to the King, addressed the people,

the grossest abuse, and proceeding with rapid pace towards the Tuileries. 'Let us follow that rabble,' said Bonaparte to me. We got before them, and went to walk in the gardens, on the terrace overlooking the water. From this station he beheld the disgraceful occurrences that ensued. I should fail in attempting to depict the surprise and indignation roused within him. He could not comprehend such weakness and forbearance. But when the King showed himself at one of the windows fronting the garden, with the red cap which one of the mob had just placed on his head, Bonaparte could no longer restrain his indignation. 'What madness!' exclaimed he, 'how could they allow these scoundrels to enter? They ought to have blown four or five hundred of them into the air with cannon. The rest would then have taken to their heels.'"—*Bourrienne's Memoirs.*

and enjoined respect. Others had repaired to the Assembly, to inform it of what was passing, and the agitation there was increased by the indignation of the right side, and the efforts of the left to palliate this invasion of the palace of the monarch. A deputation had been decreed without discussion, and twenty-four members had set out to surround the King. It had been, moreover, decreed that the deputation should be renewed every half-hour, in order that the Assembly might be instantly apprized of everything that might occur. The deputies who were sent spoke alternately, hoisted upon the shoulders of the grenadiers. Petion afterwards made his appearance, and was accused of having come too late. He declared that it was half-past four before he heard of the attack made at four; that it had taken him half an hour to get to the palace, and that it was not till a long time after this that he could overcome the obstacles which separated him from the King, so that he had been prevented from reaching his presence earlier than half-past five. On approaching the Prince, "Fear nothing, Sire," said he, "you are in the midst of your people." Louis XVI., taking the hand of a grenadier, placed it upon his heart, saying, "Feel whether it beats quicker than usual." This noble answer was warmly applauded. Petion at length mounted an arm-chair, and addressing the crowd, said that after laying its remonstrances before the King, it had now nothing further to do but to retire peaceably and in such a manner as not to sully that day. Some persons who were present assert that Petion said its *just* remonstrances. This expression, however, would prove nothing but the necessity for not offending the mob. Santerre reinforced him with his influence, and the palace was soon cleared. The rabble retired in a peaceful and orderly manner. It was then about seven in the evening.

The King was immediately joined by the Queen, his sister, and his children, shedding a flood of tears. Overcome by the scene, the King had still the red cap on his head. He now perceived it for the first time during several hours, and flung it from him with indignation. At this moment fresh deputies arrived to learn the state of the palace. The Queen, going over it with them, showed them the shattered doors and the broken furniture, and expressed keen vexation at such outrages. Merlin de Thionville,* one of the stanchest republicans,

* "Antoine Merlin de Thionville, a bailiff and a municipal officer, was deputed by the Moselle to the Legislature, where he, Bazire, and Chabot, formed what was then called the triumvirate, which during the whole session made it a point daily to denounce all the ministers and placemen. On the 10th of August he

was one of the deputies present. The Queen perceived tears in his eyes. "You weep," said she to him, "to see the King and his family treated so cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to render happy." "It is true, madam," replied Merlin; "I weep over the misfortunes of a beautiful, tender-hearted woman and mother of a family; but do not mistake; there is not one of my tears for the King or the Queen—I hate kings and queens." *

Next day general indignation prevailed among the partisans of the Court, who considered it as outraged, and among the constitutionalists, who regarded this invasion as a violation of the laws and of the public tranquillity. The disturbance had been alarming; but now it was greatly exaggerated. It was alleged to have been a plan for murdering the King, and it was even asserted that this plan had miscarried solely from the effect of a lucky accident. Hence, by a natural reaction, the popular opinion of the day was in favour of the royal family, who on the preceding had been exposed to so many dangers and outrages; and the supposed authors of the assault became the objects of unqualified censure.

Sad faces were seen in the Assembly. Several deputies inveighed strongly against the events of the preceding day. M. Bigot proposed a law against armed petitions, and against the custom of suffering bodies of men to file off through the hall. Though there already existed laws on this head, they were renewed by a decree. M. Daveirhoult moved for proceedings against the disturbers. "Proceedings," exclaimed one of the members, "against forty thousand men!" "Well then," he replied, "if it is impossible to distinguish among forty thousand men, punish the guard, which did not defend itself; or, at least, do something."

The ministers then entered, to present a report on what had happened, and a discussion arose on the nature of the circumstances. A member of the right, observing that Vergniaud's testimony was above suspicion, and that he had been an eye-witness of the affair, called upon him to relate what he had seen. Vergniaud, however, declined to rise at this appeal, but

signalized himself at the head of the enemies of the Court. He strongly objected to the motion to allow counsel to the King, and warmly urged his execution. During the contest which led to Robespierre's fall, he maintained the most complete silence, and after the victory, joined the conquerors. He was afterwards appointed president of the Convention. In 1797 he was denounced to the Council of Five Hundred as a peculator, for he had at that period immense landed property, whereas before the Revolution he had none; but the denunciation failed. In 1798, Merlin obtained an appointment in the management of the general post."—*Biographie Modcrne.*

* *Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 215.

maintained silence. The boldest of the left side nevertheless shook off constraint, and took courage towards the conclusion of the sitting. They even ventured to propose that an examination should be instituted whether the veto was necessary in certain peculiar circumstances; but this motion was thrown out by a great majority.

Towards evening a fresh scene similar to that of the preceding day was apprehended. The people, on retiring, had said that they should come again, and it was believed that they would keep their word. But whether this was only a remnant of the agitation of the day before, or whether for the moment this new attempt was disapproved of by the leaders of the popular party, it was very easily stopped; and Petion repaired in great haste to the palace, to inform the King that order was restored, and that the people, having laid their remonstrances before him, were now tranquil and satisfied. "That is not true," said the King. "Sire—" "Be silent." "It befits not the magistrate of the people to be silent when he does his duty and speaks the truth." "The tranquillity of Paris rests on your head." "I know my duty; I shall perform it." "Enough; go and perform it. Retire."

The King, notwithstanding his extreme good-nature, was liable to fits of ill-humour, which the courtiers termed *coups de boutoir*. The sight of Petion, who was accused of having encouraged the scenes of the preceding day, exasperated him, and produced the conversation which we have just quoted. It was soon known to all Paris. Two proclamations were immediately issued, one by the King, the other by the municipality; and hostilities seemed to be commencing between these two authorities.

The municipality told the citizens to be peaceable, to pay respect to the King, to respect the National Assembly, and *to make it be respected;* not to assemble in arms, because it was forbidden by the laws, and above all, to be aware of evil-disposed persons who were striving to excite fresh commotions.

It was actually rumoured that the Court was endeavouring to excite a second insurrection of the people, that it might have occasion to sweep them away with artillery. Thus the palace supposed the existence of a plan for a murder; the faubourgs, that a plan existed for a massacre.

The King said, "The French will not have learned without pain that a multitude, led astray by certain factious persons, has entered by force of arms the habitation of the King. . . . The King has opposed to the threats and the insults of the

factious nothing but his conscience and his love for the public weal.

"He knows not where will be the limit at which they will stop; but to what excesses soever they proceed, they shall never wring from him a consent to anything that he deems contrary to the public interest.

"If those who wish to overthrow the monarchy have need of another crime, they have it in their power to commit it.

"The King enjoins all the administrative bodies and municipalities to provide for the safety of persons and property."

These opposite sentiments corresponded with the two opinions which were then formed. All those whom the conduct of the Court had driven to despair were but the more exasperated against it, and the more determined to thwart its designs by all possible means. The popular societies, the municipalities, the pikemen, a portion of the national guard, and the left side of the Assembly, were influenced by the proclamation of the mayor of Paris, and resolved to be prudent no further than was necessary to avoid being mowed down by grape-shot without any decisive result. Still, uncertain as to the means to be employed, they waited, full of the same distrust, and even aversion. Their first step was to oblige the ministers to attend the Assembly, and give account of the precautions which they had taken on two essential points:—

1. On the religious disturbances excited by the priests.

2. On the safety of the capital, which the camp of twenty thousand men, refused by the King, was destined to cover.

Those who were called aristocrats, the sincere constitutionalists, part of the national guards, several of the provinces, and especially the departmental directories, spoke out on this occasion, and in an energetic manner. The laws having been violated, they had all the advantage of speech, and they used it without reserve. A great number of addresses were sent to the King. At Rouen and at Paris a petition was drawn up and supported by twenty thousand signatures. This petition was associated in the minds of the people with that already signed by eight thousand Parisians against the camp below Paris. Lastly, legal proceedings were ordered by the department against Petion, the mayor, and Manuel,* *procureur* of the

* "Manuel was born at Montargis in 1751. On the trial of the King, he voted for imprisonment and banishment in the event of peace. When the Queen's trial came on, he was summoned as a witness against her, but only expressed admiration of her fortitude, and pity for her misfortunes. In November 1793, Manuel was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed. He was the author of several works, and among others, of 'Letters on the Revolution.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

commune, who were both accused of having favoured by their dilatory conduct the irruption of the 20th of June. At this moment the behaviour of the King during that trying day was spoken of with admiration. There was a general change of opinion respecting his character, and people reproached themselves for having charged it with weakness. But it was soon perceived that the passive courage which resists is not that which anticipates dangers instead of awaiting them with resignation.

The constitutional party fell anew to work with the utmost activity. All those who had surrounded Lafayette, to concert with him the letter of the 16th of June, again united for the purpose of taking some signal step. Lafayette had felt deep indignation on learning what had occurred at the palace; and he was found to be quite willing to assist. Several addresses from his regiments, expressing similar indignation, were sent to him. Whether these addresses were concerted or spontaneous, he put a stop to them by an order of the day, in which he promised to express in person the sentiments of the whole army. He resolved, therefore, to go to Paris, and to repeat to the Legislative Body what he had written to it on the 16th of June. He arranged the matter with Luckner, who was as easily led as an old warrior who has never been out of his camp.* He induced him to write a letter addressed to the King, expressing the same sentiments that he was himself about to proclaim *vivâ voce* at the bar of the Legislative Body. He then took all requisite measures so that his absence might not be detrimental to the military operations, and tearing himself from his attached soldiers, he hastened to Paris to confront the greatest dangers.

Lafayette reckoned upon his faithful national guard, and on imparting a new impulse by means of it. He reckoned upon the Court, which he could not believe to be his foe when he came to sacrifice himself for it. Having proved his chivalrous love of liberty, he was now resolved to prove his sincere attachment to the King; and in his heroic enthusiasm, it is probable that his heart was not insensible to the glory of this twofold self-devotion. He arrived on the morning of the 28th of June. The news soon spread, and it was everywhere repeated with surprise and curiosity that General Lafayette was in Paris.

* "Marshal Luckner blamed extremely the intention Lafayette announced of repairing to Paris, 'because,' said he, 'the *sans-culottes* will cut off his head.' But as this was the sole objection he made, the general resolved to set out alone." —*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

Before his arrival the Assembly had been agitated by a great number of contrary petitions. Those of Rouen, Havre, the Ain, the Seine, and Oise, the Pas de Calais, and the Aisne, condemned the outrages of the 20th of June. Those of Arras and of l'Herault seemed almost to approve of them. There had been read, on the one hand, Luckner's letter to the King, and on the other, atrocious placards against him. The reading of these different papers had produced excitement for several preceding days.

On the 28th a considerable concourse had repaired to the Assembly, hoping that Lafayette, whose intentions were yet a secret, would make his appearance there. About half-past one o'clock a message was actually brought, stating that he desired to be admitted to the bar. He was received with plaudits by the right side, but with silence by the tribunes and the left side.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I must in the first place assure you, that in consequence of arrangements concerted between Marshal Luckner and myself, my presence here cannot in any way compromise either the success of our arms, or the safety of the army which I have the honour to command."

The general then explained the motive of his coming. It had been asserted that his letter was not written by himself. He came to avow it, and to make this avowal, he came from amidst his camp, where he was surrounded by the love of his soldiers. A still stronger reason had urged him to this step. The 20th of June had excited his indignation and that of his army, which had presented to him a multitude of addresses. He had put a stop to them, and solemnly engaged to be the organ of its sentiments to the National Assembly. "The soldiers," he added, "are already asking themselves if it is really the cause of liberty and of the constitution that they are defending." He besought the National Assembly—

1. To prosecute the instigators of the 20th of June;

2. To suppress a sect which grasps at the national sovereignty, and whose public debates leave no doubt respecting the atrocity of its designs;

3. Lastly, to enforce respect for the authorities, and to give the armies the assurance that the constitution shall suffer no injury at home while they are spilling their blood to defend it abroad.

The president replied, that the Assembly would uphold the law which had been sworn to, and that it would examine his petition. He was invited to the honours of the sitting.

The general proceeded to take his seat on the benches of the

right. Kersaint, the deputy, observed that his proper place was on the petitioners' bench. Cries of "Yes!" "No!" burst from all parts. The general modestly rose and removed to the petitioners' bench. Numerous plaudits accompanied him to this new place. Guadet * was the first who spoke, and resorting to a clever circumlocution, he asked if the enemy was vanquished, and the country delivered, since M. de Lafayette was in Paris. "No," he exclaimed in reply, "the country is not delivered; our situation is not changed; and yet the general of one of our armies is in Paris!" He should not inquire, he continued, whether M. de Lafayette, who saw nothing in the French people but a factious mob surrounding and threatening the authorities, was not himself surrounded by a staff which was circumventing him; but he should observe to M. de Lafayette that he was trespassing against the constitution by making himself the organ of an army legally incapable of deliberating, and that probably he was also trespassing against the authority of the military powers by coming to Paris without being authorized by the minister at war.

Guadet, in consequence, proposed that the minister at war should be called upon to state whether he had given leave of absence to M. de Lafayette, and that, moreover, the extraordinary commission should report upon the question whether a general had a right to address the Assembly on purely political subjects.

Ramond came forward to answer Guadet. He set out with a very natural observation, and one that is very frequently applicable, that the interpretation of the laws is liable to great variations according to circumstances. "Never," said he, "have we been so scrupulous relative to the existence of the right of petition. When but very lately an armed multitude presented itself, it was not asked what was its errand; it was not reproached with infringing by the parade of arms the independence of the Assembly; but when M. de Lafayette, who is for America and for Europe the standard of liberty —when he presents himself, suspicions are awakened! . . .

* "M. E. Guadet, a lawyer, president of the criminal tribunal of the Gironde, was deputed by that department to the Legislature, and was looked up to by the Girondists as one of their leaders. He voted for the death of Louis, but for delaying his execution. Involved in the fall of his party, he was executed at Bordeaux in 1794, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. When he was led to the scaffold, he wanted to harangue the people, but the roll of the drums drowned his voice, and nothing could be heard but the words, 'People, behold the sole resource of tyrants! They drown the voices of free men that they may commit their crimes.' Guadet's father, who was seventy years old, his aunt, and his brother, perished a month after him by the sentence of the military committee at Bordeaux."—*Biographie Moderne.*

If there are two weights and two measures, if there are two ways of considering things, let it be allowable to make some distinction in favour of the eldest son of liberty!"

Ramond then moved to refer the petition to the extraordinary commission, for the purpose of examining, not the conduct of Lafayette, but the petition itself. After a great tumult and two divisions, Ramond's motion was carried. Lafayette left the Assembly, surrounded by a numerous train of deputies and soldiers of the national guard, all of them his partisans and his old companions in arms.

This was the decisive moment for the Court, for himself, and for the popular party. He repaired to the palace. The most abusive expressions were repeated around him among the groups of the courtiers. The King and Queen received with coldness the man who came to devote himself for them.* Lafayette withdrew, mortified at the disposition which he had perceived, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the royal family. On leaving the Tuileries a numerous concourse escorted him to his residence, shouting "Long live Lafayette!" and even planted a May before his gate. These demonstrations of old attachment touched the general, and intimidated the Jacobins. But it was requisite to take advantage of these feelings of attachment and to rouse them still more, in order to render them efficacious. Some officers of the national guard, particularly devoted to the Court, applied to it, inquiring how they ought to act. The King and Queen were both of opinion that they ought not to second M. Lafayette.† He thus found himself forsaken by the only portion of the national guard from which he could still have expected support. Anxious, nevertheless, to serve the King, in spite of himself, he consulted his friends. But these were not agreed. Some, and particularly Lally Tollendal, were for acting promptly against the Jacobins, and attacking them by main force in their club. Others, all members of the

* "The debate was not closed when Lafayette repaired to the King. The royal family were assembled together, and the King and Queen both repeated that they were convinced there was no safety for them but in the constitution. Never did Louis appear to express himself with more thorough conviction than on this occasion. He added, that he considered it would be very fortunate if the Austrians were defeated. It so happened that the King was next day to review four thousand men of the national guard. Lafayette asked permission to accompany him, apprizing him at the same time of his intention, as soon as his Majesty had retired, of addressing the troops. But the Court did everything in its power to thwart Lafayette, and Petion, the mayor, countermanded the review an hour before daybreak."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

† See *Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 224, a Letter from M. Lally to the King of Prussia, and all the historians.

department and of the Assembly, supporting themselves constantly by the authority of the law, and having no resources but in it, would not advise its violation, and opposed any open attack.

Lafayette neverthelesss preferred the bolder of these two courses, and appointed a rendezvous for his partisans, for the purpose of going with them to drive the Jacobins from their place of meeting, and walling up the doors. But though the place for assembling was fixed, few attended, and Lafayette found it impossible to act. Whilst, however, he was deeply mortified to perceive that he was so ill supported, the Jacobins, ignorant of the defection of his partisans, were seized with a panic and abandoned their club. They ran to Dumouriez,* who had not yet set out for the army, and urged him to put himself at their head, and to march against Lafayette; but their application was not complied with. Lafayette stayed another day in Paris, amidst denunciations, threats, and hints of assassination, and at length departed, lamenting the uselessness of his self-devotion, and the fatal obstinacy of the Court. And yet this same man, so completely forsaken when he had come to expose his own life to save the King, has been accused of having betrayed him! The writers of the Court have asserted that his means were ill combined. No doubt it was easier and safer, at least in appearance, to employ eighty thousand Prussians; but in Paris, and with the determination not to call in foreigners, what more could he do than put himself at the head of the national guard, and overawe the Jacobins by dispersing them!

Lafayette set out with the design of still serving the King, and contriving, if possible, means for his quitting Paris. He wrote a letter to the Assembly, in which he repeated with still greater energy all that he had himself said against what he called the factious.

No sooner was the popular party relieved from the fears occasioned by the presence and the plans of the general, than it continued its attacks upon the Court, and persisted in demanding a strict account of the means which it was adopting for preserving the territory. It was already known, though the executive power had not yet made any communi-

* "Dumouriez survived the troubles of the Revolution many years. He spent some time in Germany; and lived in retirement latterly at Turville Park, near Henley-upon-Thames, where he died March 14, 1823, in his eighty-fifth year. He was a man of pleasing manners and lively conversation."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

cation on the subject to the Assembly, that the Prussians had broken the neutrality, and that they were advancing by Coblentz, to the number of eighty thousand men, all old soldiers of the Great Frederick, and commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, a celebrated general.* Luckner, who had too few troops, and could not fully rely on the Belgians, had been obliged to retire upon Lille and Valenciennes. An officer, in retreating from Courtray, had burned the suburbs of the town, and it was conceived that the aim of this cruel measure was to alienate the Belgians. The government did nothing to reinforce the armies, which amounted at the utmost, on the three frontiers, to two hundred and thirty thousand men. It resorted to none of those mighty schemes which rouse the zeal and the enthusiasm of a nation. The enemy, in short, might be in Paris in six weeks.

The Queen reckoned upon this result, and mentioned it in confidence to one of her ladies. She had the route of the emigrants and the King of Prussia. She knew that on such a day they would be at Verdun, on such a one at Lille, and that they were to lay siege to the latter place. That unfortunate Princess hoped, she said, to be delivered in a month.† Why, alas! did she not believe the sincere friends who represented to her the inconveniences of foreign aid, and told her that this aid would be useless; that it would arrive soon enough to compromise, but not soon enough to save her! Why did she not believe her own fears on this point, and the gloomy forebodings which sometimes overwhelmed her! Why, in short, did she not spare herself a fault and many misfortunes!

We have seen that the measure to which the national party clung most tenaciously was a reserve of twenty thousand men below Paris. The King, as we have shown, was adverse to this plan. He was summoned, in the person of his ministers,

* "Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, was born in 1735. He was the eldest son of the reigning Duke, and a sister of Frederick the Great. The Seven Years' War afforded him the first opportunity of cultivating his military talents. In 1756 he decided the victory of Crefeld, and took the most active part in all the enterprises of his uncle Ferdinand. In 1764 he married the Princess Augusta of England. High expectations were entertained of him, when the wars of the French Revolution broke out. The Duke received the chief command of the Austrian and Prussian armies, and issued at Coblentz, in 1792, the famous manifesto drawn up in a haughty style by a Frenchman, de Limon The Duke considered the expressions too strong, and some of the severest passages were expunged. He continued to labour for the welfare of his country until 1806, when he was placed at the head of the Prussian army. He was mortally wounded in that year, and died at Ottensen, near Altona."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

† See *Madame Campan.* tome ii. p. 230.

to state what precautions had been taken in the place of those proposed in the decree to which he had refused his sanction. He answered by proposing a new project, which consisted in directing upon Soissons a reserve of forty-two battalions of national volunteers, to supply the place of the old reserve, which had been exhausted in completing the two principal armies. This was as nearly as possible the first decree; with this difference, that the camp of reserve should be formed between Paris and the frontiers, and not near Paris itself. This plan was received with murmurs, and referred to the military committee.

Several departments and municipalities, excited by their correspondence with Paris, had subsequently resolved to carry into execution the decree for a camp of twenty thousand men, though it was not sanctioned. The departments of the Bouches du Rhône, la Gironde, and l'Herault set the first example, which was soon followed by others. Such was the commencement of the insurrection.

As soon as intelligence of these spontaneous levies was received, the Assembly, modifying the plan of the forty-two new battalions proposed by the King, decreed that the battalions, whose zeal should have led them to march before they were legally called upon, should pass through Paris, for the purpose of being inscribed at the municipality of that city; that they should then proceed to Soissons, to be there encamped; and lastly, that those who should happen to be in Paris on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the Federation, should attend that national solemnity. It had not been held in 1791, on account of the flight to Varennes, and it was determined that it should be celebrated in 1792 with éclat. The Assembly added that immediately after this festival the federalists should march off to the place of their destination.

This was at once authorizing insurrection, and reviving, with some trifling variation, the unsanctioned decree. The only difference was that the federalists should merely pass through Paris. But the grand point was to bring them thither; and when once there, a thousand circumstances might arise to detain them. The decree was immediately sent to the King, and sanctioned on the following day.

To this important measure was added another. A distrust was felt of part of the national guards, and particularly of the staffs, which, after the example of the departmental directories, the nearer they approached in rank to superior authority the more they were disposed in its favour. It

was especially the national guard of Paris at which the blow was aimed; but it could not be struck directly, and therefore it was decreed that all the staffs in towns containing upwards of fifty thousand inhabitants should be dissolved and re-elected. In the agitated state in which France then was, with the constantly increasing influence which this agitation ensured to the most ardent spirits, this re-election could not fail to bring forward persons devoted to the popular and republican party.

These were important measures, carried by main force, in opposition to the right side and to the Court. Yet all this did not appear to the patriots to fortify them sufficiently against the imminent dangers by which they conceived themselves to be threatened. Forty thousand Prussians, and as many Austrians and Sardinians, were approaching our frontiers. A Court, apparently in concert with the enemy, resorted to no means for augmenting the armies and exciting the nation, but, on the contrary, employed the veto to thwart the measures of the Legislative Body, and the civil list to secure partisans in the interior. Lastly, there was a general, who was not supposed to be capable of uniting with the emigrants to deliver up France, but who was seen to be disposed to support the Court against the people. All these circumstances alarmed and deeply agitated the public mind. "The country is in danger!" was the general cry. But how was that danger to be prevented? There lay the difficulty. People were not even agreed respecting the causes. The constitutionalists and the partisans of the Court, as much terrified as the patriots themselves, imputed the dangers to the factious only. They trembled only for royalty, and saw no peril but in discussion. The patriots, trembling for a contrary reason, beheld this peril in invasion alone, and laid the whole blame of it on the Court, its refusals, its tardiness, and its underhand proceedings. Petitions continued to pour in. Some attributed everything to the Jacobins, others to the Court, designated alternately by the appellations of the *palace*, the *executive power*, and the *veto*. The Assembly listened to and referred them all to the extraordinary commission of twelve, appointed long before to seek and propose means for saving the country.

Its plan was awaited with impatience. Meanwhile all the walls were covered with threatening placards; the public papers, not less bold than the posting bills, talking of nothing but forfeiture of the crown and dethronement.

This was the topic of general conversation, and no moderation seemed to be observed but in the Assembly. There the attacks against royalty were yet only indirect. It had been proposed, for example, to suppress the veto for decrees of circumstance; observations had several times been made on the civil list and on the culpable use that was made of it; and it had been suggested that it should either be reduced, or that a public account of its expenditure should be demanded.

At length the commission of twelve proposed its measures. The Court had never refused to comply with the recommendations of the Assembly materially to augment the means of defence. It could not have done so without compromizing itself too openly; and besides, it could not much dread the numerical increase of armies which it believed to be in a state of complete disorganization.

The popular party desired, on the contrary, some of those extraordinary means which indicate a great resolution, and which frequently confer victory on the most desperate cause. The commission of twelve devised such, and proposed to the Assembly the following plan:—

When the danger should become extreme, the Legislative Body was itself to declare it by this solemn form of expression: *The country is in danger.*

After this declaration, all the local authorities, the councils of the communes, those of the districts and departments, and the Assembly itself, as the highest of the authorities, were to be permanent and to sit without interruption. All the citizens, under the severest penalties, were to deliver to the authorities the arms which they possessed, with a view to their suitable distribution. All the men, old and young, fit for service, were to be enrolled in the national guards. Some were to proceed to the seats of the different authorities of districts or departments; others to march whithersoever the exigencies of the country required, either at home or abroad. Those only should be expected to appear in uniform who were able to defray the expense of it. The pay of volunteers was to be given to all the national guards who should be removed from their homes. The authorities were to be directed to provide themselves with military stores. Any sign of rebellion wilfully displayed was to be punished with death. Every cockade, every flag, was to be reputed seditious, excepting the tricoloured cockade and flag.

According to this plan, the whole nation would be on the alert and in arms. It would possess the means of deliberating

and fighting at every point and at every moment; and would be able to dispense with the government, and to make amends for its inactivity. That aimless agitation of the popular masses would be regulated and directed. If, in short, after this appeal the French should fail to respond to it, the Assembly could not be expected to do any more for a nation which would not do anything for itself. This plan gave rise, as might naturally be expected, to a most vehement discussion.

Pastoret,* the deputy, read the preliminary report. It satisfied no one; imputing faults to all, balancing some by others, and not fixing in a positive manner the means of parrying the public dangers. After him Jean de Bry explained clearly and with moderation the plan of the commission. The discussion, once commenced, soon became a mere exchange of recriminations. It afforded scope for those impetuous imaginations which rush headlong into extreme measures. The great law of the public welfare, that is to say, the dictatorship—in other words, the power of doing everything, with the chance of using it cruelly but energetically—that power which could by right be decreed only in the Convention, was nevertheless proposed in the Legislature.

M. Delaunay of Angers proposed to the Assembly to declare, that till the removal of the danger, it would *consult only the imperative and supreme law of the public welfare.* This would have been, by an abstract and mysterious formula, evidently to abolish royalty, and to declare the Assembly absolute sovereign. M. Delaunay said that the Revolution was not completed; that people were mistaken if they thought so; and that it was right to keep fixed laws for the Revolution saved and not the Revolution to be saved. He said, in short, all that is usually said in favour of the dictatorship, the idea of which always presents itself in moments of danger. The answer of the deputies of the right side was natural. "They would violate," they said, "the oaths taken to the constitution by creating an authority that would absorb the regulated and established powers." Their adversaries replied by saying that the example of violation was already given, and that they

* "Pierre Pastoret, born at Marseilles in 1756, was an advocate before the Revolution, which he embraced with ardour. Having luckily survived the Reign of Terror, he was in 1795 delegated from Var to the Council of Five Hundred, where he became one of the firmest defenders of the Clichyan party. In 1804 he was appointed professor of the laws of man and nations, in the college of France; and was made a member of the Institute and the Legion of Honour. He was the author of several works, both in prose and verse, written with eloquence and perspicuity."—*Biographie Moderne.*

ought not to suffer themselves to be anticipated and surprised without defence. "But prove then," rejoined the partisans of the Court, "that this example has been given, that the constitution has been betrayed." This challenge was answered by fresh accusations against the Court, and these charges were repelled in their turn by recriminations against agitators. "You are factious men." "You are traitors." Such was the reciprocal and everlasting reproach—such the question to be resolved.

So violent did M. Jaucour deem the proposal, that he was for referring it to the Jacobins. M. Isnard, with whose ardour it harmonized, urged that it should be taken into consideration, and that the speech of M. Delaunay should be sent to the departments, to counterpoise that of M. Pastoret, which was but *a dose of opium given to a patient in the agonies of death.*

M. de Vaublanc succeeded in obtaining a hearing. He said that the constitution could save itself by the constitution; that the plan of M. Jean de Bry was a proof of this; that it was right to print the speech of M. Delaunay, if they so pleased, but at any rate not to send it to the departments; and that they ought to return to the proposal of the commission. The discussion was accordingly adjourned till the 3rd of July.

One deputy had not yet spoken. This was Vergniaud. A member of the Gironde, and its most eloquent orator, he was nevertheless independent. Whether from thoughtlessness or from real elevation, he seemed to be above the passions of his friends; and in sharing their patriotic ardour, he did not always share their prepossessions and their vehemence.* When he had made up his mind upon a question, he carried along with him, by his eloquence and a certain acknowledged impartiality, that floating portion of the Assembly which Mirabeau had formerly hurried away by his reasoning and his

* "Vergniaud was an indolent man, and required to be stimulated; but when once fairly excited, his eloquence was true, forcible, penetrating, and sincere."—*Dumont.*

"I do not like Vergniaud, because he disdains men, does not put any restraint on himself in his intercourse with them, and has not employed his talents with the ardour of a soul devoted by the love of the public good, and with the tenacity of a diligent mind."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.*

Vergniaud was born at Limoges in 1759. He projected the decree which pronounced the suspension of the King and the formation of the National Convention. He filled the chair on the day of Louis's sentence, and voted for his death. He was condemned to death as a Girondist in 1793, and spent the night before his execution in discoursing with his friends upon revolutions and governments. His speeches were always carefully prepared beforehand.

warmth. Wavering masses are everywhere decided by talents and reason.*

It had been announced that he would speak on the 3rd of July. An immense concourse had assembled to hear this distinguished orator on a question which was regarded as decisive. Accordingly he did speak, and first drew a sketch of the state of France. "If," said he,† "one did not believe in the imperishable love of the people for liberty, one would doubt whether the Revolution retrogrades, or whether it is reaching its term. Our armies of the North advanced into Belgium, and all at once they fell back. The theatre of war is transferred to our territory, and we shall have left the unfortunate Belgians nothing but the remembrance of the conflagrations that lighted our retreat. At the same time a formidable army of Prussians is threatening the Rhine, though we had been taught to hope that their progress would not be so rapid.

"How happens it that this moment should have been chosen for the dismissal of the popular ministers, for breaking the chain of their labours, for committing the empire to inexperienced hands, and for rejecting the useful measures which we have deemed it our duty to propose? . . . Can it be true that a dread is felt of our triumphs? Is it the blood of Coblentz or yours that there is a desire to spare? Is there a wish to reign over forsaken towns and devastated fields? . . . In short, where are we? . . . And you, gentlemen, what grand work are you about to undertake for the public weal?

"You, whom some flatter themselves that they have intimidated: you, whose consciences they flatter themselves that they have alarmed by stigmatizing your patriotism as the spirit of faction, as if those who took the oath in the tennis-court had not also been called factious: you, who have been so slandered because you belong not to a proud caste which the constitution has thrown down in the dust: you, to whom are imputed guilty intentions, as if, invested with a power different from that of the law, you had a civil list: you, whose concern for the dangers of the people a hypocritical moderation hoped to cool: you, whom means have been found to divide, but who in this moment of danger will lay aside your animosities, your paltry dissensions, and not find it so delightful

* This is a justice done to Vergniaud by the *Journal de Paris*, at that time so celebrated for its opposition to the majority of the Assembly, and for the extraordinary talents of its conductors, especially of the unfortunate and immortal André Chenier. (*See* that paper of the 4th of July 1792.)

† It is scarcely necessary to observe that I here analyze Vergniaud's speech, but do not give it *verbatim*.

to hate one another as to prefer that infernal pleasure to the welfare of the country;—you, finally, hearken to me! What are your resources? What does necessity command you? What does the constitution permit you to do?"

During this exordium, loud applause drowned the voice of the speaker. He continued his speech, and exhibited two kinds of dangers—the one internal, the other external.

"To remove the former, the Assembly has proposed a decree against the priests, and whether the spirit of a Medicis still flits beneath the vaults of the Tuileries, or a Lachaise or a Letellier still disturbs the heart of the Prince, the decree has been rejected by the throne. It is not possible to believe, without doing the King injustice, that he wishes for religious disturbances! He fancies himself, then, sufficiently powerful—he has, then, ancient laws enough—to ensure the public tranquillity. Let his ministers, then, answer for it with their heads, since they have the means of ensuring it!

"To provide against external dangers, the Assembly conceived the idea of a camp of reserve. The King rejected it. It would be doing him injustice to suppose that he wishes to deliver up France to the enemy; he must therefore have forces sufficient to protect it; his ministers therefore ought to answer to us with their heads for the salvation of the country."

Thus far the speaker confines himself, as we see, to the ministerial responsibility, and strives to exhibit it under the most threatening aspect. "But," added he, "to throw the ministers into the abyss which their malice or their imbecility has opened, is not all. . . . Listen to me calmly; be in no hurry to anticipate what I am about to say."

At these words the attention of his auditors was redoubled. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly. "It is in the name *of the King*," said he, "that the French princes have endeavoured to raise Europe against us. It is to avenge *the dignity of the King* that the Treaty of Pilnitz has been concluded. It is to come *to the aid of the King* that the sovereign of Hungary and Bohemia makes war upon us, that Prussia is marching towards our frontiers. Now I read in the constitution: 'If the King puts himself at the head of an army and directs its forces against the nation, or if he does not oppose by a formal act an enterprise of this kind that may be executed in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated royalty.'

"What is a formal act of opposition? If one hundred thousand Austrians were marching towards Flanders, and one

hundred thousand Prussians towards Alsace, and the King were to oppose to them ten or twenty thousand men, would he have done a formal act of opposition?

"If the King, whose duty it is to notify imminent hostilities, apprized of the movements of the Prussian army, were not to communicate any information on the subject to the National Assembly; if a camp of reserve, necessary for stopping the progress of the enemy into the interior, were proposed, and the King were to substitute in its stead an uncertain plan which it would take a long time to execute; if the King were to leave the command of an army to an intriguing general, of whom the nation was suspicious; if another general, bred afar from the corruption of Courts, and familiar with victory, were to demand a reinforcement, and the King were by a refusal to say to him, *I forbid thee to conquer*—could it be asserted that the King had committed a formal act of opposition?

"I have exaggerated several circumstances," resumed Vergniaud, "to take away every pretext for explanations purely hypothetical. But if, while France was swimming in blood, the King were to say to you, 'It is true that the enemies pretend to be acting for me, for my dignity, for my rights, but I have proved that I am not their accomplice. I have sent armies into the field; these armies were too weak; but the constitution does not fix the degree of their force. I have assembled them too late; but the constitution does not fix the time for collecting them. I have stopped a general who was on the point of conquering; but the constitution does not order victories. I have had ministers who deceived the Assembly and disorganized the government; but their appointment belonged to me. The Assembly has passed useful decrees which I have not sanctioned; but I had a right to act so. I have done all that the constitution enjoined me. It is therefore impossible to doubt my fidelity to it.'" Vehement applause here burst from all quarters.

"If then," continued Vergniaud, "the King were to hold this language, should you not have a right to reply: 'O King, who, like Lysander, the tyrant, have believed that truth was not worth more than falsehood—who have feigned a love for the laws merely to preserve the power which enabled you to defy them—was it defending us to oppose to the foreign soldiers forces whose inferiority left not even uncertainty as to their defeat? Was it defending us to thwart plans tending to fortify the interior? Was it defending us not to check a general who violated the constitution, but to enchain the courage of those who were serving it? Did the constitution

leave you the choice of the ministers for our prosperity or for our ruin? Did it make you the head of the army for our glory or our disgrace? Did it, finally, confer on you the right of sanction, a civil list, and so many prerogatives, in order constitutionally to undo the constitution of the empire? No! no! Man, in whom the generosity of the French has excited no corresponding feeling, insensible to everything but the love of despotism, you are henceforth nothing to that constitution which you have so unworthily violated—to that people whom you have so basely betrayed!'

"But no," resumed the speaker, "if our armies are not complete, the King assuredly is not to blame for this; no doubt he will take the necessary measures for saving us; no doubt the march of the Prussians will not be so triumphant as they hope; but it was requisite to foresee everything and to say everything, for frankness alone can save us."

Vergniaud concluded by proposing a message to Louis XVI., firm but respectful, which should oblige him to choose between France and foreigners, and teach him that the French were resolved to perish or triumph with the constitution. He wished also that the Assembly should declare the country in danger, in order to awaken in hearts those mighty affections which have animated mighty nations, and which no doubt would be found in the French; "for," said he, "it will not be in the regenerated French of '89 that Nature will show herself degenerated." He wished, finally, that an end should be put to dissensions which began to assume a sinister character, and that they should reunite those who were in Rome and on Mount Aventine.

As he uttered these last words, the voice of the speaker faltered, and the emotion was general. The tribunes, the left side, in short all, applauded. Vergniaud left the tribune, and was surrounded by a crowd who thronged to congratulate him. He alone had dared to speak to the Assembly concerning the forfeiture of the crown, which was a general topic of conversation in public; but he had presented the subject only in a hypothetical manner, and clothed in forms still respectful, when compared with the language suggested by the passions of the time.

Dumas came forward to reply. He attempted to speak extempore after Vergniaud, before auditors still full of the feelings that he had excited. He several times claimed silence and an attention which it was not in his power to gain. He animadverted on the reproaches urged against the executive power. "The retreat of Luckner," said he, "is owing to the

chance of battles, which cannot be governed in the recesses of Cabinets. Assuredly you have confidence in Luckner?" Cries of "Yes! yes!" were the answer; and Kersaint proposed a decree declaring that Luckner had retained the national confidence. The decree was passed, and Dumas proceeded. He observed very justly, that if they had confidence in that general, they could not consider the intention of his retreat as culpable or suspicious; that as for the want of forces which was complained of, the marshal himself knew that all the troops then disposable were assembled for this enterprise; that, moreover, everything must have been already prepared by the old Girondin ministry, the author of the offensive warfare; and that if the means were inadequate, that ministry alone was to blame; that the new ministers could not possibly repair all that was defective by a few couriers; and lastly, that they had given *carte blanche* to Luckner, and had left him the power to act according to circumstances and local situation.

"The camp of twenty thousand men has been rejected," added Dumas; "but in the first place, the ministers are not responsible for the veto, and in the next, the plan which they substituted in its stead was far preferable to that proposed by the Assembly, because it did not paralyze the means of recruiting. The decree against the priests has been rejected, but there is no need of new laws to ensure the public tranquillity. Nothing is wanting but quiet, security, respect for individual liberty, and liberty of conscience. Wherever these liberties have been respected, the priests have not been seditious." Dumas concluded with justifying the King by objecting that he had not wished for war, and Lafayette by reminding the Assembly that he had always been a lover of liberty.

The decree proposed by the commission of twelve for arranging the forms according to which the country should be declared in danger, was passed amidst the most vehement applause. But the declaration of danger was adjourned, because it was not thought right as yet to proclaim it. The King, no doubt excited by all that had been said, notified to the Assembly the imminent hostilities with Prussia, which he grounded on the convention of Pilnitz, on the favourable reception given to the rebels, on the acts of violence committed upon French mercantile men, on the dismissal of our minister, and the departure of the Prussian ambassador from Paris; lastly, on the march of the Prussian troops to the number of fifty-two thousand men. "Everything proves to me," added the King's message, "an alliance between Vienna and Berlin.

(There was a laugh at these words.) Agreeably to the terms of the constitution, I give this intimation of it to the Legislative Body." "Yes," replied several voices, "when the Prussians are at Coblentz." The message was referred to the commission of twelve.

The discussion relative to the forms of the declaration *of the country in danger* was continued. It was decreed that this declaration should be considered as a simple proclamation, and that consequently it should not be subject to the royal sanction, which was not quite just, since it comprehended legislative clauses; but without meaning to proclaim it, the Assembly already followed the law of the public welfare.

The discussions were daily increasing in violence. The wish of Vergniaud to unite those who were in Rome and on Mount Aventine was not fulfilled: the fear which each excited in the other was changed into irreconcilable hatred.

There was in the Assembly a deputy named Lamourette,* constitutional Bishop of Lyons, who had never considered liberty in any other light than as a return to primitive fraternity, and who was as much grieved as astonished at the divisions of his colleagues. He did not believe that the one harboured any real hatred against the others. He supposed that all of them merely entertained unjust suspicions. On the 7th of July, at the moment when the discussion on the country in danger was about to be resumed, he asked leave to speak for the purpose of a motion to order; and addressing his colleagues in the most persuasive tone and with the noblest aspect, he told them that terrible measures were every day proposed to them, in order to put an end to the danger of the country; that, for his part, he had faith in milder and more efficacious means. It was the disunion among the representatives that was the cause of all the evils, and to this disunion it behoved them to apply a remedy. "Oh!" exclaimed the worthy prelate, "he who should succeed in reconciling you, that man would be the real conqueror of Austria and of Coblentz. It is daily alleged, that at the point to which things have been carried, your reunion is impossible. Ah! I tremble at the thought . . . but this is a calumny. There is nothing irreconcilable but guilt and virtue. Good men dispute warmly, because they are impressed with the sincere conviction of the correctness of their opinions; but they cannot hate one another.

* "After the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, Lamourette went to Lyons, and continued there during the siege. He was afterwards conducted to Paris, condemned to death, and decapitated in 1794. He was the author of several religious works."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

Gentlemen, the public weal is in your hands. Why do you delay carrying it into operation?

"What is it that the two portions of the Assembly charge each other with? One accuses the other of wishing to modify the constitution by the hands of foreigners; and the latter accuses the former of striving to overthrow the monarchy for the purpose of establishing a republic. Well, gentlemen, hurl one and the same anathema against a republic and the two chambers. Devote them to general execration by a last and irrevocable oath! Let us swear to have but one spirit, but one sentiment. Let us swear everlasting fraternity! Let the enemy know that what we will, we all will, and the country is saved!"

Scarcely had the speaker finished these concluding words, when both sides of the Assembly rose, applauding his generous sentiments, and eager to rid themselves of the burden of their reciprocal animosities. Amidst universal acclamations, they devoted to public execration any project for changing the constitution either by two chambers or by a republic; and the members rushed from the opposite benches to embrace one another. Those who had attacked and those who had defended Lafayette, the veto, the civil list, the *factions*, and the *traitors*, were clasped in each other's arms. All distinctions ceased, and Messrs. Pastoret and Condorcet, who the day before were loading one another with abuse in the public papers, were seen locked in each other's embrace. There was no longer any right or left side, and all the deputies sat indiscriminately together. Dumas was beside Basire, Jaucourt next to Merlin, and Ramond by Chabot.

It was immediately decided that they should inform the provinces, the army, and the King of this happy event. A deputation, headed by Lamourette, repaired to the palace. Lamourette returned, announcing the intention of the King to come, as on the 4th of February 1790, to express his satisfaction to the Assembly, and to assure it that he was sorry he had to wait for a deputation, for he was most anxious to hasten into the midst of it.

The enthusiasm was increased to the highest pitch by these words, and if the unanimous cry might be credited, the country was saved. Was it, then, that a King and eight hundred hypocritical deputies had suddenly formed the plan of deceiving each other, and feigning an oblivion of injuries, that they might afterwards betray one another with the greater certainty? No, assuredly not. Such a plan is not formed among so great a number of persons, and all at once,

without premeditation. But hatred is burdensome; it is a relief to get rid of the weight of it; and moreover, at the prospect of the most threatening events, which party was it that in the uncertainty of victory would not gladly have consented to keep the present as it was, provided that it were ensured to them? This fact demonstrates that distrust and fear produced all the animosities, that a moment of confidence allayed them, and that if the party called republican thought of a republic, it was not from system but from despair. Why did not the King, on returning to his palace, write immediately to Prussia and Austria. Why did he not combine with these secret measures some grand public measure? Why did he not say, like his ancestor Louis XIV., on the approach of the enemy, *Let us all go!*

But in the evening the Assembly was informed of the result of the proceedings instituted by the department against Petion and Manuel; and this result was the suspension of those two magistrates. From what has since been learned from the lips of Petion himself, it is probable that he could have prevented the commotion of the 20th of June, since he afterwards prevented others. In fact, his real sentiments were not then known, but it was strongly presumed that he had connived with the agitators. There were, moreover, some infringements of the law to lay to his charge. He was reproached, for instance, with having been extremely dilatory in his communications to the different authorities, and with having suffered the council of the commune to pass a resolution (*arrêté*) contrary to that of the department, in deciding that the petitioners should be admitted into the ranks of the national guard. The suspension pronounced by the department was therefore legal and courageous, but impolitic. After the reconciliation of the morning, was it not, in fact, the height of imprudence to signify in the evening of the very same day the suspension of two magistrates enjoying the greatest popularity? The King indeed referred the matter to the Assembly; but without betraying its dissatisfaction, it sent back the decision to him that he might himself pronounce upon it. The tribunes recommenced their usual cries; a great number of petitions were presented, demanding *Petion or death;* and Grangeneuve, the deputy, who had been personally insulted, insisted on a report against the perpetrator of the outrage. Thus the reconciliation was already forgotten. Brissot, to whose turn it had come to speak on the question of the public danger, solicited time to modify the expressions of his speech, on

account of the reconciliation which had since taken place. Nevertheless he could not abstain from enumerating all the instances of neglect and tardiness laid to the charge of the Court; and in spite of the pretended reconciliation, he concluded with proposing that the question of the forfeiture of the crown should be solemnly discussed; that ministers should be impeached for having so long delayed to notify the hostilities of Prussia; that a secret commission of seven members should be appointed, and charged to attend to the public welfare; that the property of the emigrants should be sold; that the organization of the national guards should be accelerated; and lastly, that the Assembly should forthwith declare *the country* to be *in danger*.

Intelligence was at the same time received of the conspiracy of Dessaillant, one of the late noblesse, who, at the head of a party of insurgents, had gained possession of the fort of Bannes, in the department of the Ardèche, and thence threatened the whole surrounding country. The disposition of the powers was also reported to the Assembly by the ministers. The house of Austria, influencing Prussia, had induced it to march against France; the pupils of the great Frederick nevertheless murmured against this impolitic alliance. The electorates were all our open or concealed enemies. Russia had been the first to declare against the Revolution; she had acceded to the Treaty of Pilnitz; she had flattered the projects of Gustavus, and seconded the emigrants; and all to deceive Prussia and Austria, and to urge them both on against France whilst she acted against Poland. At that moment she was treating with MM. de Nassau and d'Esterhazy, leaders of the emigrants; but notwithstanding her magnificent promises, she had merely furnished them with a frigate, to rid herself of their presence at St. Petersburg. Sweden was immovable since the death of Gustavus, and admitted our ships. Denmark promised a strict neutrality. We might consider ourselves as being at war with the Court of Turin. The Pope was preparing his thunderbolts. Venice was neutral, but seemed disposed to protect Trieste with its navy. Spain, without entering openly into the coalition, appeared not unwilling to adhere to the family compact, and to return to France the aid which she had received from her.

England promised neutrality, and gave fresh assurances of it. The United States would gladly have assisted us with all their means; but those means were then null, on account of their distance and their thin population.

Immediately after the communication of this report, the Assembly was for declaring the country in danger; but that declaration was postponed till after the presentation of a new report from all the committees united. On the 11th, after this report had been read, amidst profound silence, the president pronounced the solemn formula, CITIZENS, THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER.

From that moment the sittings were declared permanent. The discharge of cannon, fired from moment to moment, proclaimed this important crisis. All the municipalities, all the district and departmental councils, sat without interruption. All the national guards put themselves in motion. Amphitheatres were erected in the public places, and there the municipal officers received, upon a table borne by drummers, the names of those who came voluntarily to enrol themselves. The number enrolled amounted to fifteen thousand in one day.*

The reconciliation of the 7th of July and the oath which followed, had not, as we have just seen, dispelled any distrust. People were still devising means to protect themselves against the designs of the palace, and the idea of declaring that the King had forfeited the crown, or of forcing him to abdicate, presented itself to every mind as the only possible remedy for the evils which threatened France. Vergniaud had merely pointed hypothetically to this idea; but others, especially Torné, the deputy, were desirous that this supposition of Vergniaud should be considered as a reality. Petitions poured in from every part of France, to lend the aid of public opinion to this desperate scheme of the patriotic deputies.

The city of Marseilles had previously presented a threatening petition, read to the Assembly on the 19th June, and the substance of which has been already given. At the moment when the country was declared in danger, several others were received. One of them proposed to accuse Lafay-

* "While the minds of men were wound up to the highest pitch by inflammatory harangues, the committees to whom it had been remitted to report on the state of the country, published the solemn declaration, '*Citizens, the country is in danger!*' Minute guns announced to the inhabitants of the capital this solemn appeal, which called on every one to lay down his life on behalf of the State. Pikes were distributed to all those not possessed of firelocks: battalions of volunteers formed in the public squares, and standards were displayed in conspicuous situations, with the words, 'Citizens, the country is in danger!' These measures excited the revolutionary ardour to the utmost degree. An universal frenzy seized the public mind. Many departments openly defied the authority of government, and without any orders sent their contingents to form the camp of twenty thousand men near Paris. This was the commencement of the revolt which overturned the throne."—*Alison.*

ette, to suppress the veto in certain cases, to reduce the civil list, and to reinstate Manuel and Petion in their municipal functions. Another demanded, together with the suppression of the veto, the publicity of the councils. But the city of Marseilles, which had set the first example of these acts of boldness, soon carried them to the utmost excess. It presented an address, recommending to the Assembly to abolish royalty in the reigning branch, and to substitute in its stead a merely elective royalty and without veto, that is to say, a purely *executive magistracy*, as in republics. The stupor produced by the reading of this address was soon followed by the applause of the tribunes; and a motion for printing it was made by a member of the Assembly. The address was nevertheless referred to the commission of twelve, that the law declaring infamous every plan for altering the constitution might be applied to it.

Consternation pervaded the Court. It pervaded also the patriotic party, which bold petitions were far from cheering. The King conceived that violence was intended against his person. He attributed the events of the 20th of June to a scheme for murdering him, which had miscarried; but he was assuredly wrong, for nothing would have been easier than the consummation of that crime if it had been projected. He was fearful of being poisoned, and himself and his family took their meals with a lady in the Queen's confidence, where they ate of different dishes from those which were prepared in the offices of the palace.* As the anniversary of the Federation was approaching, the Queen caused a kind of breastplate, composed of several folds of stuff, capable of resisting a first thrust of a dagger, to be made for the King. However, as time passed away, and the popular audacity increased, without any attempt at assassination being made, the King began to form a more correct notion of the nature of his danger; and he already perceived that it was not the point of a dagger, but a judicial condemnation, that he had to dread; and the fate of Charles I. continually haunted his tortured imagination.

Lafayette, though repulsed by the Court, had nevertheless resolved to save the King. He therefore caused a plan of flight, that was very boldly conceived, to be submitted to him. He had first gained over Luckner, and had even extorted from the easy disposition of the old marshal a promise to march towards Paris. Lafayette proposed that

* *See* Appendix ZZZ.

the King should send for him and Luckner, upon pretext of attending the Federation. The presence of two generals might, he thought, overawe the people, and prevent the dangers which were apprehended from that day. Lafayette further proposed that, the day after the ceremony, Louis XVI. should publicly leave Paris, professedly with the intention of going to Compiègne, in order to exhibit a proof of his liberty to all Europe. In case of opposition, he asked for no more than fifty trusty horse, to carry him off from Paris. From Compiègne squadrons kept in readiness were to conduct him to the French armies, where Lafayette would depend on his sincerity for the maintenance of the new institutions. Lastly, in case none of these schemes should succeed, the general had determined to march with all his troops to Paris.*

Whether this plan required too great boldness, and Louis XVI. had not enough of that quality, or whether the dislike of the Queen to Lafayette prevented him from accepting his aid, he again refused it, and directed a very cold answer, and one very unworthy of the zeal which the general manifested for him, to be returned. "The best advice," to use the words of that answer, "which can be given to M. Lafayette is to continue to serve as a bugbear to the factious by the able performance of his duty as a general."

The anniversary of the Federation approached. The people and the Assembly were desirous that Petion should be present at the solemnity of the 14th. The King had already endeavoured to throw upon the Assembly the responsibility of approving or disapproving the resolution of the department; but the Assembly had, as we have seen, constrained him to speak out himself, urging him daily to communicate his decision, that this matter might be settled before the 14th. On the 12th the King confirmed the suspension. The Assembly lost no time in taking its own course. What that was may easily be conceived. Next day, that is, on the 13th, it reinstated Petion. But from a shadow of delicacy, it postponed its decision respecting Manuel, who amidst the tumult of the 20th of June had been seen walking about in his scarf, without making any use of his authority.

The 14th of July 1792 at length arrived. How times had changed since the 14th of July 1790! There was neither that magnificent altar with three hundred officiating priests,

* *See* Appendix AAAA.

nor that extensive area covered by sixty thousand national guards richly dressed and regularly organized, nor those lateral tiers of seats crowded by an immense multitude intoxicated with joy and delight; nor lastly, that balcony where the ministers, the royal family, and the Assembly were accommodated at the first Federation. Everything was changed. People hated each other as after a hollow reconciliation, and all the emblems indicated war. Eighty-three tents represented the eighty-three departments. Beside each of these stood a poplar, from the top of which waved flags of the three colours. A large tent was destined for the Assembly and the King, and another for the administrative bodies of Paris. Thus all France seemed to be encamped in the presence of the enemy. The altar of the country was but a truncated column, placed at the top of those tiers of seats which had been left in the Champ de Mars ever since the first ceremony. On one side was seen a monument for those who had died, or who were destined soon to die, on the frontiers; on the other, an immense tree, called the tree of feudalism. It rose from the centre of a vast pile, and bore on its branches crowns, blue ribbons, tiaras, cardinals' hats, St. Peter's keys, ermine mantles, doctors' caps, bags of law proceedings, titles of nobility, escutcheons, coats of arms, &c. The King was to be invited to set fire to it.

The oath was to be taken at noon. The King had repaired to the apartments of the Military School, where he waited for the national procession, which had gone to lay the first stone of a column destined to rise upon the ruins of the ancient Bastille. The King displayed a calm dignity.* The Queen strove to conquer a grief that was but too visible. His sister, his children, surrounded him. Some touching expressions excited emotion in those who were in the apartments, and tears trickled from the eyes of more than one. At length the procession arrived. Until then the Champ de Mars had been

* "The figure made by the King during this pageant formed a striking and melancholy parallel with his actual condition in the State. With hair powdered and dressed, with clothes embroidered in the ancient Court fashion, surrounded and crowded unceremoniously by men of the lowest rank and in the most wretched garb, he seemed belonging to a former age, but which in the present has lost its fashion and value. He was conducted to the Champ de Mars under a strong guard, and by a circuitous route, to avoid the insults of the multitude. When he ascended the altar, to go through the ceremonial of the day, all were struck with his resemblance to a victim led to sacrifice; the Queen so much so that she nearly fainted. A few children alone called out, '*Vive le Roi!*' This was the last time Louis was seen in public until he mounted the scaffold."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

almost empty. All at once the multitude rushed into it. Beneath the balcony where the King was placed, a confused mob of women, children, and drunken men was seen to pass, shouting "Petion for ever! Petion or death!" and bearing on their hats the words which they had in their mouths; federalists, arm in arm, and carrying a representation of the Bastille, and a press, which stopped from time to time for the purpose of printing and distributing patriotic songs. Next came the legions of the national guard and the regiments of the troops of the line, preserving with difficulty the regularity of their ranks amidst the moving populace; and lastly, the authorities themselves and the Assembly. The King then went down, and placed amidst a square of troops, moved on with the procession towards the altar of the country. The concourse in the centre of the Champ de Mars was immense, so that they could advance but slowly. After great exertions on the part of the regiments, the King reached the steps of the altar. The Queen, stationed on the balcony, which she had not quitted, watched this scene with a glass. The confusion seemed to increase about the altar, and the King to descend a step. At this sight the Queen uttered a shriek, and filled all around her with alarm.* The ceremony, however, passed off without accident.

As soon as the oath was taken, the people hastened to the tree of feudalism. They were for hurrying the King along with them that he might set fire to it; but he declined, saying, very pertinently, that there was no longer any such thing as feudalism. He then set out on his return to the Military School. The troops, rejoiced at having saved him, raised reiterated shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" The multitude, which always feels constrained to sympathize, repeated these shouts, and was as prompt to pay him homage as it had been to insult him a few moments before. For a few hours longer the unfortunate Louis XVI. appeared to be beloved; for an instant the people and himself believed this to be the case; but even illusion had ceased to be easy, and they began already to find it impossible to deceive themselves. The King returned to the palace, glad

* "The expression of the Queen's countenance on this day will never be effaced from my remembrance. Her eyes were swollen with tears; and the splendour of her dress, and the dignity of her deportment, formed a striking contrast with the train that surrounded her. It required the character of Louis XVI.—that character of martyr which he ever upheld—to support, as he did, such a situation. When he mounted the steps of the altar, he seemed a sacred victim offering himself as a voluntary sacrifice. He descended, and crossing anew the disordered ranks, returned to take his place beside the Queen and his children."—*Madame de Staël.*

at having escaped the dangers which he conceived to be great, but alarmed at those which he beheld approaching.

The news which arrived daily from the frontiers increased the alarm and agitation. The declaration of *the country in danger* had set all France in motion, and had occasioned the departure of a great number of federalists. There were only two thousand at Paris on the day of the Federation; but they kept continually arriving, and the way in which they conducted themselves there justified both the fears and the hopes that had been conceived of their presence in the capital. All voluntarily enrolled; they comprised the most violent spirits in the clubs of France. The Assembly ordered them an allowance of thirty sous per day, and reserved the tribunes for them exclusively. They soon gave law to it by their shouts and their applause. Connected with the Jacobins, and united in a club which in a few days surpassed all the others in violence, they were ready for insurrection at the first signal. They even made a declaration to this effect in an address to the Assembly. They would not set out, they said, till the enemies in the interior were overthrown. Thus the scheme of assembling an insurrectional force at Paris was completely accomplished in spite of the opposition of the Court.

In addition to this engine, other means were resorted to. The old soldiers of the French guards were dispersed among the regiments. The Assembly ordered them to be collected into a corps of gendarmerie. There could be no doubt respecting their disposition, since it was they who had begun the Revolution. To no purpose was it objected that these men, almost all of them subalterns in the army, constituted its principal force. The Assembly would not listen to any representation, dreading the enemy at home more than the enemy abroad. After composing forces for itself, it resolved to decompose those of the Court. To this end the Assembly ordered the removal of all the regiments. Thus far it had kept within the limits appointed by the constitution; but not content with removing, it enjoined them to repair to the frontier, and by so doing it usurped the disposal of the public force, which belonged to the King.

The principal aim of this measure was to get rid of the Swiss, whose fidelity could not be doubted. To parry this blow, the ministers instigated M. d'Affry, their commandant, to remonstrate. He appealed to his capitulations in justification of his refusal to leave Paris. The Assembly appeared to take into consideration the reasons which he urged,

but ordered for the moment the departure of two Swiss battalions.

The King, it is true, had his veto to resist these measures; but he had lost all influence, and could no longer exercise his prerogative. The Assembly itself could not always withstand the propositions brought forward by certain of its members, and invariably supported by the applause of the tribunes. It never failed to declare itself in favour of moderation when that was possible; and whilst it assented, on the one hand, to the most insurrectional measures, it was seen, on the other, receiving and approving the most moderate petitions.

The measures that were adopted, the petitions that were daily read, and the language that was used in all conversations, indicated a speedy revolution. The Girondins foresaw and wished for it; but they did not clearly distinguish the means, and dreaded the issue of it. Among the people complaints were made of their listlessness. They were accused of indolence and incapacity. All the leaders of clubs and sections, weary of eloquent speeches without result, loudly demanded an active and concentrated direction, that the popular efforts might not be unavailing.

There was at the Jacobins a room appropriated to the business of correspondence. Here had been formed a central committee of federalists, for the purpose of concerting and arranging their proceedings. In order that their resolutions might be the more secret and energetic, this committee was limited to five members, and was called among themselves the *insurrectional committee*. These five members were Vaugeois, grand vicar; Debessé of La Drôme; Guillaume, professor at Caen; Simon, journalist at Strasburg; and Galissot of Langres. To these were soon added Carra,* Gorsas, Fournier the American, Westermann,† Kienlin of Strasburg, Santerre,

* "J. L. Carra called himself a man of letters before the Revolution, because he had written some bad articles in the Encyclopædia. At the beginning of the troubles he went to Paris, made himself remarkable among the most violent Revolutionists, and in 1789 proposed the formation of the municipality of Paris and of the civic guard. It was Carra who thought of arming the people with pikes. Always preaching up murder and pillage in his writings, he was one of the chiefs of the revolt of the 10th of August 1792; and in his journal he gloried in having traced out the plan of that day. Being denounced by Robespierre, he was condemned to death, and executed at the age of fifty. Carra was the author of several works, which have long since sunk into oblivion."—*Biographie Moderne.*

† "Fr. Joseph Westermann, born at Molsheim, in Alsace, was an officer under the monarchy, but embraced the revolutionary party with ardour. On the 10th of August he was the first who forced the Tuileries at the head of the Brest battalions. In 1792 and the following year he distinguished himself by his

Alexandre, commandant of the Faubourg St. Marceau, a Pole named Lazouski, captain of the gunners in the artillery of St. Marceau, Antoine of Metz, an ex-constituent, and Lagrey and Garin, two electors. It was joined by Manuel, Camille Desmoulins,* and Danton; and these exercised the greatest influence over it.† They entered into arrangements with Barbaroux, who promised the co-operation of his Marseillais, whose arrival was impatiently expected. They placed themselves in communication with Petion, the mayor, and obtained from him a promise not to prevent the insurrection. In return they promised him to protect his residence, and to place a guard upon it, in order to justify his inaction by an appearance of constraint, if the enterprise should miscarry.

The plan definitively adopted was to repair in arms to the palace, and to depose the King. But it was requisite to set the people in motion, and to succeed in this purpose, some extraordinary exciting cause was indispensably necessary. Endeavours were made to produce one, and the subject was discussed at the Jacobins. Chabot,‡ the deputy, expatiated with all the ardour of his disposition on the necessity for a great revolution, and he said, that in order to bring about such a one, it was desirable that the Court should attempt the life of a deputy. Grangeneuve, himself a deputy, heard this speech. He was a man of limited understanding, but resolute disposition. He took Chabot aside. "You are right," said he; "it is expedient that a deputy should perish, but the Court is too cunning to give us so fair an occasion. You must make amends and put me to death as soon as possible in the environs of the palace. Prepare the means, and keep your secret." Chabot, seized with enthusiasm, offered to share his fate. Grange-

bravery at the head of the Legion du Nord, of which he had obtained the command. He was afterwards transferred, with the rank of general of brigade, to the army which Biron then commanded in La Vendée. At Chatillon, however, he was completely defeated; his infantry was cut to pieces; and he himself escaped with difficulty. Being attached to the party of the Cordeliers, he was denounced with them, and executed in 1794, in the fortieth year of his age."—*Biographie Moderne.*

"Westermann ran from massacre to massacre, sparing neither adversaries taken in arms, nor even the peaceful inhabitants of the country."—*Prudhomme.*

* "Camille Desmoulins had natural abilities, some education, but an extravagant imagination. He stammered in his speech, and yet he harangued the mob without appearing ridiculous, such was the influence which the vehemence of his language had over it. He was fond of pleasure and of amusement of all kinds, and professed a sincere admiration of Robespierre, who then seemed to feel a friendship for him."—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.*

† *See* Appendix BBBB. ‡ *See* Appendix CCCC.

heuve assented, observing that two deaths would produce a greater effect than one. They agreed upon the day, the hour, and the means of putting an end to their lives, without *maiming* themselves, as they said; and they separated, resolved to sacrifice themselves for the success of the common cause. Grangeneuve, determined to keep his word, put his domestic affairs in order, and proceeded at half-past ten o'clock at night to the place of meeting. Chabot was not there. He waited. As Chabot did not come, he conceived that he had changed his mind, but he hoped that, in regard to himself at least, the execution would take place. He walked to and fro several times in expectation of the mortal blow, but was obliged to return, safe and sound, without enjoying the satisfaction of immolating himself for the sake of a calumny.*

The occasion so impatiently looked for did not occur, and the parties began mutually to accuse each other of want of courage, intelligence, and unity. The Girondin deputies, Petion, the mayor, and in short, all persons of any eminence, and who were obliged, either in the tribune or in the performance of their official duties, to speak the language of the law, kept themselves more and more aloof, and condemned these incessant agitations, which compromized them without producing any result. They reproached the subaltern agitators with exhausting their strength in partial and useless movements, which exposed the people without leading to any decisive event. The latter, on the contrary, who did in their respective spheres all that they could do, reproached the deputies, and Petion, the mayor, for their public speeches, and accused them of repressing the energy of the people.

Thus the deputies reproached the mass with not being organized, and the latter complained that the deputies themselves were not. The want most sensibly felt was that of a leader. We need a man, was the general cry; but who is it to be? No fit person was to be found among the deputies. They were all of them rather orators than conspirators; and besides, their elevated situation and their mode of life removed them too far from the multitude, on whom it was necessary to act. In

* "J. A. Grangeneuve, a lawyer, was deputy from the Gironde to the Legislature. He was one of those who, in concert with the Capuchin, Chabot, agreed to cause themselves to be mangled by men whom they had in pay, in order to exasperate the people against the Court; but he was afraid of being mangled too effectually, so gave up his project. He was condemned to death as a Girondin in 1793. Grangeneuve was forty-three years old, and was born at Bordeaux."—*Biographie Moderne.*

the same predicament were Roland, Servan, and all those men whose courage was undoubted, but whose rank lifted them too high above the populace.

Petion might, from his office, have had opportunity to communicate easily with the multitude; but he was cold, passionless, and capable of dying rather than acting. By means of his system of checking petty agitations, for the benefit of a decisive insurrection, he thwarted the daily movements, and lost all favour with the agitators, whom he impeded without controlling. They wanted a leader who, not having yet issued from the bosom of the multitude, had not lost all power over it, and who had received from nature the spirit of persuasion.

A vast field had been opened in the clubs, the sections, and the revolutionary papers. Many had there distinguished themselves, but none had yet gained a marked superiority. Camille Desmoulins had acquired notice by his energy, his cynical spirit, his audacity, and his promptness in attacking all those who seemed to flag in the revolutionary career. He was known to the lower classes; but he had neither the lungs of a popular speaker, nor the activity and powers of persuasion of a party-leader.

Another public writer had gained a frightful celebrity. This was Marat, known by the name of the *Friend of the People*, and who, by his instigations to murder, had become an object of horror to all those who yet retained any moderation. A native of Neufchatel, and engaged in the study of the physical and medical sciences, he had boldly attacked the most firmly established systems, and had shown an activity of mind that might be termed convulsive. He was physician to the stables of Comte d'Artois when the Revolution commenced. He rushed without hesitation into a new career, and soon acquired distinction in his section. He was of middle height, with a large head, strongly marked features, livid complexion, a piercing eye, and careless in his personal appearance. It was necessary, he asserted, to strike off several thousand heads, and to destroy all the aristocrats, who rendered liberty impossible. Horror and contempt were alternately excited by him. People ran against him, trod upon his toes, made game of his wretched-looking figure; but accustomed to scientific squabbles and the most extravagant assertions, he had learned to despise those who despised him, and he pitied them as incapable of comprehending him.

Thenceforward he diffused in his papers the horrid doctrine with which he was imbued. The subterraneous life to which

he was doomed, in order to escape justice, had heated his temperament, and the public horror served still more to excite it. Our polished manners were, according to his notions, but vices which were hostile to republican equality; and in his ardent hatred for the obstacles, he saw but one means of safety —extermination. His studies and his observations on the physical man must have accustomed him to conquer the sight of pain; and his ardent mind, unchecked by any instinct of sensibility, proceeded directly to its goal by ways of blood. That same idea of operating by destruction had gradually become systematized in his head. He proposed a dictator, not for the purpose of conferring on him the pleasure of omnipotence, but of imposing upon him the terrible task of purifying society. The dictator was to have a cannon-ball attached to his leg, that he might always be in the power of the people. He was to have but one faculty left him, that of pointing out victims, and ordering death as their only chastisement. Marat knew no other penalty, because he was not for punishing but for suppressing the obstacle.

Perceiving aristocrats on all sides conspiring against liberty, he collected here and there all the facts that gratified his passion. He denounced with fury, and with a levity which was the result of that very fury, all the names mentioned to him, and which frequently had no existence. He denounced them without personal hatred, without fear, nay, even without danger to himself; because he was out of the pale of human society, and because the relations between the injured and the injurer no longer existed between him and his fellow-men.

Being recently included in a decree of accusation with Royou, the King's friend, he had concealed himself in the house of an obscure and indigent advocate, who had afforded him an asylum. Barbaroux was requested to call upon him. Barbaroux had cultivated the physical sciences, and had formerly been acquainted with Marat. He could not refuse to comply with this request, and conceived, when he heard him, that his mind was deranged. The French, according to this atrocious man, were but paltry revolutionists. "Give me," said he, "two hundred Neapolitans, armed with daggers, and bearing on the left arm a muff, by way of buckler; with them I will traverse France and produce a revolution." He proposed that in order to mark the aristocrats, the Assembly should order them to wear a white ribbon on the arm, and that it should be lawful to kill them when three were found together. Under the name of aristocrats he

included the royalists, the Feuillans, and the Girondins; and when by chance the difficulty of recognizing and distinguishing them was mentioned, he declared that it was impossible to mistake; that it was only necessary to fall upon those who had carriages, servants, silk clothes, and who were coming out of the theatres. All such were assuredly aristocrats.

Barbaroux left him horror-struck. Marat, full of his atrocious system, concerned himself but little about the means of insurrection, and was, moreover, incapable of preparing them. In his murderous reveries he feasted himself on the idea of retiring to Marseilles. The republican enthusiasm of that city led him to hope that there he should be better understood and more cordially received. He had thoughts, therefore, of seeking refuge there, and begged Barbaroux to send him thither with his recommendation. But the latter, having no desire to make such a present to his native city, left that insensate wretch, whose apotheosis he was then far from foreseeing, where he found him.

The systematic and bloodthirsty Marat was not therefore the active chief who could have united these scattered and confusedly fermenting masses. Robespierre would have been more capable of doing so, because he had gained at the Jacobins a patronizing circle of auditors, usually more active than a patronizing circle of readers. But neither did he possess the requisite qualities. Robespierre, an advocate of little repute at Arras, had been sent by that city as its deputy to the States-general. There he had connected himself with Petion and Buzot, and maintained with bitterness the opinions which they defended with a deep and calm conviction. At first he appeared ridiculous, from the heaviness of his delivery and the mediocrity of his eloquence; but his obstinacy gained him some attention, especially at the epoch of the revision. When it was rumoured, after the scene in the Champ de Mars, that the persons who had signed the petition of the Jacobins were to be prosecuted, his terror and his youth excited the pity of Buzot and Roland. An asylum was offered to him; but he soon recovered from his alarm; and the Assembly having broken up, he entrenched himself at the Jacobins, where he continued his dogmatic and inflated harangues. Being elected public accuser, Robespierre refused that new office, and thought only how to acquire the double reputation of an incorruptible patriot and an eloquent speaker.*

* *See* Appendix DDDD.

His first friends, Petion, Buzot, Brissot, and Roland, admitted him to their houses, and observed with pain his mortified pride, which was betrayed by his looks and by his every motion. They felt an interest for him, and regretted that, thinking so much of the public welfare, he should also think so much of himself. He was, however, a person of too little importance for people to be angry with him for his pride; and it was forgiven on account of his mediocrity and his zeal. It was particularly remarked, that silent in all companies, and rarely expressing his sentiments, he was the first on the following day to retail in the tribune the ideas of others which he had thus collected. This observation was mentioned to him, but unaccompanied with any reproach; and he soon began to detest this society of superior men, as he had detested that of his constituents. He then betook himself entirely to the Jacobins, where, as we have seen, he differed in opinion from Brissot* and Louvet on the question of war, and called them, nay, perhaps believed them to be, bad citizens, because their sentiments did not coincide with his, and they supported their opinions with eloquence. Was he sincere when he immediately suspected those who had opposed him, or did he slander them wilfully? These are the mysteries of minds. But with a narrow and common intellect, and with extreme susceptibility, it was easy to give him unfavourable impressions, and difficult to correct them. It is therefore not impossible that a hatred from pride may have changed in him to a hatred from principle, and that he soon believed all those to be wicked who had offended him.

Be this as it may, in the lower sphere in which he moved he excited enthusiasm by his dogmatism and by his reputation for incorruptibility. He thus founded his popularity upon blind passions and moderate understandings. Austerity and cold dogmatism captivate ardent characters, nay, often superior minds. There were actually men who were disposed to discover in Robespierre real energy and talents superior to those which he possessed. Camille Desmoulins called him his Aristides, and thought him eloquent.

Others, without talents, but subdued by his pedantry, went about repeating that he was the man who ought to be put at the head of the Revolution, and that without such a dictator it could not go on. For his part, winking at all these assertions of his partisans, he never attended any of the secret meetings of the conspirators. He complained even

* *See* Appendix EEEE.

of being compromized, because one of them, dwelling in the same house as himself, had occasionally brought thither the insurrectional committee. He kept himself, therefore, in the background, leaving the business of acting to his panegyrists, Panis, Sergent, Osselin, and other members of the sections and of the municipal councils.

Marat, who was looking for a dictator, wished to ascertain if Robespierre was fit for the office. The neglected and cynical person of Marat formed a striking contrast to that of Robespierre, who was particularly attentive to external appearance. In the retirement of an elegant cabinet, where his image was repeated in all possible ways, in painting, in engraving, and in sculpture, he devoted himself to assiduous study, and was continually reading Rousseau, in order to glean ideas for his speeches. Marat saw him, found in him nothing but petty animosities, no great system, none of that sanguinary audacity which he himself derived from his monstrous convictions—in short, no genius. He departed, filled with contempt for this *little man*, declared him incapable of saving the State, and became more firmly persuaded than ever that he alone possessed the grand social system.

The partisans of Robespierre surrounded Barbaroux, and wished to conduct the latter to him, saying that *a man* was wanted, and that Robespierre alone could be that man. This language displeased Barbaroux, whose bold spirit could not brook the idea of a dictatorship, and whose ardent imagination was already seduced by the virtue of Roland and the talents of his friends. He called, nevertheless, on Robespierre. They talked during the interview of Petion, whose popularity threw Robespierre into the shade, and who, it was alleged, was incapable of serving the Revolution. Barbaroux replied with warmth to the reproaches urged against Petion, and as warmly defended a character which he admired. Robespierre talked of the Revolution, and repeated, according to his custom, that he had accelerated its march. He concluded, as everybody else did, by saying that a leader was wanted. Barbaroux replied that he wanted neither dictator nor king. Freron observed that Brissot was desirous of being dictator. Thus reproaches were bandied from one to the other, and they could not agree. As they went away, Panis, wishing to counteract the bad effect of this interview, said to Barbaroux, that he had mistaken the matter, that it was but a momentary authority that was contemplated, and that Robespierre was the only man on whom it could be conferred. It was these vague expressions, these petty rivalries, which falsely persuaded the

Girondins that Robespierre designed to act the usurper. An ardent jealousy was mistaken in him for ambition. But it was one of those errors which the confused vision of parties is continually committing. Robespierre, capable at the utmost of hating merit, had neither the strength nor the genius of ambition, and his partisans raised pretensions for him which he himself would not have dared to conceive.

Danton was more capable than any other of being the leader whom all ardent imaginations desired for the purpose of giving unity to the revolutionary movements. He had formerly tried the bar, but without success. Poor and consumed by passions, he then rushed into the political commotions with ardour, and probably with hopes. He was ignorant, but endowed with a superior understanding and a vast imagination. His athletic figure, his flat and somewhat African features, his thundering voice, his eccentric but grand images, captivated his auditors at the Cordeliers and the Sections. His face expressed by turns the brutal passions, jollity, and even good-nature. Danton neither envied nor hated anybody; but his audacity was extraordinary; and in certain moments of excitement he was capable of executing all that the atrocious mind of Marat was capable of conceiving.

A revolution, the unforeseen but inevitable effect of which had been to set the lower against the upper classes of society, could not fail to awaken envy, to give birth to new systems, and to let loose the brutal passions. Robespierre was the envious man, Marat the systematic man, and Danton the impassioned, violent, fickle, and by turns cruel and generous man. If the two former, engrossed, the one by a consuming envy, the other by mischievous systems, could not have many of those wants which render men accessible to corruption, Danton, on the contrary, the slave of his passions, and greedy of pleasure, must have been nothing less than incorruptible. Under pretext of compensating him for the loss of his former place of advocate to the council, the Court gave him considerable sums. But though it contrived to pay, it could not gain him.* He continued, nevertheless, to harangue and to excite

* "I never saw any countenance that so strongly expressed the violence of brutal passions, and the most astonishing audacity, half-disguised by a jovial air, an affectation of frankness, and a sort of simplicity, as Danton's. In 1789 he was a needy lawyer, more burdened with debts than causes. He went to Belgium to augment his resources, and after the 10th of August had the hardihood to avow a fortune of £158,333, and to wallow in luxury while preaching sans-culottism, and sleeping on heaps of slaughtered men."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.*

"Danton was an exterminator without ferocity; inexorable with regard to the

the mob of the clubs against it. When he was reproached with not fulfilling his bargain, he replied, that in order to retain the means of serving the Court, he was obliged in appearance to treat it as an enemy.

Danton was therefore the most formidable leader of those bands which were won and guided by public oratory. But audacious and fond of hurrying forward to the decisive moment, he was not capable of that assiduous toil which the thirst of rule requires; and though he possessed great influence over the conspirators, he did not yet govern them. He was merely capable, when they hesitated, of rousing their courage, and propelling them to the goal by a decisive plan of operation.

The different members of the insurrectional committee had not yet been able to agree. The Court, apprized of their slightest movements, took, on its part, some measures for screening itself against a sudden attack, so that it might be enabled to await in safety the arrival of the coalesced powers. It had formed a club, called the French club, which met near the palace, and was composed of artisans and soldiers of the national guard. They had all their arms concealed in the very building in which they assembled; and they could, in case of emergency, hasten to the aid of the royal family. This single association cost the civil list ten thousand francs per day. A Marseillais, named Lieutaud, kept, moreover, in pay a band which alternately occupied the tribunes, the public places, the coffee-houses, and the public-houses, for the purpose of speaking in favour of the King, and opposing the continual tumults of the patriots.* Quarrels occurred, in fact, everywhere, and from words the parties almost always came to blows; but in spite of all the efforts of the Court, its adherents were thinly scattered, and that portion of the national guard which was attached to it was reduced to the lowest state of discouragement.

A great number of faithful servants, who had till then been at a distance from the throne, had come forward to defend the King, and to make a rampart for him with their bodies. Their meetings at the palace were numerous, and they increased the public distrust. After the scene in February 1790 they were called knights of the dagger. Letters had been delivered for the purpose of calling secretly together the constitutional

mass, but humane and even generous towards individuals. At the time when the commune was meditating the massacres of September, he saved all who came to him; and of his own accord discharged from prison Duport, Barnave, and Charles Lameth, who were in some measure his personal antagonists."—*Mignet.*

* *See* Bertrand de Molleville, tomes viii. and ix.

guard, which, though disbanded, had always received its pay. During this time conflicting opinions were maintained around the King, which produced the most painful perplexities in his weak and naturally wavering mind. Some intelligent friends, among others, Malesherbes,* advised him to abdicate. Others, and these constituted the majority, recommended flight. For the rest, they were far from agreeing either upon the means, or the place, or the result of the invasion. In order to reconcile these different plans, the King desired Bertrand de Molleville to see and to arrange matters with Duport, the constituent. The King had great confidence in the latter, and he was obliged to give a positive order to Bertrand, who alleged that he disliked to have any communication with a constitutionalist such as Duport.† To this committee belonged also Lally-Tollendal, Mallouet, Clermont-Tonnerre, Gouvernet, and others, all devoted to Louis XVI., but otherwise differing widely as to the part which royalty ought to be made to act, if they could contrive to save it.

The flight of the King and his retreat to the castle of Gaillon, in Normandy, were then resolved upon. The Duc de Liancourt, a friend of the King, and possessing his unlimited confidence, commanded that province. He answered for his troops and for the inhabitants of Rouen, who had in an energetic address declared themselves against the 20th of June. He offered to receive the royal family, and to conduct it to Gaillon, or to consign it to Lafayette, who would convey it into the midst of his army. He offered, moreover, his whole fortune for the purpose of seconding this project, asking permission to reserve for his children merely an annuity of one hundred louis. This plan was liked by the constitutional members of the committee, because, instead of placing the King in the hands of the emigrants, it put him under the care of the Duc de Liancourt and Lafayette. For the same reason it displeased others, and was likely to displease the Queen and the King. Still, the castle of Gaillon possessed the important advantage of being only thirty-six leagues from the sea, and of offering an easy flight to England through Nor-

* *See* Bertrand de Molleville, tomes viii. and ix.

† "Bertrand de Molleville, a stanch royalist, was first controller of Bretagne, and afterwards minister of marine, to which post he was appointed in 1791. After the events of the 10th of August he was imprisoned by the Jacobins, but succeeded in making his escape to London, where he published a voluminous history of the Revolution, which met with great success. He did not return to Paris after the 18th of Brumaire (1799), but followed the fortunes of the Bourbons."—*Biographie Moderne.*

mandy, a favourably disposed province. It had also another, namely, that of being only twenty leagues from Paris. The King could therefore repair thither without violating the constitutional law; and this had great weight with him, for he was extremely tenacious of not committing any open infringement of it.

M. de Narbonne and Necker's daughter, Madame de Staël,* likewise devised a plan of flight. The emigrants, on their part, proposed another. This was to carry the King to Compiègne, and thence to the banks of the Rhine, through the forest of the Ardennes. Every one is eager to offer advice to a weak king, because every one aspires to impart to him a will which he has not. So many contrary suggestions added to the natural indecision of Louis XVI., and this unfortunate Prince, beset by conflicting counsels, struck by the reason of some, hurried away by the passion of others, tortured by apprehensions concerning the fate of his family, and disturbed by scruples of conscience, wavered between a thousand projects, and beheld the popular flood approaching without daring either to flee from or to confront it.†

The Girondin deputies, who had so boldly broached the question of the forfeiture of the crown, continued, nevertheless, undecided on the eve of an insurrection; and though the Court was almost disarmed, and the supreme power was on the side of the people, still the approach of the Prussians, and the dread always excited by an old authority even after it is disarmed, persuaded them that it would be better to come to terms with the Court than to expose themselves to the chances of an attack. In case this attack should even prove successful, they feared lest the arrival of the Prussians, which was very near at hand, should destroy all the results of a victory over the palace, and cause a momentary success to be followed by terrible vengeance.

* "The Baroness de Staël-Holstein was the daughter of the well-known Necker. Her birth, her tastes, her principles, the reputation of her father, and above all, her conduct in the Revolution, brought her prominently before the world; and the political factions and the literary circles with which she has been connected have by turns disputed with each other for her fame. After the death of Robespierre she returned to Paris, and became an admirer of Bonaparte, with whom she afterwards quarrelled, and who banished her from France. She went to live at Coppet, where she received the last sighs of her father, and where she herself died. She published many works, the best of which is her novel of 'Corinne.' When in England, in 1812, she was much courted by the higher classes."—*Biographie Moderne.*

† *See* Appendix FFFF.

Notwithstanding, however, this disposition to treat, they opened no negotiations on the subject, and durst not venture to make the first overtures; but they listened to a man named Boze, painter to the King, and very intimate with Thierry, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. Boze, alarmed at the dangers which threatened the public weal, exhorted them to write what they thought proper in this extremity to save the King and liberty. They accordingly drew up a letter, which was signed by Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, and which began with these words: "You ask us, Sir, what is our opinion respecting the present situation of France." This exordium sufficiently proves that the explanation had been called for. It was no longer time, said the three deputies to Boze, for the King to deceive himself, and he would do so most egregiously if he did not perceive that his conduct was the cause of the general agitation, and of that violence of the clubs of which he was continually complaining. New protestations on his part would be useless, and appear derisory, for at the point to which things had come, decisive steps were absolutely necessary to give confidence to the people. Everybody, for instance, was persuaded that it was in the power of the King to keep the foreign armies away. He ought, therefore, to begin by making them draw back. He should then choose a patriotic ministry, dismiss Lafayette, who in the existing state of affairs could no longer serve him usefully, issue a law for the constitutional education of the young Dauphin, submit to the public accountability of the civil list, and solemnly declare that he would not accept any increase of power without the free consent of the nation. On these conditions, added the Girondins, it was to be hoped that the irritation would subside, and that in time and by perseverance in this system the King would recover the confidence which he had then entirely lost.

Assuredly the Girondins were very near the attainment of their aim, if a republic had been a system for which they had long and steadily conspired. And when so near this goal, would they have stopped short, and even have renounced it, to obtain the ministry for three of their friends? This was not likely, and it becomes evident that a republic was desired only from despair of the monarchy, that it never was a fixed plan, and that on the very eve of attaining it, those who are accused of having long paved the way to it would not sacrifice the public weal for its sake, but would have consented to a constitutional monarchy if it were accompanied with sufficient

safeguards. The care taken by the Girondins to demand the removal of the foreign troops plainly proves that they were wholly engrossed by the existing danger; and the attention which they paid to the education of the Dauphin affords as strong a proof that monarchy was not to them an insupportable prospect for the future.

It has been asserted that Brissot, on his part, had made offers to prevent the dethronement of the King, and that the payment of a very large sum was one of the conditions. This assertion is advanced by Bertrand de Molleville, who always dealt in calumny, for two reasons—malignity of heart, and falseness of mind. But he adduces no proof of it; and the known poverty of Brissot and his enthusiastic principles ought to answer for him. It is, to be sure, not impossible that the Court might have consigned money to the care of Brissot; but this would not prove that the money was either asked for or received by him. The circumstance already related respecting Petion, whom certain swindlers undertook to bribe for the Court—this circumstance, and many others of the same kind, sufficiently prove what credit ought to be attached to these charges of venality, so frequently and so easily hazarded. Besides, let matters stand as they will in regard to Brissot, the three deputies, Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, have not even been accused, and they were the only persons who signed the letter delivered to Boze.

The deeply wounded heart of the King was less capable than ever of listening to their prudent advice. Thierry handed him the letter, but he harshly pushed it back, and returned his two accustomed answers—that it was not he but the patriotic ministry who had provoked the war; and that as for the constitution, he adhered to it faithfully, whilst others were exerting all their efforts to destroy it.* These reasons were not the most just; for though he had not provoked the war, it was not the less his duty to carry it on with vigour; and as for his scrupulous fidelity to the letter of the law, the observance of that letter was of little consequence. It behoved him not to compromise the thing itself by calling in foreigners.

To the hopes entertained by the Girondins, that their counsels would be followed, must no doubt be attributed the moderation which they displayed when it was proposed to take up the question of the forfeiture of the crown—a question daily discussed in the clubs, among the groups out of doors, and in petitions. Whenever they came, in the name of the

* *See* Appendix GGGG.

commission of twelve, to speak of the danger of the country, and the means of preventing it, they were met by the cry of "Go back to the cause of the danger." "To the cause," repeated the tribunes. Vergniaud, Brissot, and the Girondins replied that they had their eyes upon the cause, and that in due time it should be unveiled; but for the moment it behoved them not to throw down a fresh apple of discord.

In consequence of an entertainment given to the federalists, the insurrectional committee resolved that its partisans should meet on the morning of the 26th of July, for the purpose of proceeding to the palace, and that they should march with the red flag, bearing this inscription: "*Those who fire upon the columns of the people shall instantly be put to death.*" The intention was to make the King prisoner, and to confine him at Vincennes. The national guard of Versailles had been requested to second this movement; but the application had been made so late, and there was so little concert with that corps, that its officers came on the very same morning to the mayor's residence at Paris, to inquire how they were to act. This secret was so ill kept that the Court was already apprized of it. All the royal family was stirring, and the palace was full of people. Petion, perceiving that the measures had not been judiciously taken, fearful of some treachery, and considering, moreover, that the Marseillais had not yet arrived, repaired in the utmost haste to the faubourg, to stop a movement which must have ruined the popular party if it had not succeeded.

The tumult in the faubourgs was tremendous. The tocsin had been ringing there all night. The rumour spread for the purpose of exciting the people was, that a quantity of arms had been collected in the palace, and they were urged to go and bring them away. Petion succeeded with great difficulty in restoring order, and Champion de Cicé, keeper of the seals, who also repaired to the spot, received several sabre strokes. At length the people consented to stay, and the insurrection was deferred.

The petty quarrels and wranglings which are the usual prelude to a definitive rupture continued without intermission. The King had caused the garden of the Tuileries to be closed ever since the 20th of June. The terrace of the Feuillans, leading to the Assembly, was alone open; and the sentries had directions not to suffer any person to pass from that terrace into the garden. D'Espréménil was there met conversing loudly with a deputy. He was hooted, pursued into the garden, and carried to the Palais Royal, where he

received several wounds. The prohibition to penetrate into the garden having been violated, a motion was made for supplying its place by a decree. The decree, however, was not passed. It was merely proposed to set up a board with the words, "*It is forbidden to trespass on these grounds.*" The board was accordingly erected, and it was sufficient to prevent the people from setting foot in the garden though the King had caused the sentries to be removed. Thus courtesy ceased to be any longer observed. A letter from Nancy, for instance, reported several civic traits which had occurred in that city. The Assembly immediately sent a copy of it to the King.

At length, on the 30th of July, the Marseillais arrived. They were five hundred in number, and their ranks comprised all the most fiery spirits that the South could produce, and all the most turbulent characters that commerce brought to the port of Marseilles. Barbaroux went to Charenton to meet them. On this occasion a new scheme was concerted with Santerre. It was proposed, upon pretext of going to meet the Marseillais, to collect the people of the faubourgs, and afterwards to repair in good order to the Carrousel, and there encamp without tumult until the Assembly had suspended the King, or till he had abdicated of his own accord.

This project pleased the philanthropists of the party, who would fain have terminated the Revolution without bloodshed. It failed, however, because Santerre did not succeed in assembling the faubourgs, and could lead only a small number of men to meet the Marseillais. Santerre immediately offered them a repast, which was served up in the Champs Elysées. On the same day, and at the same moment, a party of the national guards of the battalion of the Filles St. Thomas, and of other persons, clerks or military men, wholly devoted to the Court, were dining near the spot where the Marseillais were being entertained. Most assuredly this dinner had not been prepared with the intention of disturbing that of the Marseillais, since the offer made to the latter was unexpected, for, instead of an entertainment, it was an insurrection that had been contemplated. It was nevertheless impossible for neighbours so adverse to finish their repast quietly. The populace insulted the royalists, who put themselves upon the defensive. The patriots, summoned to the aid of the populace, hastened with ardour to the place, and a battle ensued. It was not long, for the Marseillais, rushing upon their adversaries, put them to flight, killing one, and wound-

ing several others. In a moment all Paris was in commotion. The federalists paraded the streets, and tore off the cockades of ribbon, saying that they ought to be made of woollen.

Some of the fugitives arrived, covered with blood, at the Tuileries, where they were kindly received, and attentions were paid to them, which were perfectly natural, since they were regarded as friends who had suffered for their attachment. The national guards on duty at the palace related these particulars, perhaps added to them, and this furnished occasion for fresh reports, and fresh animosity against the royal family and the ladies of the Court, who, it was said, had wiped off the perspiration and the blood of the wounded. It was even concluded that the scene had been prepared, and this was the motive for a new accusation against the Court.

The national guard of Paris immediately petitioned for the removal of the Marseillais; but it was hooted by the tribunes, and its petition proved unsuccessful.

Amidst these proceedings, a paper attributed to the Prince of Brunswick, and soon ascertained to be authentic, was circulated. We have already adverted to the mission of Mallet du Pan. He had furnished, in the name of the King, the idea and model of a manifesto; but this idea was soon distorted. Another manifesto, inspired by the passions of Coblentz, was signed with the name of Brunswick, and distributed in advance of the Prussian army. This paper was couched in the following terms:—

"Their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies assembled by their orders on the frontiers of France, I am desirous to acquaint the inhabitants of that kingdom with the motives which have determined the measures of the two sovereigns, and the intentions by which they are guided.

"After having arbitrarily suppressed the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; deranged and overthrown good order and the legitimate government in the interior; committed against the sacred person of the King, and his august family, outrages and attacks of violence which are still continued and renewed from day to day; those who have usurped the reins of the administration have at length filled up the measure by causing an unjust war to be declared against his Majesty the Emperor, and attacking his provinces situated in the Netherlands: some of the possessions of the Germanic empire have been involved in this oppression, and

several others have escaped the same danger solely by yielding to the imperative menaces of the predominant party and its emissaries.

"His Majesty the King of Prussia, united with his imperial Majesty by the bonds of a close and defensive alliance, and himself a preponderating member of the Germanic body, has therefore not been able to forbear marching to the aid of his ally and his co-States; and it is in this twofold relation that he takes upon himself the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

"With these great interests an object equally important is joined, and which the two sovereigns have deeply at heart, namely, to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to stop the attacks directed against the throne and the altar, to re-establish the legal power, to restore to the King the security and liberty of which he is deprived, and to place him in a condition to exercise the legitimate authority which is his due.

"Convinced that the sound part of the French nation abhors the excesses of a faction which domineers over it, and that the majority of the inhabitants await with impatience the moment of succour, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors, his Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, call upon and invite them to return without delay to the ways of reason and justice, of order and peace. Agreeably to these views, I, the undersigned, commander-in-chief of the two armies, declare—

"1. That the two allied Courts, forced into the present war by irresistible circumstances, propose to themselves no other aim than the happiness of France, without pretending to enrich themselves by conquests;

"2. That they intend not to interfere in the internal government of France, but are solely desirous to deliver the King, the Queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to procure for his most Christian Majesty the safety necessary to enable him to make without danger, without impediment, such convocations as he shall think proper, and labour to ensure the happiness of his subjects, agreeably to his promises and in as far as it shall depend upon him;

"3. That the combined armies will protect the cities, towns, and villages, and the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King, and that they will concur in the instantaneous re-establishment of order and police throughout France;

"4. That the national guards are summoned to watch *ad*

interim over the tranquillity of the towns and of the country, and over the safety of the persons and property of all the French, till the arrival of the troops of their imperial and royal Majesties, or till it shall be otherwise ordained, upon penalty of being held personally responsible; that, on the contrary, such of the national guards as shall have fought against the troops of the two allied Courts, and who shall be taken in arms, shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace;

"5. That the generals, officers, subalterns, and soldiers of the French troops of the line, are in like manner summoned to return to their ancient fidelity, and to submit forthwith to the King, their legitimate sovereign;

"6. That the members of the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall, in like manner, be responsible with their lives and property for all misdemeanours, fires, murders, pillage, and acts of violence which they shall suffer to be committed, or which they shall notoriously not strive to prevent, in their territory; and they shall, in like manner, be required to continue their functions *ad interim* till his most Christian Majesty, restored to full liberty, shall have made ulterior provisions, or till it shall have been otherwise ordained in his name in the meantime;

"7. That the inhabitants of the cities, towns, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open field, or from the windows, doors, and apertures of their houses, shall be instantly punished with all the rigour of the law of war, and their houses demolished or burned. All the inhabitants, on the contrary, of the said cities, towns, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King by opening the gates to the troops of their Majesties, shall be from that moment under their immediate safeguard. Their persons, their property, their effects, shall be under the protection of the laws; and provision shall be made for the general safety of all and each of them.

"8. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction are required to submit immediately and without delay to the King, to set that Prince at full and entire liberty, and to ensure to him, as well as to all the royal personages, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and nations renders obligatory on subjects towards their sovereigns; their imperial and royal Majesties holding personally responsible with their lives for all that may happen, to be tried militarily, and without hope of pardon, all the members of the National

Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard of Paris, the justices of the peace, and all others whom it shall concern; their said Majesties declaring, moreover, on their faith and word, as Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Tuileries is forced or insulted, that if the least violence, the least outrage, is offered to their Majesties the King and Queen, and to the royal family, if immediate provision is not made for their safety, their preservation, and their liberty, they will take an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance by giving up the city of Paris to military execution and total destruction, and the rebels guilty of outrages, to the punishments which they shall have deserved. Their imperial and royal Majesties, on the other hand, promise the inhabitants of the city of Paris to employ their good offices with his most Christian Majesty to obtain pardon of their faults and misdeeds, and to take the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, if they promptly and strictly obey the above injunctions.

"Lastly, their Majesties, unable to recognize as laws in France any but those which shall emanate from the King, enjoying perfect liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all the declarations which may be made in the name of his most Christian Majesty, so long as his sacred person, that of the Queen, and of the whole royal family, shall not be really in safety; to the effect of which their imperial and royal Majesties invite and solicit his most Christian Majesty to name the city of his kingdom nearest to its frontiers, to which he shall think fit to retire with the Queen and his family, under a good and safe escort, which shall be sent to him for this purpose, in order that his most Christian Majesty may be enabled in complete safety to call around him such ministers and councillors as he shall please to appoint, make such convocations as shall to him appear fitting, provide for the re-establishment of good order, and regulate the administration of his kingdom.

"Finally, I again declare and promise in my own private name, and in my aforesaid quality, to make the troops placed under my command observe good and strict discipline, engaging to treat with kindness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall show themselves peaceful and submissive, and not to employ force unless against such as shall be guilty of resistance or hostility.

"For these reasons I require and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the strongest and the most earnest manner, not to oppose the march and the operations of the troops

which I command, but rather to grant them everywhere free entrance and all goodwill, aid, and assistance that circumstances may require.

(Signed) "CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg.

"Given at the headquarters at Coblentz, the 25th of July 1792."

What appeared surprising in this declaration was that dated on the 25th of July, at Coblentz, it should be in Paris on the 28th, and be printed in all the royalist newspapers. It produced an extraordinary effect.* Promises poured in from all quarters to resist an enemy whose language was so haughty and whose threats were so terrible. In the existing state of minds it was natural that the King and the Court should be accused of this new fault. Louis XVI. lost no time in disavowing the manifesto by a message, and he could no doubt do so with the utmost sincerity, since this paper was so different from the model which he had proposed; but he must already have seen from this example how far his intentions would be exceeded by his party, should that party ever be victorious. Neither his disavowal, nor the expressions with which it was accompanied, could satisfy the Assembly. Adverting to the people, whose happiness had always been so dear to him, he added, "How many sorrows might be dispelled by the slightest mark of its return to loyalty!"

These impressive words no longer excited the enthusiasm which they had in times past the gift of producing. They were regarded as the language of deceit, and many of the deputies voted for their being printed, in order, as they said, to render public the contrast which existed between the words and the conduct of the King. From that moment the agitation continued to increase, and circumstances became more and more aggravated. Intelligence was received of a resolution (*arrêté*) by which the department of the Bouches du Rhône withheld the taxes for the purpose of paying the troops which it had sent against the forces of Savoy, and charged the measures taken by the Assembly with insufficiency. This was the effect of the instigations of Barbaroux.

* "Had this manifesto been couched in more moderate language, and followed up by a rapid and energetic military movement, it might have had the desired effect; but coming, as it did, in a moment of extreme public excitation, and enforced, as it was, by the most feeble and inefficient military measures, it contributed in a signal manner to accelerate the march of the Revolution, and was the immediate cause of the downfall of the throne."—*Alison.*

The resolution was annulled by the Assembly, but its execution could not be prevented. It was rumoured at the same time that the Sardinians who were advancing amounted to fifty thousand. The minister for foreign affairs was obliged to repair in person to the Assembly, to assure it that the troops collected did not exceed at the utmost eleven or twelve thousand men. This report was followed by another. It was asserted that the small number of federalists who had at that time proceeded to Soissons had been poisoned with glass mixed up with the bread. It was even affirmed that one hundred and sixty were already dead, and eight hundred ill. Inquiries were made, and it was ascertained that the flour was kept in a church, the windows of which had been broken, and a few bits of glass had been found in the bread. There was, however, not one person either dead or ill.

On the 25th of July a decree had rendered all the sections of Paris permanent. They had met, and had directed Petion to propose in their name the dethronement of Louis XVI. On the morning of the 3rd of August the mayor of Paris, emboldened by this commission, appeared before the Assembly to present a petition in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris. He reviewed the conduct of Louis XVI. ever since the commencement of the Revolution; he recapitulated, in the language of the time, the benefits conferred by the nation on the King, and the return which the King had made for them. He expatiated on the dangers by which all minds were struck, the arrival of the foreign armies, the total inadequacy of the means of defence, the revolt of a general against the Assembly, the opposition of a great number of the departmental directories, and the terrible and absurd threats issued in the name of Brunswick. In consequence he concluded by proposing the dethronement of the King, and prayed the Assembly to insert that important question in the order of the day.

This important proposition, which had as yet been made only by clubs, federalists, and communes, assumed a very different character on being presented in the name of Paris, and by its mayor. It was received rather with astonishment than favour in the morning sitting. But in the evening the discussion commenced, and the ardour of one part of the Assembly was displayed without reserve.* Some were for

* "The question of abdication was discussed with a degree of frenzy. Such of the deputies as opposed the motion were abused, ill-treated, and surrounded by assassins. They had a battle to fight at every step they took; and at length they did not dare to sleep in their houses."—*Montjoie.*

taking up the question forthwith, others for deferring it. It was, however, adjourned till Thursday the 9th of August, and the Assembly continued to receive and to read petitions expressing, with still greater energy than that of the mayor, the same wish and the same sentiments.

The section of Mauconseil, more violent than the others, instead of merely demanding the King's dethronement, pronounced it of its own authority. It declared that it no longer acknowledged Louis XVI. as King of the French, and that it should soon come to ask the Legislative Body if it at length meant to save France. Moreover, it exhorted all the sections of the empire—for it avoided the use of the term kingdom—to follow its example.

The Assembly, as we have already seen, did not follow the insurrectional movement so promptly as the inferior authorities, because, being specially charged with the maintenance of the laws, it was obliged to pay them more respect. Thus it found itself frequently outstripped by the popular bodies, and saw the power slipping out of its hands. It therefore annulled the resolution of the section of Mauconseil. Vergniaud and Cambon employed the most severe expressions against that act, which they called a usurpation of the sovereignty of the people. It appears, however, that it was not so much the principle as the precipitation which they condemned in this resolution, and particularly the indecorous language applied in it to the Assembly.

A crisis was now approaching. On the same day a meeting was held of the insurrectional committee of the federalists, and of the King's friends, who were preparing for his flight. The committee deferred the insurrection till the day when the dethronement should be discussed, that is, till the evening of the 9th of August or the morning of the 10th. The King's friends, on their part, were deliberating respecting his flight in the garden of M. de Montmorin. MM. de Liancourt and de Lafayette renewed their offers. Everything was arranged for departure. Money, however, was wanting. Bertrand de Molleville had uselessly exhausted the civil list by paying royalist clubs, spouters in tribunes, speakers to groups, pretended bribers, who bribed nobody, but put the funds of the Court into their own pockets. The want of money was supplied by loans which generous persons eagerly offered to the King. The offers of M. de Liancourt have already been mentioned. He gave all the gold that he was able to procure. Others furnished as much as they possessed. Devoted friends prepared to accompany the carriage that was to

convey the royal family, and if it were necessary, to perish by its side.

Everything being arranged, the councillors who had met at the house of Montmorin decided upon the departure, after a conference which lasted a whole evening. The King, who saw them immediately afterwards, assented to this resolution, and ordered them to arrange with MM. de Montciel and de Sainte-Croix. Whatever might be the opinions of those who agreed to this enterprise, it was a great joy to them to believe for a moment in the approaching deliverance of the monarch.*

But the next day everything was changed. The King directed this answer to be given, that he should not leave Paris, because he would not begin a civil war. All those who, with very different sentiments, felt an equal degree of anxiety for him, were thunderstruck. They learned that the real motive was not that assigned by the King. The real one was, in the first place, the arrival of Brunswick, announced as very near at hand; in the next, the adjournment of the insurrection; and above all, the refusal of the Queen to trust the constitutionalists. She had energetically expressed her aversion, saying that it would be better to perish than to put themselves into the hands of those who had done them so much mischief.†

Thus all the efforts made by the constitutionalists, all the dangers to which they had exposed themselves, were useless. Lafayette had seriously committed himself. It was known that he had prevailed on Luckner to march in case of need to the capital. The latter, summoned before the Assembly, had confessed everything to the extraordinary committee of twelve. Old Luckner was weak and fickle. When he passed out of the hands of one party into those of another, he suffered the avowal of all that he had heard or said on the preceding day to be wrung from him, and afterwards alleged, in excuse of these confessions, that he was unacquainted with the French language, wept, and complained that he was surrounded by factious persons only. Guadet had the address to draw from him a confession of Lafayette's proposals, and Bureau de Puzy, accused of having been the intermediate agent, was summoned to the bar. He was one of the friends and officers of Lafayette. He denied everything with assurance, and in a tone which persuaded the committee that the negotiations of his general were unknown to him.

* *See* Appendix HHHH.

† See *Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 125.

The question whether Lafayette should be placed under accusation was adjourned.

The day fixed for the discussion of the dethronement approached. The plan of the insurrection was settled and known. The Marseillais, whose barracks were at the farthest extremity of Paris, had repaired to the section of the Cordeliers, where the club of that name was held. They were in the heart of Paris, and close to the scene of action. Two municipal officers had had the boldness to order cartridges to be distributed among the conspirators. In short, everything was ready for the 10th.

On the 8th the question concerning Lafayette was discussed. It was decided by a strong majority that there was not sufficient ground for an accusation. Some of the deputies, irritated at this acquittal, insisted on a division; and on this new trial, four hundred and forty-six members had the courage to vote in favour of the general against two hundred and eighty. The people, roused by this intelligence, collected about the door of the hall, insulted the deputies as they went out, and particularly maltreated those who were known to belong to the right side of the Assembly, such as Vaublanc, Girardin, Dumas, &c. From all quarters abuse was poured forth against the national representation, and the people loudly declared that there was no longer any safety with an Assembly which could absolve the *traitor* Lafayette.*

On the following day, August 9th, an extraordinary agitation prevailed among the deputies. Those who had been insulted the day before complained personally or by letter. When it was stated that M. Beaucaron had narrowly escaped being hanged, a barbarous peal of laughter burst from the tribunes; and when it was added that M. de Girardin had been struck, even those who knew how and where, ironically put the question to him. "What!" nobly replied M. de Girardin, "know you not that cowards never strike but behind one's back?" At length a member called for the order of the day. The Assembly, however, decided that Rœderer, the *procureur syndic* of the commune,† should be summoned to the bar, and enjoined, upon his personal responsibility, to provide for the safety and the inviolability of the members of the Assembly.

* "Lafayette was burnt in effigy by the Jacobins, in the gardens of the Tuileries."—*Prudhomme.*

† "P. L. Rœderer, deputy from the *tiers-état* of the bailiwick of Metz, embraced the cause of the Revolution. On the 10th of August he interested himself in the fate of the King, gave some orders for his safety, and at last advised him to repair to the Assembly, which completed the ruin of Louis, and compromized

It was proposed to send for the mayor of Paris, and to oblige him to declare, yes or no, whether he could answer for the public tranquillity. Guadet answered this proposition by another for summoning the King also, and obliging him in his turn to declare, yes or no, whether he could answer for the safety and inviolability of the territory.

Amidst these contrary suggestions, however, it was easy to perceive that the Assembly dreaded the decisive moment, and that the Girondins themselves would rather have brought about the dethronement by a deliberation than recur to a doubtful and murderous attack. During these proceedings Rœderer arrived, and stated that one section had determined to ring the tocsin, and to march upon the Assembly and the Tuileries, if the dethronement were not pronounced. Petion entered in his turn. He did not speak out in a positive manner, but admitted the existence of sinister projects. He enumerated the precautions taken to prevent the threatened commotions, and promised to confer with the department, and to adopt its measures if they appeared to him better than those of the municipality.

Petion, as well as all his Girondin friends, preferred a declaration of dethronement by the Assembly to an uncertain combat with the palace. Being almost sure of a majority for the dethronement, he would fain have put a stop to the plans of the insurrectional committee. He repaired, therefore, to the committee of *surveillance* of the Jacobins, and begged Chabot to suspend the insurrection, telling him that the Girondins had resolved upon the dethronement and the immediate convocation of a national convention; that they were sure of a majority; and that it was wrong to run the risk of an attack, the result of which was doubtful. Chabot replied that nothing was to be hoped for from an assembly which had absolved the *scoundrel* Lafayette; that he, Petion, allowed himself to be deceived by his friends; that the people had at length resolved to save themselves; and that the tocsin would be rung that very evening in the faubourgs. "Will you always be wrong-headed, then?" replied Petion. "Woe betide us if there is a rising! . . . I know your influence, but I have influence too, and will employ it against you." "You shall be arrested and prevented from acting," rejoined Chabot.

Rœderer. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he devoted himself to editing the Journal of Paris; and in conjunction with Volney, Talleyrand, and others, helped to bring on the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire 1799. He was an able journalist, temperate in his principles, and concise and vigorous in his style."—*Biographie Moderne.*

People's minds were in fact too highly excited for the fears of Petion to be understood, and for him to be able to exercise his influence. A general agitation pervaded Paris. The drum beat the call in all quarters. The battalions of the national guard assembled and repaired to their posts with very discordant dispositions. The sections were filled, not with the greater number, but with the most ardent of the citizens. The insurrectional committee had formed at three points. Fournier and some others were in the Faubourg St. Marceau; Santerre and Westermann occupied the Faubourg St. Antoine; lastly, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Carra were at the Cordeliers with the Marseilles battalion. Barbaroux, after stationing scouts at the Assembly and the palace, had provided couriers ready to start for the South. He had also provided himself with a dose of poison, such was the uncertainty of success, and awaited at the Cordeliers the result of the insurrection. It is not known where Robespierre was. Danton had concealed Marat in a cellar belonging to the section, and had then taken possession of the tribune of the Cordeliers. Every one hesitated, as on the eve of a great revolution; but Danton, with a daring proportionate to the importance of the event, raised his thundering voice. He enumerated what he called the crimes of the Court. He expatiated on the hatred of the latter to the constitution, its deceitful language, its hypocritical promises, always belied by its conduct, and lastly, its evident machinations for bringing in foreigners. "The people," said he, "can now have recourse but to themselves, for the constitution is insufficient, and the Assembly has absolved Lafayette. You have, therefore, none left to save you but yourselves. Lose no time, then; for this very night satellites concealed in the palace are to sally forth upon the people and to slaughter them, before they leave Paris to repair to Coblentz. Save yourselves, then! To arms! to arms!"

At this moment a musket was fired in the Cour du Commerce. The cry *To arms!* soon became general, and the insurrection was proclaimed. It was then half-past eleven. The Marseillais formed before the door of the Cordeliers, seized some pieces of cannon, and were soon reinforced by a numerous concourse, which ranged itself by their side. Camille Desmoulins and others ran out to order the tocsin to be rung; but they did not find the same ardour in the different sections. They strove to rouse their zeal. The sections soon assembled, and appointed commissioners to repair to the Hôtel de Ville, for the purpose of superseding the municipality,

and taking all the authority into their own hands. Lastly, they ran to the bells, made themselves masters of them by main force, and the tocsin began to ring. This dismal sound pervaded the whole extent of the capital. It was wafted from street to street, from building to building. It called the deputies, the magistrates, the citizens to their posts. At length it reached the palace, proclaiming that the terrible night was come; that fatal night, that night of agitation and blood, destined to be the last which the monarch should pass in the palace of his ancestors.*

Emissaries of the Court came to apprize it that the moment of the catastrophe was at hand. They reported the expression used by the president of the Cordeliers, who had told his people that this was not to be, as on the 20th of June, a mere civic promenade; meaning that if the 20th of June had been the threat, the 10th of August was the decisive stroke. On that point, in fact, there was no longer room for doubt. The King, the Queen, their two children, and their sister, Madame Elizabeth, had not retired to bed, but had gone after supper into the council-chamber, where all the ministers and a great number of superior officers were deliberating, in dismay, on the means of saving the royal family. The means of resistance were feeble, and had been almost annihilated, either by decrees of the Assembly, or by the false measures of the Court itself.

The constitutional guard, dissolved by a decree of the Assembly, had not been replaced by the King, who had chosen rather to continue its pay to it than to form a new one. The force of the palace was thus diminished by eighteen hundred men.

The regiments whose disposition had appeared favourable to the King at the time of the last Federation had been removed from Paris by the accustomed expedient of decrees.

The Swiss could not be removed, owing to their capitulations, but their artillery had been taken from them; and the Court, when it had for a moment decided upon flight to Normandy, had sent thither one of those faithful battalions, upon pretext of guarding supplies of corn that were expected.

* "At midnight a cannon was fired, the tocsin sounded, and the *générale* beat to arms in every quarter of Paris. The survivors of the bloody catastrophe which was about to commence have portrayed in the strongest colours the horrors of that awful night, when the oldest monarchy in Europe tottered to its fall. The incessant clang of the tocsin, the roll of the drums, the rattling of artillery and ammunition waggons along the streets, the cries of the insurgents, the march of the columns, rung in their ears for long after, even in the moments of festivity and rejoicing."—*Alison.*

This battalion had not yet been recalled. Some Swiss only, in barracks at Courbevoie, had been authorized by Petion to come back, and they amounted altogether to no more than eight or nine hundred men.

The gendarmerie had recently been composed of the old soldiers of the French guards, the authors of the 14th of July.

Lastly, the national guard had neither the same officers, nor the same organization, nor the same attachment, as on the 6th of October 1789. The staff, as we have seen, had been reconstituted. A great number of citizens had become disgusted with the service, and those who had not deserted their post were intimidated by the fury of the populace. Thus the national guard was, like all the bodies of the State, composed of a new revolutionary generation. It was divided, with the whole of France, into constitutionalists and republicans. The whole battalion of the Filles St. Thomas, and part of that of the Petits Pères, were attached to the King. The others were either indifferent or hostile. The gunners in particular, who composed the principal strength, were decided republicans. The fatigues incident to the duty of the latter had deterred the wealthy citizens from undertaking it. Locksmiths and blacksmiths were thus left in possession of the guns, and almost all of them, belonging to the populace, partook of its dispositions.

Thus the King had left him about eight or nine hundred Swiss, and rather more than one battalion of the national guard.

It will be recollected that the command of the national guard after Lafayette's removal had been transferred to six commanders of legions in rotation. It had fallen on that day to the commandant Mandat, an old officer, displeasing to the Court for his constitutional opinions, but possessing its entire confidence from his firmness, his intelligence, and his attachment to his duties. Mandat, general-in-chief on that fatal night, had hastily made the only possible dispositions.

The floor of the great gallery leading from the Louvre to the Tuileries had already been cut away for a certain space, to prevent the passage of the assailants. Mandat in consequence took no precautions for protecting that wing, but directed his attention to the side next to the courts and the garden. Notwithstanding the signal by drum, few of the national guards had assembled. The battalions remained incomplete. The most zealous of them proceeded singly to the palace, where Mandat had formed them into regiments, and

posted them, conjointly with the Swiss, in the courts, the garden, and the apartments. He had placed one piece of cannon in the court of the Swiss, three in the central court, and three in that of the princes.

These guns were unfortunately consigned to gunners of the national guard, so that the enemy was actually in the fortress. But the Swiss, full of zeal and loyalty, watched them narrowly, ready at the first movement to make themselves masters of their guns, and to drive them out of the precincts of the palace.

Mandat had, moreover, placed some advanced posts of gendarmerie at the colonnade of the Louvre and the Hôtel de Ville; but this gendarmerie, as we have already shown, was composed of old French guards.

To these defenders of the palace must be added a great number of old servants, whose age or whose moderation had prevented them from emigrating, and who in the moment of danger had come forward, some to absolve themselves for not having gone to Coblentz, others to die generously by the side of their Prince. They had hastily provided themselves with all the weapons that they could procure in the palace. They were armed with swords, and pistols fastened to their waists by pocket-handkerchiefs. Some had even taken tongs and shovels from the fire-places.* Thus there was no want of jokes at this awful moment, when the Court ought to have been serious at least for once. This concourse of useless persons, instead of rendering it any service, merely obstructed the national guard, which could not reckon upon it, and tended only to increase the confusion, which was already too great.

All the members of the departmental directory had repaired to the palace. The virtuous Duc de la Rochefoucauld was there. Rœderer, the *procureur syndic*, was there too. Petion was sent for, and he repaired thither with two municipal officers. Petion was urged to sign an order for repelling force by force, and he did sign it, that he might not appear to be an accomplice of the insurgents. Considerable joy was felt in having him at the palace, and in holding in his person an hostage so dear to the people. The Assembly, apprized of this intention, summoned him to the bar by a decree. The King, who was advised to detain him, refused to do so, and he therefore left the Tuileries without impediment.

* "M. de St. Souplet, one of the King's equerries, and a page, instead of muskets, carried upon their shoulders the tongs belonging to the King's antechamber, which they had broken, and divided between them."—*Madame Campan.*

The order to repel force by force once obtained, various opinions were expressed relative to the manner of using it. In this state of excitement more than one silly project must necessarily have presented itself. There was one sufficiently bold, and which might probably have succeeded: this was to prevent the attack by dispersing the insurgents, who were not yet very numerous, and who, with the Marseillais, formed at most a few thousand men. At this moment, in fact, the Faubourg St. Marceau was not yet formed; Santerre hesitated in the Faubourg St. Antoine; Danton alone and the Marseillais had ventured to form at the Cordeliers, and they were waiting with impatience at the Pont St. Michel for the arrival of the other assailants.

A vigorous sally might have dispersed them, and at this moment of hesitation a movement of terror would infallibly have prevented the insurrection. Another course, more safe and legal, was that proposed by Mandat, namely, to await the march of the faubourgs; but as soon as they should be in motion, to attack them at two decisive points. He suggested, in the first place, that when one party of them should debouch upon the Place of the Hôtel de Ville, by the arcade of St. Jean, they should be suddenly charged; and that at the Louvre, those who should come by the Pont Neuf, along the quay of the Tuileries, should be served in the same manner. He had actually ordered the gendarmerie posted at the colonnade to suffer the insurgents to file past, then to charge them in the rear, while the gendarmerie stationed at the Carrousel were to pour through the wickets of the Louvre and attack them in front. The success of such plans was almost certain. The necessary orders had already been given by Mandat to the commandants of the different posts, and especially to that of the Hôtel de Ville.

We have already seen that a new municipality had just been formed there. Among the members of the former, Danton and Manuel only were retained. The order was shown to this insurrectional municipality. It immediately summoned the commandant to appear at the Hôtel de Ville. The summons was carried to the palace. Mandat hesitated; but those about him and the members of the department themselves, not knowing what had happened, and not deeming it right yet to infringe the law by refusing to appear, exhorted him to comply. Mandat then decided. He put into the hands of his son, who was with him at the palace, the order signed by Petion to repel force by force, and obeyed the summons of the municipality. It was about four o'clock

in the morning. On reaching the Hôtel de Ville he was surprised to find there a new authority. He was instantly surrounded and questioned concerning the order which he had issued. He was then dismissed, and in dismissing him the president made a sign which was equivalent to sentence of death. No sooner had the unfortunate commandant retired than he was seized and shot with a pistol. The murderers stripped him of his clothes, without finding about him the order, which he had delivered to his son, and his body was thrown into the river, whither it was soon to be followed by so many others.

This sanguinary deed paralyzed all the means of defence of the palace, destroyed all unity, and prevented the execution of the plan of defence. All, however, was not yet lost, and the insurrection was not completely formed. The Marseillais had impatiently waited for the Faubourg St. Antoine, which did not arrive, and for a moment they concluded that the plan had miscarried. But Westermann had pointed his sword to the body of Santerre, and forced him to march. The faubourgs had then successively arrived, some by the Rue St. Honoré, others by the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, and the wickets of the Louvre. The Marseillais marched at the head of the columns, with the Breton federalists, and they had pointed their pieces towards the palace. The great number of the insurgents, which increased every moment, was joined by a multitude attracted by curiosity; and thus the enemy appeared stronger than they really were. While they were proceeding to the palace, Santerre had hurried to the Hôtel de Ville, to get himself appointed commander-in-chief of the national guard, and Westermann had remained on the field of battle, to direct the assailants. Everything was therefore in the utmost confusion, so much so that Petion, who, according to the preconcerted plan, was to have been kept at home by an insurrectional force, was still waiting for the guard that was to screen his responsibility by an apparent constraint. He sent himself to the Hôtel de Ville, and at last a few men were placed at his door, that he might seem to be in a state of arrest.

The palace was at this moment absolutely besieged. The assailants were in the Place; and by the dawning light they were seen through the old doors of the courts and from the windows. Their artillery was discovered pointed at the palace, and their confused shouts and threatening songs were heard. The plan of anticipating them had been anew proposed; but tidings of Mandat's death had just been received, and the

opinion of the ministers, as well as of the department, was, that it was best to await the attack, and suffer themselves to be forced within the limits of the law.

Rœderer had just gone through the ranks of this little garrison, to read to the Swiss and the national guards the legal proclamation, which forbade them to attack, but enjoined them to repel force by force. The King was solicited to review in person the servants who were preparing to defend him. The unfortunate Prince had passed the night in listening to the conflicting opinions that were expressed around him; and during the only moments of relaxation he had prayed to Heaven for his royal consort, his children, and his sister, the objects of all his fears. "Sire," said the Queen to him with energy, "it is time to show yourself." It is even asserted that snatching a pistol from the belt of old d'Affry, she presented it angrily at the King. The eyes of the Princess were inflamed with weeping; but her brow appeared lofty, her nostrils dilated, with indignation and pride.*

As for the King, he feared nothing for his own person; nay, he manifested great coolness in this extreme peril; but he was alarmed for his family, and sorrow at seeing it thus exposed had altered his looks. He nevertheless went forward with firmness. He had on a purple suit of clothes, wore a sword, and his hair, which had not been dressed since the preceding day, was partly in disorder. On stepping out upon the balcony, he perceived, without agitation, many pieces of artillery pointed against the palace. His presence still excited some remains of enthusiasm. The caps of the grenadiers were all at once uplifted on the points of swords and bayonets; the old cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" rang for the last time beneath the walls of the paternal palace. A last spark of courage was rekindled. Dejected hearts were cheered. For a moment there was a gleam of confidence and hope; but at that instant some fresh battalions of the national guard arrived, which had been formed later than the others, and came agreeably to the order previously issued by Mandat. They entered at the moment when the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" rang in the court. Some joined those who thus hailed the presence of the monarch; others, holding different sentiments, fancied themselves in danger, and calling to mind all the popular fables that had been circulated, imagined that they were about to be given up to the knights *of the dagger*. They immediately cried out that they were betrayed by that villain

* *See* Appendices IIII and JJJJ.

Mandat, and raised a kind of tumult. The gunners, following their example, turned their pieces against the front of the palace. A quarrel instantly ensued with the royal battalions. The gunners were disarmed and consigned to a detachment, and the new-comers were despatched towards the gardens.

At this moment the King, after showing himself in the balcony, went down-stairs to review the troops in the courts. His coming having been announced, every one had resumed his place in the ranks. He walked through them with a tranquil countenance, and cast upon them expressive looks which penetrated all hearts. Addressing the soldiers, he said, with a firm voice, that he was touched by their attachment, that he should be by their side, and that in defending him they were defending their wives and their children. He then proceeded through the vestibule, with the intention of going to the garden, but at that moment he heard shouts of "Down with the veto!" raised by one of the battalions which had just entered. Two officers who were at his side were then anxious to prevent him from continuing the review in the garden; others begged him to go and inspect the post at the Pont Tournant. He courageously complied; but he was obliged to pass along the terrace of the Feuillans, which was crowded with people. During this walk he was separated from the furious multitude merely by a tri-coloured ribbon. He nevertheless advanced, in spite of all sorts of insults and abuse;* he even saw the battalions file off before his face, traverse the garden, and leave it with the intention of joining the assailants in the Place du Carrousel.

This desertion, that of the gunners, and the shouts of "Down with the veto!" had extinguished all hope in the King. At the same moment the gendarmes, assembled at the colonnade of the Louvre and other places, had either dispersed or joined the populace. The national guard, which occupied the apartments, and which could, it was conceived, be relied upon, was on its part dissatisfied at being with the gentlemen, and appeared to distrust them. The Queen strove to encourage it. "Grenadiers," cried she, pointing to those gentlemen, "these are your comrades; they are come to die by your side." In spite, however, of this apparent

* "I was at a window looking on the garden. I saw some of the gunners quit their posts, go up to the King, and thrust their fists in his face, insulting him in the most brutal language. He was as pale as a corpse. When the royal family came in again, the Queen told me that all was lost; that the King had shown no energy; and that this sort of review had done more harm than good."—*Madame Campan.*

courage, her soul was overwhelmed with despair. The review had ruined everything, and she lamented that the King had shown no energy. That unfortunate Prince, we cannot forbear repeating, feared nothing for himself. He had, in fact, refused to wear a buckler, as on the 14th of July, saying that on the day of battle it behoved him to be uncovered, like the meanest of his servants.* He was not, therefore, deficient in courage, and he afterwards displayed a truly noble and elevated courage; but he lacked the boldness requisite for offensive operations. He lacked also consistency, and ought not, for example, to have dreaded the effusion of blood, when he consented to the invasion of France by foreigners. It is certain, as has frequently been observed, that had he mounted a horse and charged at the head of his adherents, the insurrection would have been quelled.

At this moment, the members of the department, seeing the general confusion in the palace, and despairing of the success of resistance, went to the King and besought him to retire into the bosom of the Assembly. This advice, so frequently calumniated, like all that is given to kings when not successful, recommended the only suitable course at the moment. By this retreat, all bloodshed was likely to be prevented, and the royal family preserved from a death that was almost certain if the palace should be taken by storm. In the existing state of things the success of the assault was not doubtful, and had it been, the very doubt was sufficient to make one avoid exposing oneself to it.

The Queen vehemently opposed this plan.† "Madame," said Rœderer, "you endanger the lives of your husband and children. Think of the responsibility which you take upon yourself." The altercation grew very warm. At length the King decided to retire to the Assembly. "Let us go," said he, with a resigned look, to his family and to those around him. "Sir," said the Queen to Rœderer, "you answer for the

* "The Queen told me that the King had just refused to put on the under-waistcoat of mail which she had prepared for him; that he had consented to wear it on the 14th of July, because he was merely going to a ceremony, where the blade of an assassin was to be apprehended; but that on a day on which his party might have to fight against the Revolutionists, he thought there was something cowardly in preserving his life by such means."—*Madame Campan.*

† "The Queen felt at once all the dishonour of throwing themselves as suppliants on the protection of a body which had not shown even a shadow of interest in their favour. Ere she consented to such infamy, she said, she would willingly be nailed to the walls of the palace. She accompanied, however, her husband, his sister, and his children, and on her way to the Assembly was robbed of her watch and purse."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

lives of the King and of my children." "Madame," replied the *procureur syndic*, "I answer for it that I will die by their side, but I promise nothing more."

They then set out, to proceed to the Assembly by the garden, the terrace of the Feuillans, and the court of the riding-house. All the gentlemen and servants rushed forward to follow the King, though it was possible that they might compromise him by irritating the populace and exciting the ill-will of the Assembly by their presence. Rœderer strove in vain to stop them, and loudly declared that they would cause the royal family to be murdered. He at length succeeded in keeping back a great number, and the royal party set out. A detachment of Swiss and of the national guard accompanied the royal family. A deputation of the Assembly came to receive and to conduct it into its bosom. At this moment the concourse was so great that the crowd was impenetrable. A tall grenadier took hold of the Dauphin, and lifting him up in his arms, forced his way through the mob, holding him over his head. The Queen at this sight conceived that her child was going to be taken from her, and gave a shriek; but she was soon set right, for the grenadier entered, and placed the royal infant on the bureau of the Assembly.

The King and his family then entered, followed by two ministers. "I come," said Louis XVI., "to prevent a great crime, and I think, gentlemen, that I cannot be safer than in the midst of you."

Vergniaud, who presided, replied to the monarch that he might rely on the firmness of the National Assembly, and that its members had sworn to die in defence of the constituted authorities.

The King seated himself beside the president; but on the observation of Chabot, that his presence might affect the freedom of deliberation, he was placed in the box of the writer appointed to report the proceedings. The iron railing was removed, that in case a forcible entry should be made into the box, he might with his family take shelter without impediment in the Assembly. In this operation the Prince assisted with his own hands. The railing was pulled down, and thus insults and threats could the more freely reach the dethroned monarch in his last asylum.*

* "An ordinary workman of the suburbs, in a dress which implied abject poverty, made his way into the place where the royal family were seated, demanding the King by the name of Monsieur Veto. 'So you are here,' he said, 'beast of a Veto! There is a purse of gold I found in your house yonder; if you had found mine you would not have been so honest.'"—*Barbaroux's Memoirs.* Lacretelle denies the truth of this anecdote.

Rœderer then gave an account of what had happened. He described the fury of the multitude, and the danger which threatened the palace, the courts of which were already in the possession of the mob. The Assembly ordered twenty of its commissioners to go and pacify the populace. The commissioners departed. A discharge of cannon was all at once heard. Consternation pervaded the hall. "I assure you," said the King, "that I have ordered the Swiss to be forbidden to fire." But the report of cannon was again heard, mingled with the sound of musketry. The agitation was at its height. Intelligence was soon brought that the commissioners deputed by the Assembly had been dispersed. At the same moment the door of the hall was attacked, and rang with tremendous blows. Armed citizens appeared at one of the entrances. "We are stormed!" exclaimed a municipal officer. The president put on his hat, and a multitude of deputies rushed from their seats to keep back the assailants. At length the tumult was appeased, and amidst the uninterrupted reports of the musketry and cannon the deputies shouted, "The nation, liberty, equality for ever!"

At this moment, in fact, a most sanguinary combat was raging at the palace. The King having left it, it was naturally supposed that the people would not persist in their attack on a forsaken dwelling; besides, the general agitation had prevented any attention from being paid to the subject, and no order had been issued for its evacuation. All the troops that were in the courts had merely been withdrawn into the interior of the palace, and they were confusedly mingled in the apartments with the domestics, the gentlemen, and the officers. The crowd at the palace was immense, and it was scarcely possible to move there, notwithstanding its vast extent.

The rabble, probably ignorant of the King's departure, after waiting a considerable time before the principal wicket, at length attacked the gate, broke it open with hatchets, and rushed into the royal court. They then formed in column, and turned against the palace the guns imprudently left in the court after the troops had been withdrawn. The assailants, however, yet forbore to attack. They made amicable demonstrations to the soldiers at the windows. "Give up the palace to us," said they, "and we are friends." The Swiss professed pacific intentions, and threw cartridges out of the windows. Some of the boldest of the besiegers venturing beyond the columns, advanced beneath the vestibule of the palace. At the foot of the great staircase had been placed a piece of

timber in the form of a barrier, and behind it were entrenched, pell-mell, some Swiss and national guards. Those who from the outside had pushed in thus far, resolved to advance still farther and to gain possession of the barrier. After a struggle of considerable length, which, however, did not end in a battle, the barrier was taken. The assailants then forced their way up the staircase, repeating that the palace must be given up to them.

It is asserted that at this moment men armed with pikes, who had remained in the court, caught hold with hooks of the Swiss sentries stationed outside, and murdered them. It is added that a musket-shot was fired at a window, and that the Swiss, enraged at it, replied by a volley. A tremendous discharge immediately pealed in the palace, and those who had penetrated into it fled, crying that they were betrayed. It is difficult to ascertain amidst this confusion by which side the first shots were fired. The assailants have alleged that they advanced amicably, and that when they had once entered the palace they were treacherously surprised and fired upon. It is very improbable, for the Swiss were not in a situation to provoke a conflict. As after the King's departure it was no longer their duty to fight, they must naturally have thought only of saving themselves, and treachery was not the way to do that. Besides, if even aggression could change anything in the moral character of these events, it must be admitted that the first and real aggression, that is, the attack of the palace, proceeded from the insurgents. The rest was but an inevitable accident, to be imputed to chance alone.

Be this as it may, those who had succeeded in forcing their way into the vestibule and upon the great staircase suddenly heard the discharge, and whilst retreating, and upon the staircase itself, they received a shower of balls. The Swiss then descended in good order, and on reaching the last steps, debouched by the vestibule into the royal court. There they made themselves masters of one of the pieces of cannon which were in the court, and in spite of a terrible fire, turned and discharged it at the Marseillais, killing a great number of them. The Marseillais then fell back, and the fire continuing, they abandoned the court. Terror instantly seized the populace, who fled on all sides and regained the faubourgs. If the Swiss had at this moment followed up their advantage; if the gendarmes stationed at the Louvre, instead of deserting their post, had charged the repulsed besiegers, the business would have been decided, and victory would have belonged to the palace.

But at this moment the King's order arrived, sent through M. d'Hervilly, forbidding the Swiss to fire. M. d'Hervilly had reached the vestibule at the moment when the Swiss had just repulsed the besiegers. He stopped them, and enjoined them, in the name of the King, to follow him to the Assembly. The Swiss, in considerable number, then followed M. d'Hervilly to the Feuillans, amidst the most galling discharges. The palace was thus deprived of the greater portion of its defenders. Still, however, a considerable number were left, either on the staircase or in the apartments. These the order had not reached, and they were soon destined to be exposed, without means of resistance, to the most awful dangers.

Meanwhile the besiegers had rallied. The Marseillais, united to the Bretons, were ashamed of having given way. They took courage again, and returned to the charge boiling with fury. Westermann, who afterwards displayed genuine talents, directed their efforts with intelligence. They rushed forward with ardour, fell in great numbers, but at length gained the vestibule, passed the staircase, and made themselves masters of the palace. The rabble, with pikes, poured in after them, and the rest of the scene was soon but one general massacre.* The unfortunate Swiss in vain begged for quarter, at the same time throwing down their arms. They were butchered without mercy. The palace was set on fire; the servants who filled it were pursued; some escaped; others were sacrificed.† Among the number there were generous conquerors. "Spare the women," cried one of them; "do not dishonour the nation!" and he saved the Queen's ladies, who were on their knees, with swords uplifted over their heads. There were courageous victims; there were others who displayed ingenuity in saving when they had no longer the courage to defend themselves. Among those furious conquerors there were even feelings of honesty, and either from popular vanity or from that disinterestedness which springs from enthusiasm, the money found in the palace was carried to the Assembly.

* "It was no longer a battle, but a massacre. The enraged multitude broke into the palace, and put to death every person found within it. The fugitives pursued into the gardens of the Tuileries were murdered under the trees, amidst the fountains, and at the feet of the statues. Some wretches climbed up the marble monuments which adorn that splendid spot. The insurgents refrained from firing, lest they should injure the statuary, but pricked them with their bayonets till they came down, and then slaughtered them at their feet; an instance of taste for art, mingled with revolutionary cruelty unparalleled in the history of the world."—*Alison.*

† *See* Appendix KKKK.



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ATTACK ON THE TUILERIES, 10 AUGUST, 1792.



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1895

ATTACK ON THE TUILERIES, 10 AUGT 1792.

The Assembly had anxiously awaited the issue of the combat. At length at eleven o'clock were heard shouts of victory a thousand times repeated. The doors yielded to the pressure of a mob intoxicated with joy and fury. The hall was filled with wrecks that were brought thither, and with the Swiss who had been made prisoners, and whose lives had been spared, in order to do homage to the Assembly by this act of popular clemency. Meanwhile the King and his family, confined within the narrow box of a reporter, witnessed the ruin of their throne and the joy of their conquerors.* Vergniaud had for a moment quitted the chair, for the purpose of drawing up the decree of dethronement. He returned, and the Assembly passed that celebrated decree, to this effect:—

Louis XVI. is for the time being suspended from royalty;

A plan of education is directed for the Prince-Royal;

A national convention is convoked.

Was it, then, a plan long resolved upon to overthrow the monarchy, since they only suspended the King and provided an education for the Prince? With what fear, on the contrary, did they not lay hands on that ancient power! With what a kind of hesitation did they not approach that aged tree beneath which the French generations had been alternately fortunate or unfortunate, but under which at least they had lived!

The public mind, however, is prompt. It needed but a short interval to throw off the relics of an ancient veneration; and the monarchy suspended was soon to become the monarchy destroyed. It was doomed to perish, not in the person of a Louis XI., a Charles IX., a Louis XIV., but in that of Louis XVI., one of the most honest kings that ever sat upon a throne.

* *See* Appendix LLLL.

APPENDICES.

A.

[*Page* 4.]

JACQUES NECKER.

"Jacques Necker was the son of a tutor in the college of Geneva. He began life as a clerk to M. Thellusson, a banker at Paris, whose partner he afterwards became, and in the course of twelve or thirteen years his fortune surpassed that of the first bankers. He then thought of obtaining some place under government; but he at first aimed only at the office of first commissioner of finance, to attain which he endeavoured to acquire a literary reputation, and published a panegyric on Colbert. Necker was beginning to enjoy some degree of reputation when Turgot was disgraced, and anxious to profit by the dissipation in which the new minister, Clugny, lived, he presented statements to M. de Maurepas in which he exaggerated the resources of the State. The rapid fortune of Necker induced a favourable opinion of his capacity, and after Clugny died, he was united with his successor, M. Taboureau des Reaux, an appointment which he obtained partly by the assistance of the Marquis de Pezay. After eight months' administration, Necker, on the 2nd of July 1777, compelled his colleague to resign, and presented his accounts in 1781. Shortly after he endeavoured to take advantage of the public favour, and aspired to a place in the council. He insisted on it, and threatened to resign; but he was the dupe of his own presumption, and was suffered to retire. In 1787 he returned to France, and wrote against Calonne, who had accused him as the cause of the deficiency in the finances. This dispute ended in the exile of Necker; but in 1788, when the general displeasure against Brienne terrified the Court, he was again appointed controller-general, but feeling himself supported by the people, he refused to accept the post unless on the condition of not labouring in conjunction with the prime minister. Eager for popular applause, Necker hoped to govern everything by leading the King to hope for an increase of power, and the people for a speedy democracy, by the debasement of the higher orders and the parliaments. The report which he made to the council on the 27th of December 1788 respecting the formation of the States-general, proved the first spark which lighted the combustible matter that had long been prepared. On the 11th of July, when the Court thought fit to declare against the factions, Necker, who had become absolutely their sentinel in the very council of the King, was dismissed; but on the 16th the Assembly wrote him a letter, expressing their regret at his withdrawal, and informing him that they had obtained his recall. His return from Basle to Paris was one continued triumph. During the remainder of

the year he was constantly presenting new statements on the resources of the revenue; but he soon perceived that his influence was daily diminishing. At last the famous Red Book appeared, and completely put an end to his popularity; so that in the month of December he determined to fly, after having seen the populace tear from the gate of his house the inscription, 'To the adored minister.' He died at Geneva on the 9th of April 1804, after a short but painful illness."—*From a Memoir of Necker in the Biographie Moderne.*

B.

[*Page* 10.]

Philip Egalité, Duc d'Orleans.

"Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc d'Orleans, one of the French princes of the blood, was born at St. Cloud, on the 13th of April 1747, and rendered the title of Duc de Chartres, which he bore till his father's death, celebrated by his depravity. He was in stature below the middle size, but very well made, and his features were regular and pleasing, till libertinism and debauchery covered them with red, inflamed pustules. He was very early bald, was skilled in all bodily exercises, kind and compassionate in his domestic relations, and endowed with good natural abilities, though ignorant and credulous. As he was to succeed the Duc de Penthièvre in the office of high-admiral, he thought fit in 1778 to make a naval campaign, and commanded the rear-guard of M. d'Orvilliers' fleet in the battle off Ushant, in which he was on board an 84-gun ship. It was then assiduously rumoured that the Duc de Chartres had concealed himself in the hold of the ship—which seems improbable, as the vessel in which he was, was never within reach of the cannon. The Court, however, took up this injurious anecdote, and when he appeared, overwhelmed him with epigrams; the King, too, instead of making him high-admiral, appointed him colonel-general of the hussars—a singular and contemptuous reward for sea-service, which is said to have partly laid the foundation of his hatred for Louis. Some time afterwards he ascended in a balloon; and as a few years before he had gone down into a mine, where he was said to have shown but little self-possession, it was stated that he had thought proper to show all the elements his cowardice. On the death of the Comte de Clermont he got himself appointed master of all the masonic lodges in France. In 1787 his father died, and he then took the title of Duc d'Orleans, and sought to render himself popular. By the advice of his creatures he opposed the King in the royal meeting on the 19th of November 1787, and was exiled to Villers-Cotterets; but in return for the sums he lavished on the journalists, he soon became the idol of the populace. Another method which he successfully put in practice to obtain the favour of the people, was to buy up corn, and then relieve those who were languishing under the artificial scarcity. In 1788–9 public tables were spread, and fires lighted, by his order, for the paupers of the metropolis, and sums of money were likewise distributed among them. In the very earliest meetings he protested against the proceedings of his chamber, and joined that of the *tiers-état* with the dissentient members of his order. From this period he divided his time between the meetings of

the National Assembly and those of his own advisers, who assembled first at the Palais Royal, and afterwards at Passy. On the 3rd of July he was nominated president of the National Assembly; but he refused the post, and busied himself in corrupting the regiment of French guards, and in preparing the events of July the 14th. Lafayette having menaced him with the tribunals if he did not leave France, he went over to England; but at the end of eight months returned, and was received with transport by the Jacobins. In 1791, M. Thevenard, before he resigned the administration of the marine, caused the Duke to be appointed admiral of France, for which the latter went to thank the King in person, and to assure him how grossly he had been misrepresented. When, however, he appeared at the levee, all the courtiers insulted him in the most outrageous manner, to which he would never be persuaded that their Majesties were not privy, and this excited his irreconcilable enmity against them. On the 15th of September 1792 the commune of Paris authorized him to assume the name of Egalité for himself and his descendants, and deputed him to the National Convention. When the King's trial took place the Duc d'Orleans voted for the death of his cousin with a degree of coolness which irritated the majority of the Jacobins themselves, and excited murmurs throughout the Assembly. On the fatal day he came to the Place de Louis XV., and was present during the execution, in an open carriage; as soon as the body was removed, he returned to the Palais Royal, and went in a carriage drawn by six horses to revel at Raincy with his accomplices. It was then said that the Prince of Wales, having been informed of his conduct on this occasion, tore in pieces his portrait, which he had left him. Towards the end of April, Robespierre caused his name to be erased from the list of Jacobins, though Egalité had sworn to the Convention on the 4th of the same month, that if his son (King Louis Philippe), who had just fled with Dumouriez, was guilty, the image of Brutus, which was before his eyes, would remind him of his duty. Soon afterwards a warrant was issued for his arrest; he was removed to the prisons of Marseilles, and after six months' captivity sent to take his trial at Paris. As a matter of course, the revolutionary tribunal found him guilty, and he was guillotined on the 6th of November 1793, when he was forty-six years of age. He shrugged his shoulders on hearing the people hiss and curse him as he was led to death, and cried out, 'They used to applaud me.'"—*From an article in the Biographie Moderne.*

C.

[*Page* 24.]

The 4th of May 1789.

I should not quote the following passage from the *Mémoires* of Ferrières if base detractors had not ventured to carp at everything in the scenes of the French Revolution. The passage which I am about to extract will enable the reader to judge of the effect produced upon the least plebeian hearts by the national solemnities of this grand epoch:—

"I yield to the pleasure of recording here the impression made upon me by this august and touching ceremony; I shall transcribe the account of it which I then wrote down whilst still full of what I had

felt. If this passage is not historical, it will perhaps have a stronger interest for some readers.

"The nobility in black coats, the other garments of cloth of gold, silk cloak, lace cravat, plumed hat turned up *à la Henri IV.;* the clergy in surplice, wide mantle, square cap; the bishops in their purple robes, with their rochets; the *tiers* dressed in black, with silk mantle and cambric cravat. The King placed himself on a platform richly decorated; Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, the princes, the ministers, the great officers of the Crown, were seated below the King; the Queen placed herself opposite to the King; Madame la Comtesse d'Artois, the Princesses, the ladies of the Court, superbly dressed and covered with diamonds, composed a magnificent retinue for her. The streets were hung with tapestry belonging to the Crown; the regiments of the French and Swiss guards formed a line from Notre-Dame to St. Louis; an immense concourse of people looked on, as we passed, in respectful silence; the balconies were adorned with costly stuffs, the windows filled with spectators of all ages of both sexes, lovely women elegantly attired: every face bespoke kindly emotion, every eye sparkled with joy; clapping of hands, expressions of the warmest interest, the looks that met us, and that still followed after we were out of sight . . . rapturous, enchanting scene, to which I should vainly strive to do justice! Bands of music, placed at intervals, rent the air with melodious sounds; military marches, the rolling of drums, the clang of trumpets, the noble chants of the priests, alternately heard, without discordance, without confusion, enlivened this triumphal procession to the temple of the Almighty.

"Plunged into the most delicious ecstasy, sublime but melancholy thoughts soonpre sented themselves to my mind. I beheld that France, my country, supported by Religion, saying to us, Desist from your puerile quarrels; this is the decisive moment which shall either give me new life or annihilate me for ever! Love of country, thou spakest to my heart! . . . What! shall a handful of ambitious madmen, base intriguers, seek by tortuous ways to disunite my country?—shall they found their destructive systems on insidious advantages?—shall they say to thee, Thou hast two interests; and all thy glory and all thy power, of which thy neighbours are so jealous, shall vanish like a light smoke driven by the southern blast? No, I swear to thee that my parched tongue shall cleave to my palate if ever I forget thy grandeurs and thy solemnities.

"What splendour this religious display shed over that wholly human pomp! Without thee, venerable Religion, it would have been but an empty parade of pride; but thou purifiest and sanctifiest, thou heightenest grandeur itself; the kings, the mighty of the age, they too, by at least a show of reverence, pay homage to the King of kings. . . . Yes, to God alone belong honour, empire, glory! Those sacred ceremonies, those hymns, those priests clothed in the dress of sacrifice, those perfumes, that canopy, that sun resplendent with gold and jewels. . . . I called to mind the words of the prophet: 'Daughters of Jerusalem, your King cometh; put on your nuptial robes, and hasten to meet him.' Tears of joy trickled from my eyes. My God, my country, my fellow-citizens, had become identified with myself.

"On their arrival at St. Louis the three orders seated themselves on benches placed in the nave. The King and Queen took their places beneath a canopy of purple velvet sprinkled with golden *fleurs-de-lis;* the princes, the princesses, the great officers of the Crown, and the ladies of the palace, occupied the space reserved for their Majesties. The host

was carried to the altar to the sound of the most impressive music. It was an *O salutaris Hostia!* This natural but true and melodious vocal performance, unencumbered by the din of instruments which drown the expression; this mass of voices, rising in well-regulated accord to heaven, convinced me that the simple is always beautiful, always grand, always sublime. . . . Men are idiots, in their vain wisdom, to treat as puerile the worship that is paid the Almighty. With what indifference do they view that moral chain which binds man to God, which renders Him visible to the eye, sensible to the touch! . . . M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nanci, delivered the discourse. Religion constitutes the strength of empires; religion constitutes the prosperity of nations. This truth, which no wise man ever doubted for a single moment, was not the important question to be treated in the august assembly; the place, the circumstance, opened a wider field: the Bishop of Nanci durst not or could not traverse it.

"On the following day the deputies met in the hall of the Ménus. The assembly was neither less imposing, nor the sight less magnificent, than the preceding day."—*Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrières*, tom. i.

D.

[*Page* 27.]

The Comte de Mirabeau.

"Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, was born in 1749. Youthful impetuosity and ungoverned passions made the early part of his life a scene of disorder and misery. After having been some time in the army, he married Mademoiselle de Marignane, a rich heiress in the city of Aix; but the union was not fortunate, and his extravagant expenses deranging his affairs, he contracted debts to the amount of 300,000 livres, in consequence of which his father obtained from the Châtelet an act of lunacy against him. Enraged at this, he went to settle at Manosque; whence he was, on account of a private quarrel, some time afterwards removed, and shut up in the castle of If. He was then conveyed to that of Joux, in Franche-Comté, and obtained permission to go occasionally to Pontarlier, where he met Sophia de Ruffey, Marquise de Monmir, the wife of a president in the parliament of Besançon. Her wit and beauty inspired Mirabeau with a most violent passion, and he soon escaped to Holland with her, but was for this outrage condemned to lose his head, and would probably have ended his days far from his country, had not an agent of police seized him in 1777, and carried him to the castle of Vincennes, where he remained till December 1780, when he recovered his liberty. The French Revolution soon presented a vast field for his activity; and being rejected at the time of the elections by the nobility of Provence, he hired a warehouse, put up this inscription, 'Mirabeau, woollen draper,' and was elected deputy from the *tiers-état* of Aix: from that time the Court of Versailles, to whom he was beginning to be formidable, called him the Plebeian Count. On the day when the States opened, he looked at the monarch, who was covered with the Crown jewels, and said to those near him, 'Behold the victim already adorned!' He soon took possession of the tribune, and there discussed the most important matters in the organi-

zation of society. He had never at that time conceived the possibility of establishing a democracy in so immense a State as France. His motive for seeking popularity was solely that he might regulate a Court which he caused to tremble; but the Court committed the fault of not seeking to seduce his ambition. He then connected himself with the Duc d'Orleans, from whom he obtained certain sums that he wanted; but soon perceiving that it was impossible to make anything of such a clod, he broke off the intimacy in October 1789. If he was not one of the principal causes of the events which took place on the 5th and 6th of that month, the words he made use of before and during that time give reason to suppose he was no stranger to them. The next day he made the King new overtures, and repeated them shortly after, but they were invariably rejected; and he then considered how he should by new blows compel the sovereign and his council to have recourse to him. Not, however, till the end of the session did this take place; and then, by the intervention of Madame de Mercey and M. de Montmorin, his debts were paid, and a pension was granted him. From that time he devoted himself to strengthening the monarchy, and addressed to the King a statement on the causes of the Revolution, and the methods of putting a stop to it. It may be doubted whether he could have succeeded in this undertaking; but it is now certain that at the moment of his sudden death he was busied in a project for dissolving an Assembly which he could no longer direct. On the 16th of January 1791 he was appointed a member of the department of Paris, and on the 31st, president of the National Assembly. This being the period of his closest connection with the Court, he wished as president to acquire new celebrity, and show himself capable of directing the Assembly; a design which he executed with a degree of address admired even by his enemies. On the 28th of March he was taken ill, and died on the 2nd of April, at half-past eight in the morning, aged forty-two. So short an illness excited a suspicion at first that he had been poisoned, and all parties mutually accused each other of the crime; but when his body was opened, there appeared, as the physicians asserted, no marks of violence. When on his death-bed he said openly to his friends, 'I shall carry the monarchy with me, and a few factious spirits will share what is left.' At the moment of his death he retained all his fortitude and self-possession; on the very morning he wrote these words, 'It is not so difficult to die;' and at the instant when his eyes were closing, he wrote, 'To sleep.' His loss seemed to be considered as a public calamity, and it is remarkable that all parties, believing him to be in their interests, joined in regretting him. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp; all the theatres were shut; the deputies, the ministers, the members of all the authoritative assemblies, formed a procession which extended above a league, and which was four hours marching; and his body was placed in the Pantheon beside that of Descartes. In November 1793 his ashes were, by order of the Convention, removed thence, and scattered abroad by the people, who at the same time burned his bust in the Place de Grève, as an enemy to the republic, and one who had corresponded with the royal family. Thus did Mirabeau verify what he had himself said, 'that the Capitol was close to the Tarpeian rock, and that the same people who flattered him would have had equal pleasure in seeing him hanged.' Mirabeau was of middle stature; his face was disfigured by the marks of the small-pox; and the enormous quantity of hair on his head gave him some resemblance to a lion. He was of a lofty character, and had talents which were extraordinary, and some

which were sublime; his felicity of diction was unrivalled, and his knowledge of the human heart profound; but he was essentially a despot, and had he governed an empire, he would have surpassed Richelieu in pride, and Mazarin in policy. Naturally violent, the least resistance inflamed him; when he appeared most irritated, his expression had most eloquence; and being a consummate actor, his voice and gestures lent a new interest to all he said. His chief passion was pride; and though his love of intrigue was unbounded, it can be ascribed only to his pecuniary necessities. In the last year of his life he paid immense debts, bought estates, furniture, the valuable library of Buffon, and lived in a splendid style."—*From the article* "MIRABEAU," *in the Biographie Moderne.*

E.

[*Page* 31.]

THE RESOLUTION OF CONCILIATION.

I think it right to state here the motives on which the Assembly of the commons founded the resolution which it was about to take. This first act, which commences the Revolution, being of high importance, it is essential to justify the necessity for it; and I think this cannot be done better than by the considerations which preceded the resolution (*arrêté*) of the commons. These considerations, as well as the *arrêté* itself, belong to the Abbé Sièyes.

"The Assembly of the commons, deliberating on the overture of conciliation proposed by the commissioners of the King, has deemed it incumbent on it to take at the same time into consideration the resolution (*arrêté*) which the nobility have hastened to adopt respecting the same overture.

"It has seen that the nobility, notwithstanding the acquiescence at first professed, soon introduced a modification which retracts it almost entirely, and that consequently their resolution (*arrêté*) on this subject cannot be considered as any other than a positive refusal.

"From this consideration, and because the nobility have not desisted from their preceding deliberations, in opposition to every plan of reunion, the deputies of the commons conceive that it has become absolutely useless to bestow any further attention on an expedient which can no longer be called conciliatory, since it has been rejected by one of the parties to be conciliated.

"In this state of things, which replaces the deputies of the commons in their original position, the Assembly judges that it can no longer wait inactive for the privileged classes without sinning against the nation, which has doubtless a right to require a better use of its time.

"It is of opinion that it is an urgent duty for the representatives of the nation, to whatever class of citizens they belong, to form themselves without further delay into an active Assembly, capable of commencing and fulfilling the object of their mission.

"The Assembly directs the commissioners who attended the various conferences called conciliatory, to draw up a report of the long and vain efforts of the deputies of the commons to bring back the classes of the privileged to true principles; it takes upon itself the exposition of the motives which oblige it to pass from a state of expectation to a

state of action; finally, it resolves that this report and these motives shall be printed at the head of the present deliberation.

"But since it is not possible to form themselves into an active Assembly without previously recognizing those who have a right to compose it—that is to say, those who are qualified to vote as representatives of the nation—the same deputies of the commons deem it their duty to make a last trial with the clergy and the nobility, who claim the same quality, but have nevertheless refused up to the present moment to make themselves recognized.

"Moreover, the Assembly having an interest in certifying the refusal of these two classes of deputies, in case they should persist in their determination to remain unknown, deems it indispensable to send a last invitation, which shall be conveyed to them by deputies charged to read it before them, and to leave them a copy of it, in the following terms:—

"'GENTLEMEN,—We are commissioned by the deputies of the commons of France to apprize you that they can no longer delay the fulfilment of the obligation imposed on all the representatives of the nation. It is assuredly time that those who claim this quality should make themselves known by a common verification of their powers, and begin at length to attend to the national interest, which alone, and to the exclusion of all private interests, presents itself as the grand aim to which all the deputies ought to tend by one general effort. In consequence, and from the necessity which the representatives of the nation are under to proceed to business, the deputies of the commons entreat you anew, gentlemen, and their duty enjoins them to address to you, as well individually as collectively, a last summons to come to the hall of the States, to attend, concur in, and submit, like themselves, to the common verification of powers. We are at the same time directed to inform you that the general call of all the *baillages* convoked will take place in an hour, that the Assembly will immediately proceed to the verification, and that such as do not appear will be declared defaulters."

F.

[*Page* 42.]

THE CONSTITUTION.

I support with notes and quotations only such passages as are susceptible of being disputed. The question, whether we had a constitution, seems to me one of the most important of the Revolution; for it is the absence of a fundamental law that justifies our having determined to give ourselves one. On this point, I think it impossible to quote an authority more respectable and less suspicious than that of M. Lally-Tollendal. On the 15th of July 1789 that excellent citizen delivered a speech in the chamber of the nobility, the greater part of which is subjoined:—

"Long reproaches, tinctured, moreover, with considerable acrimony, have been made, gentlemen, against members of this Assembly, who, with equal pain and reserve, have expressed doubts on what is called our constitution. This subject has not perhaps a very direct connection with that at present under discussion; but since it has afforded ground for accusation, let it also furnish one for defence; and permit me to address a few words to the authors of those reproaches.

"You have assuredly no law which enacts that the States-general are an integral part of the sovereignty, for you are demanding one; and up to this day, sometimes a decree of council forbade them to deliberate, at others a decree of parliament annulled their deliberations.

"You have no law that fixes the periodical return of your States-general, for you are demanding one; and it is one hundred and seventy-five years since they were assembled.

"You have no law to protect your individual safety and liberty from arbitrary attacks, for you are demanding one; and during the reign of a King whose justice is known, and whose probity is respected by all Europe, ministers have caused your magistrates to be torn from the sanctuary of the laws by armed satellites. In the preceding reign all the magistrates in the kingdom were dragged from their seats, from their homes, and scattered by exile, some on the tops of mountains, others in the slough of marshes, all in situations more obnoxious than the most horrible of prisons. Go back still further, and you will find a hundred thousand *lettres de cachet* issued on account of paltry theological squabbles; and further still, and you see as many sanguinary commissions as arbitrary imprisonments: nay, you will find no spot on which you can repose till you come to the reign of your good Henry.

"You have no law which establishes the liberty of the press, for you are demanding one; and up to this time your thoughts have been enslaved, your wishes chained; the cry of your hearts under oppression has been stifled, sometimes by the despotism of individuals, at others by the still more terrible despotism of bodies.

"You have not, or at least you no longer have, a law requiring your consent to taxes, for you are demanding one; and for two centuries past you have been burdened with more than three or four hundred millions of taxes without having consented to a single one.

"You have no law which establishes the responsibility of all the ministers of the executive power, for you are demanding one; and the creators of those sanguinary commissions, the issuers of those arbitrary orders, the dilapidators of the public exchequer, the violators of the sanctuary of public justice, those who have imposed upon the virtues of one king, those who flattered the passions of another, those who brought disasters upon the nation, have been called to no account—have undergone no punishment.

"Lastly, you have no general, positive, written law, no diploma at once royal and national, no great charter, upon which rests a fixed and invariable order, from which each learns how much of his liberty and property he ought to sacrifice for the sake of preserving the rest, which ensures all rights, which defines all powers. On the contrary, the system of your government has varied from reign to reign, frequently from ministry to ministry: it has depended on the age and the character of one man. In minorities, under a weak prince, the royal authority, which is of importance to the prosperity and the dignity of the nation, has been indecently degraded, either by the great, who with one hand shook the throne, and with the other crushed the people, or by bodies which at one time seized with temerity what at another they had defended with courage. Under haughty princes who were flattered, under virtuous princes who were deluded, this same authority has been carried beyond all bounds. Your secondary powers, your intermediate powers, as you call them, have not been either better defined or more fixed. Sometimes the parliaments have laid it down as a principle that they could not interfere in affairs of State; at others, they have insisted

that it was their prerogative to discuss them as representatives of the nation. On the one hand were seen proclamations making known the will of the King; on the other, decrees in which the King's officers forbade in the King's name the execution of the King's orders. Among the Courts the like discord prevails; they quarrel about their origin, their functions; they mutually launch anathemas at each other by their decrees.

"I set limits to these details, which I could extend *ad infinitum;* but if all these are incontestable facts, if you have none of these laws which I have just enumerated and which you demand, or if, having them—and pay particular attention to this point—if, having them, you have not that which enforces their execution, that which guarantees their accomplishment and maintains their stability, explain to us what you understand by the word constitution, and admit at least that some indulgence is due to those who cannot help entertaining some doubts of the existence of ours. You are told continually to rally round this constitution: let us rather lose sight of that phantom, to substitute a reality in its stead. And as for the term *innovations*, as for the appellation of *innovators*, which is constantly levelled at us, let us admit that the first innovators are in our hands, that the first innovators are our instructions: let us respect, let us bless this happy innovation, which must put everything in its place, which must render all rights inviolable, all the authorities beneficent, and all the subjects happy.

"It is this constitution, gentlemen, that I wish for; it is this constitution that is the object for which we were sent hither, and which ought to be the aim of all our labours; it is this constitution which is shocked at the mere idea of the address that is proposed to us—an address which would compromise the King as well as the nation—an address, in short, which appears to me so dangerous that not only will I oppose it to the utmost, but that were it possible it could be adopted, I should feel myself reduced to the painful necessity of protesting solemnly against it."

G.

[*Page* 42.]

Instructions to the National Assembly.

It may not be amiss to introduce here the summary of the instructions submitted to the National Assembly by M. de Clermont-Tonnerre. It is a good sketch of the state of opinions at this period throughout France. In this point of view the summary is extremely important, and though Paris exercised an influence upon the drawing up of these instructions, it is not the less true that the provinces had the greatest share in them.

Report of the Committee of Constitution, containing a Summary of the Instructions relative to this subject, read to the National Assembly by M. the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, in the sitting of July 27, 1789.

"Gentlemen,—You are called to regenerate the French empire: to this great work you bring both your own wisdom and the wisdom of your constituents.

We have thought it right first to collect and to present to you the suggestions scattered over the greater number of your instructions; we shall then submit to you the particular views of your committee, and those which it has been or shall be enabled to collect from the different plans and the different observations which have been or which shall be communicated or transmitted to it by the members of this august Assembly.

"It is of the first part of this labour, gentlemen, that we are about to render you an account.

"Our constituents, gentlemen, are all agreed upon one point: they desire the regeneration of the State; but some have expected it from the mere reform of abuses, and from the re-establishment of a constitution existing for fourteen centuries past, and which appeared to them capable of being yet revived, if the injuries which it has suffered from time, and the numerous insurrections of private interest against the public interest, were to be repaired.

"Others have considered the existing social system as so faulty that they have demanded a new constitution, and that with the exception of the monarchical government and forms, which it is an innate feeling of every Frenchman to love and to respect, and which they have ordered you to maintain, they have given to you all the powers necessary for creating a constitution, and for founding the prosperity of the French empire on sure principles, and on the distinction and regular constitution of all the powers. These latter, gentlemen, have thought that the first chapter of the constitution ought to contain a declaration of the rights of man, of those imprescriptible rights for the maintenance of which society was established.

"The demand of this declaration of the rights of man, so constantly misconceived, may be said to be the only difference that exists between the instructions which desire a new constitution, and those which demand only the re-establishment of that which they regard as the existing constitution.

"Both the one and the other have alike fixed their ideas upon the principles of monarchical government, upon the existence of the power and the organization of the Legislative Body, upon the necessity of the national assent to taxes, upon the organization of the administrative bodies, and upon the rights of the citizens.

"We shall advert, gentlemen, to these different subjects, and submit to you on each, as decision, the uniform results, and as questions, the differing or contradictory results presented by such of your instructions as it has been in our power to analyze or to procure the substance of.

"1. The monarchical government, the inviolability of the sacred person of the King, and the hereditary descent of the crown from male to male, are alike acknowledged and sanctioned by the great majority of the instructions, and are not called in question by any.

"2. The King is in like manner acknowledged as the depositary of the executive power in all its plenitude.

"3. The responsibility of all the agents of authority is generally demanded.

"4. Some of the instructions assign to the King the legislative power, limited by the constitutional and fundamental laws of the kingdom; others admit that the King, in the interval between one session of the States-general and another, can, singly, make laws of police and administration, which shall be but provisional, and for which they require free registration in the sovereign courts; one *baillage* has even required that

the registration shall not take place without the consent of two-thirds of the immediate commissions of the district assemblies. The greater number of the instructions acknowledge the necessity of the royal sanction for the promulgation of the laws.

"With respect to the legislative power, most of the instructions recognize it as residing in the national representation, on condition of the royal sanction; and it appears that this ancient maxim of the capitularies, *Lex fit consensu populi et constitutione regis*, is almost generally adopted by your constituents.

"As to the organization of the national representation, the questions on which you have to decide relate to the convocation, or to the duration, or to the composition of the national representation, or to the mode of deliberation proposed to it by your constituents.

"As to the convocation, some have declared that the States-general cannot be dissolved but by themselves; others, that the right of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving belongs to the King, on the sole condition, in case of dissolution, that he shall immediately issue a fresh convocation.

"As to the duration, some have required that the sessions of the States shall be periodical, and insisted that the periodical recurrence should not depend either on the will or the interest of the depositaries of authority; others, but in smaller number, have demanded the permanence of the States-general, so that the separation of the members should not involve the dissolution of the States.

"The system of periodical sessions has given rise to a second question: Shall there or shall there not be an intermediate commission in the intervals between the sessions? The majority of your constituents have considered the establishment of an intermediate commission as a dangerous expedient.

"As to the composition, some have insisted on the separation of the three orders; but in regard to this point, the extension of the powers which several representations have already obtained, leaves, no doubt, a greater latitude for the solution of this question.

"Some *baillages* have demanded the junction of the two higher orders in one and the same chamber; others, the suppression of the clergy, and the division of its members between the other two orders; others, that the representation of the nobility should be double that of the clergy, and that both together should be equal to that of the commons.

"One *baillage*, in demanding the junction of the two higher orders, has demanded the establishment of a third, to be entitled the order of the farmers (*ordre des campagnes*). It has likewise been proposed, that any person holding office, employ, or place at Court, shall be disqualified to be a deputy to the States-general. Lastly, the inviolability of the persons of the deputies is recognized by the greater number of the *bailluges*, and not contested by any. As to the mode of deliberation, the question of opinion by individuals and of opinion by orders is solved: some *baillages* require two-thirds of the opinions to form a resolution.

"The necessity of the national consent to taxes is generally admitted by your constituents, and established by all your instructions: all limit the duration of a tax to the period which you shall have fixed, a period which shall in no case extend further than from one convocation to another; and this imperative clause has appeared to all your constituents the surest guarantee of the perpetuity of your National Assemblies.

"Loans being but an indirect tax, they have deemed it right that they should be subjected to the same principles.

"Some *baillages* have excepted from imposts for a term such as should be destined for the liquidation of the national debt, and have expressed their opinion that these ought to be levied until its entire extinction.

"As to the administrative bodies, or provincial States, all the instructions demand of you their establishment, and most of them leave their organization to your wisdom.

"Lastly, the rights of the citizens, liberty, property, are claimed with energy by the whole French nation. It claims for each of its members the inviolability of private property, as it claims for itself the inviolability of the public property; it claims in all its extent individual liberty, as it has just established for ever the national liberty; it claims the liberty of the press, or the free communication of thought; it inveighs with indignation against *lettres de cachet* which dispose in an arbitrary manner of persons, and against the violation of the secrecy of the post, one of the most absurd and most infamous inventions of despotism.

"Amidst this concurrence of claims, we have remarked, gentlemen, some particular modifications relative to *lettres de cachet* and the liberty of the press. You will weigh them in your wisdom; you will no doubt cheer up that sentiment of French honour, which in its horror of disgrace has sometimes misconceived justice, and which will no doubt be as eager to submit to the law when it shall command the strong, as it was to withdraw itself from its control when it pressed only upon the weak; you will calm the uneasiness of religion, so frequently assailed by libels in the time of the prohibitory system; and the clergy, recollecting that licentiousness was long the companion of slavery, will itself acknowledge that the first and the natural effect of liberty is the return of order, of decency, and of respect for the objects of the public veneration.

"Such, gentlemen, is the account which your committee has conceived itself bound to render of that part of your instructions which treats of the constitution. You will there find, no doubt, all the foundation-stones of the edifice which you are charged to raise to its full height; but you will perhaps miss in them that order, that unity of political combination without which the social system will always exhibit numerous defects: the powers are there indicated, but they are not yet distinguished by the necessary precision; the organization of the national representation is not sufficiently established, the principles of eligibility are not laid in them: it is from your labours that those results are to spring. The nation has insisted on being free, and it is you whom it has charged with its enfranchisement: the genius of France has hurried, as it were, the march of the public mind. It has accumulated for you in a few hours the experience which could scarcely be expected from many centuries. You have it in your power, gentlemen, to give a constitution to France: the King and the people demand one: both the one and the other have deserved it.

"*Result of the Analysis of the Instructions.*

"AVOWED PRINCIPLES.

"Art. 1. The French government is a monarchical government.
"2. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred.
"3. His crown is hereditary from male to male.
"4. The King is the depositary of the executive power.

"5. The agents of authority are responsible.
"6. The royal sanction is necessary for the promulgation of the laws.
"7. The nation makes laws with the royal sanction.
"8. The national consent is necessary for loans and taxes.
"9. Taxes can be granted only for the period from one convocation of the States-general to another.
"10. Property shall be sacred.
"11. Individual liberty shall be sacred.

"*Questions on which the whole of the Instructions have not explained themselves in a uniform manner.*

"Art. 1. Does the King possess the legislative power, limited by the constitutional laws of the kingdom?
"2. Can the King, singly, make provisional laws of police and administration in the interval between the holding of the States-general?
"3. Shall these laws be subject to free registration in the sovereign courts?
"4. Can the States-general be dissolved only by themselves?
"5. Has the King alone the power to convoke, prorogue, and dissolve the States-general?
"6. In case of dissolution, is not the King obliged immediately to issue a new convocation?
"7. Shall the States-general be permanent or periodical?
"8. If they are periodical, shall there or shall there not be an intermediate commission?
"9. Shall the two first orders meet together in one and the same chamber?
"10. Shall the two chambers be formed without distinction of orders?
"11. Shall the members of the order of the clergy be divided between the other two orders?
"12. Shall the representation of the clergy, nobility, and commons be in the proportion of one, two, and three?
"13. Shall there be established a third order with the title of order of the farmers?
"14. Can persons holding offices, employments, or places at Court be elected deputies to the States-general?
"15. Shall two-thirds of the votes be necessary in order to form a resolution?
"16. Shall taxes having for their object the liquidation of the national debt be levied till its entire extinction?
"17. Shall *lettres de cachet* be abolished or modified?
"18. Shall the liberty of the press be indefinite or modified?"

H.

[*Page* 54.]

The Storming of the Bastille.

"All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: 'To the Bastille!' Repeated 'deputations of citizens' have been here passionate for arms, whom de Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through

port-holes. Towards noon, Elector Thuriot de la Rosière gains admittance: finds de Launay indisposed for surrender—nay, disposed for blowing up the place rather. Thuriot mounts with him to the battlements: heaps of paving-stones, old iron and missiles lie piled: cannon all duly levelled! in every embrasure a cannon,—only drawn back a little! But outwards, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street; tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the *générale:* the suburb Sainte-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! Such vision (spectral yet real) thou, O Thuriot, as from thy Mount of Vision, beholdest in this moment: prophetic of other phantasmagories, and loud-gibbering spectral realities which thou yet beholdest not, but shalt! 'Que voulez-vous?' said de Launay, turning pale at the sight, with an air of reproach, almost of menace. 'Monsieur,' said Thuriot, rising into the moral-sublime, 'what mean *you?* Consider if I could not precipitate *both* of us from this height,'—say only a hundred feet, exclusive of the walled ditch! Whereupon de Launay fell silent.

"Wo to thee, de Launay, in such an hour, if thou canst not, taking some one firm decision, *rule* circumstances! Soft speeches will not serve; hard grape-shot is questionable; but hovering between the two is *un*-questionable. Ever wilder swells the tide of men; their infinite hum waxing ever louder, into imprecations, perhaps into crackle of stray musketry—which latter, on walls nine feet thick, cannot do execution. The outer drawbridge has been lowered for Thuriot; new *deputation of citizens* (it is the third, and noisiest of all) penetrates that way into the outer court: soft speeches producing no clearance of these, de Launay gives fire; pulls up his drawbridge. A slight sputter—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire-chaos! Bursts forth insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter of fire), into endless rolling explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and overhead, from the fortress, let one great gun, with its grape-shot, go booming, to show what we *could* do. The Bastille is besieged!

"On, then, all Frenchmen that have hearts in their bodies! Roar with all your throats of cartilage and metal, ye sons of liberty; stir spasmodically whatsoever of utmost faculty is in you, soul, body, or spirit; for it is the hour! Smite, thou Louis Tournay, cartwright of the Marais, old soldier of the Regiment Dauphiné; smite at that outer drawbridge chain, though the fiery hail whistles round thee! Never over nave or felloe did thy axe strike such a stroke. Down with it, man; down with it to Orcus: let the whole accursed edifice sink thither, and tyranny be swallowed up for ever! Mounted some say on the roof of the guard room, some 'on bayonets stuck into joints of the wall,' Louis Tournay smites, brave Aubin Bonnemère (also an old soldier) seconding him: the chain yields, breaks; the huge drawbridge slams down, thundering (*avec fracas*). Glorious: and yet, alas, it is still but the outworks. The eight grim towers with their Invalides' musketry, their paving stones and cannon-mouths, still soar aloft intact;—ditch yawning impassable, stone-faced; the inner drawbridge with its *back* towards us: the Bastille is still to take!"—*Carlyle's French Revolution.*

I.

[*Page* 79.]

The Royal Sanction.

I am far from censuring the obstinacy of Mounier, for nothing is more respectable than conviction; but it is a curious fact to ascertain. Here follows a passage on this subject, extracted from his *Report to his Constituents*:—"Several deputies," says he, "resolved to obtain from me the sacrifice of this principle (the royal sanction), or by sacrificing it themselves, to induce me, out of gratitude, to grant them some compensation. They took me to the house of a zealous partisan of liberty, who desired a coalition between them and me, in order that liberty might meet with fewer obstacles, and who wished merely to be present at our conferences, without taking any part in the decision. With a view to try to convince them, or to enlighten myself, I assented to these conferences. They declaimed strongly against the alleged inconveniences of the unlimited right which the King would possess to set aside the new law; and I was assured that if this right were to be recognized by the Assembly, there would be a civil war. These conferences, twice renewed, were unsuccessful; they were recommenced at the house of an American, known for his abilities and his virtues, who had both the experience and the theory of the institutions proper for maintaining liberty. He gave an opinion in favour of my principles. When they found that all their efforts to make me give up my opinion were useless, they at length declared that they attached but little importance to the question of the royal sanction, though they had represented it a few days before as a subject for civil war; they offered to vote for the unlimited sanction, and to vote also for two chambers, but upon condition that I would not insist, in behalf of the King, on the right of dissolving the Chamber of Representatives; that I would claim only a suspensive veto for the first chamber; and that I would not oppose a fundamental law for convoking national conventions at fixed epochs, or on the requisition of the Assembly of the representatives, or on that of the provinces, for the purpose of revising the constitution, and making such changes in it as should be deemed necessary. By *national conventions* they meant Assemblies to which should be transferred all the rights of the nation, which should combine all the powers, and would consequently have annihilated by their mere presence the authority of the sovereign and of the ordinary Legislature; which should have the power to dispose arbitrarily of all sorts of authorities, to overthrow the constitution at their pleasure, and to re-establish despotism or anarchy. Lastly, they desired in some measure to leave to a single Assembly, which was to be called the National Convention, the supreme dictatorship, and to expose the nation to a periodical recurrence of factions and tumult.

"I expressed my surprise that they should wish to engage me in a negotiation concerning the interests of the kingdom, as if we were its absolute masters. I observed that in leaving only the suspensive veto to a first chamber, if it were composed of eligible members, it would be found difficult to form it of persons worthy of the public confidence; in this case all the citizens would prefer being elected representatives; and that the chamber, being the judge of State offences, ought to possess a

very great dignity, and consequently that its authority ought not to be less than that of the other chamber. Lastly, I added, that when I believed a principle to be true, I felt bound to defend it, and that I could not barter it away, since truth belonged to all citizens."

J.

[*Page* 84.]

Mirabeau in the Assembly.

The particulars of Mirabeau's conduct towards all the parties are not yet thoroughly known, but they are soon likely to be. I have obtained positive information from the very persons who intend to publish them; I have had in my hands several important documents, and especially the paper written in the form of a profession of faith which constituted his secret treaty with the Court. I am not allowed to give to the public any of these documents, or to mention the names of the holders. I can only affirm what the future will sufficiently demonstrate when all these papers shall have been published. What I am enabled to assert with sincerity is, that Mirabeau never had any hand in the supposed plots of the Duc d'Orleans. Mirabeau left Provence with a single object, that of combating arbitrary power, by which he had suffered, and which his reason as well as his sentiments taught him to consider as detestable. On his arrival in Paris he frequented the house of a banker, at that time well known, and a man of great merit. The company there conversed much on politics, finances, and political economy. There he picked up a good deal of information on those matters, and he connected himself with what was called the exiled Genevese colony, of which Clavières, afterwards minister of the finances, was a member. Mirabeau however, formed no intimate connection. In his manners there was a great familiarity, which originated in a feeling of his strength—a feeling that he frequently carried to imprudence. Owing to this familiarity he accosted everybody, and seemed to be on the best terms with all whom he addressed. Hence it was that he was frequently supposed to be the friend and accomplice of many persons with whom he had no common interest. I have said, and I repeat it, he had no party. The aristocracy could not think of Mirabeau; the party of Necker and Mounier could not comprehend him; the Duc d'Orleans alone appeared to unite with him. He was believed to do so, because Mirabeau treated the Duke in a familiar manner, and both being supposed to possess great ambition, the one as prince, the other as tribune, it appeared but natural that they should be connected. Mirabeau's distress and the wealth of the Duc d'Orleans seemed also to be a reciprocal motive of alliance. Nevertheless Mirabeau remained poor till his connection with the Court. He then watched all the parties, strove to make them explain themselves, and was too sensible of his own importance to pledge himself lightly. Once only there was a commencement of intercourse between him and one of the supposed agents of the Duc d'Orleans. By this reputed agent he was invited to dinner, and he, who was never afraid to venture himself, accepted the invitation more from curiosity than any other motive. Before he went he communicated the circumstance to his intimate confidant, and seemed much pleased at the prospect of this

interview, which led him to hope for important revelations. The dinner took place, and Mirabeau, on his return, related what had passed: there had been only some vague conversation concerning the Duc d'Orleans, the esteem in which he held the talents of Mirabeau, and the fitness which he supposed him to possess for governing a State. This interview, therefore, was absolutely insignificant, and it seems to indicate at most a disposition to make Mirabeau a minister. Accordingly he did not fail to observe to his friend, with his usual gaiety, "I am quite sure to be minister, since both the King and the Duc d'Orleans are equally desirous to appoint me." This was but a joke: Mirabeau himself never put any faith in the projects of the Duke. I shall explain some other particulars in a succeeding note.

K.

[*Page* 88.]

Letter of d'Estaing to the Queen.

The letter of Comte d'Estaing to the Queen is a curious document, which must ever continue to be consulted relative to the events of the 5th and 6th of October. This brave officer, full of loyalty and independence (two qualities which appear contradictory, but which are frequently found combined in seamen), had retained the habit of saying all he thought to the princes to whom he was attached. His testimony cannot be called in question, when in a confidential letter to the Queen he lays open the intrigues which he has discovered, and which have alarmed him. It will be seen whether the Court was actually without plan at that period:—

"It is necessary—my duty and my loyalty require it—that I should lay at the feet of the Queen the account of the visit which I have paid to Paris. I am praised for sleeping soundly the night before an assault or a naval engagement. I venture to assert that I am not timorous in civil matters. Brought up about the person of the Dauphin who distinguished me, accustomed from my childhood to speak the truth at Versailles, a soldier and a seaman acquainted with forms, I respect without permitting them to affect either my frankness or my firmness.

"Well, then, I must confess to your Majesty that I did not close my eyes all night. I was told in good society, in good company—and gracious Heaven! what would be the consequence if this were to be circulated among the people?—I was repeatedly told that signatures were being collected among the clergy and the nobility. Some assert that this is done with the approbation of the King, others believe that it is without his knowledge. It is affirmed that a plan is formed, that it is by Champagne or Verdun that the King is to retire or to be carried off; that he is going to Metz. M. de Bouillé is named, and by whom? By M. de Lafayette, who told me so in a whisper at dinner at M. Jauge's. I trembled lest a single domestic should overhear him. I observed to him that a word from his lips might become the signal of death. He replied, that at Metz, as everywhere else, the patriots were the stronger party, and that it was better that one should die for the welfare of all.

"The Baron de Breteuil, who delays his departure, conducts the plan.

Money is taken up at usurious interest, and promises are made to furnish a million and a half per month. The Comte de Mercy is unfortunately mentioned as acting in concert. Such are the rumours; if they spread to the people, their effects are incalculable: they are still but whispered about. Upright minds have appeared to me to be alarmed for the consequences: the mere doubt of the reality is liable to produce terrible results. I have been to the Spanish ambassador's—and most certainly I shall not conceal it from the Queen—there my apprehensions were aggravated. M. Fernand Nunez conversed with me on the subject of these false reports, and how horrible it was to suppose an impossible plan, which would produce the most disastrous and the most humiliating of civil wars; which would cause the partition or the total ruin of the monarchy, that must fall a prey to domestic rage and foreign ambition; and which would bring irreparable calamities on the persons most dear to France. After speaking of the Court wandering, pursued, and deceived by those who have not supported it when they could, who now wish to involve it in their fall . . . afflicted by a general bankruptcy, then become indispensable, and most frightful . . . I observed that at least there would be no other mischief than what this false report would produce if it were to spread, because it was an idea without any foundation. The Spanish ambassador cast down his eyes at this last expression. I became urgent: he then admitted that a person of distinction and veracity had told him that he had been solicited to sign an association. He refused to name him; but either from inattention, or for the good of the cause, he luckily did not require my word of honour, which I must have kept. I have not promised not to divulge this circumstance to any one. It fills me with such terror as I have never yet known. It is not for myself that I feel it. I implore the Queen to calculate in her wisdom all that might result from one false step; the first costs dear enough. I have seen the kind heart of the Queen bestow tears on the fate of immolated victims: now it would be streams of blood spilt to no purpose that she would have to regret. A mere indecision may be without remedy. It is only by breasting the torrent, not by humouring it, that one can succeed in partly directing it. Nothing is lost. The Queen can conquer his kingdom for the King. Nature has lavished upon her the means of doing it; they alone are practicable. She may imitate her august mother: if not, I am silent. . . . I implore your Majesty to grant me an audience some day this week."

L.

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ROBESPIERRE.

The following sketch of Robespierre, who from the period of the banquet of the 2nd of October began to make his influence felt in the revolutionary clubs, is derived from the *Biographie Moderne*:—"Maximilien Isidore Robespierre was born at Arras, in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the Revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went to England, and thence to America, where he suffered his friends to remain ignorant of his existence. His mother,

whose name was Maria Josepha Carreau, was the daughter of a brewer: she soon died, leaving her son, then nine years of age, and a brother, who shared his fate. The Bishop of Arras contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he got him admitted on the foundation. One of the professors there, an admirer of the heroes of Rome, contributed greatly to develop the love of republicanism in him; he surnamed him the Roman, and continually praised his vaunted love of independence and equality. Assiduous and diligent, he went through his studies with considerable credit, and gave promise of talent that he never realized. In 1775, when Louis XVI. made his entry into Paris, he was chosen by his fellow-students to present to that Prince the homage of their gratitude. The political troubles of 1788 heated his brain; he was soon remarked in the revolutionary meetings in 1789; and the *tiers-état* of the province of Artois appointed him one of their deputies to the States-general. On his arrival at the Assembly he obtained very little influence there; however, though the want of eloquence did not permit him to vie with the orators who then shone in the tribune, he began to acquire great power over the populace. For some time he paid court to Mirabeau, who despised him; yet he accompanied him so assiduously in the streets and public squares that he was at last surnamed Mirabeau's ape. In 1790 he continued to gain power over the rabble, and frequently spoke in the Assembly. On the King's departure for Varennes he was disconcerted; but as soon as that Prince had been arrested, his hopes of turning the monarchy increased, and he laboured hard to bring on the insurrections which took place in the Champ de Mars. He had been for some time connected with Marat and Danton, and by their help he exercised great authority over the Jacobins, and through them, over the capital. He was in consequence denounced by the Girondists, who accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. He was one of the most strenuous advocates for the King's trial, and voted for his execution. After overthrowing the party of the Gironde, he turned against his old allies, the Dantonists, whom he brought, together with their chief leaders, to the scaffold, from which time till his fall he reigned without rivals. He restored the worship of the Supréme Being, which the atheist faction of the Hebertists had succeeded in abolishing. After ruling France for some months with a rod of iron, he was arrested, together with his partisans, by the Convention, in consequence of having excited the fear and distrust of some of his colleagues (Billaud-Varennes among the number). At the moment when he saw that he was going to be seized, he tried to destroy himself with a pistol shot, but he only shattered his under jaw. He was immediately led into the lobby of the meeting-hall, then shut up in the Conciergerie, and executed on the 28th of July 1794. As he was proceeding to execution, the prisoners obstructing the passage, the gaoler cried out, 'Make way! make way! I say, for the incorruptible man!' for Robespierre was always vaunting his disinterestedness. He was carried in a cart, placed between Henriot and Couthon. The shops, the windows, the roofs, were filled with spectators as he passed along, and cries of joy accompanied him all the way. His head was wrapped up in a bloody cloth, which supported his under jaw, so that his pale and livid countenance was but half seen. The horsemen who escorted him showed him to the spectators with the point of their sabres. The mob stopped him before the house where he had lived; some women danced before the cart; and one of them cried out, 'Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!' The

executioner, when about to put him to death, roughly tore the dressing off his wound; upon which he uttered a horrible cry; his under jaw separated from the other; the blood spouted out; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of thirty-five. The following epitaph was written for him: 'Passenger, lament not his fate, for were he living, thou wouldst be dead.' Robespierre had not any of those accomplishments or brilliant advantages which seem to command success. He was hard and dry, without imagination and without courage; neither could his feeble constitution, his gloomy countenance, his weak sight, and almost inaudible voice, prepossess or seduce the multitude; and although in public speaking he had by long habit attained some degree of facility, he could never contend with the principal orators of the Convention; but Nature seemed to supply all the resources that she denied him by granting him the art of profiting at the same time by the talents of others, and by the faults which they might commit. Strong in his integrity in pecuniary matters, he always took care to open the path of honours, and especially of riches, to his rivals, that he might be furnished with additional means of ruining them when they became obnoxious to him. Of all the men whom the Revolution brought into notice, none has left a name so generally abhorred as Robespierre."

In the *Memoirs* of the Duchesse d'Abrantès the following highly characteristic anecdote of Robespierre is related:—"When Madame de Provence quitted France, the Comtesse Lamarlière could not accompany her, much as she wished to do so. But she was a wife and a mother, and to these ties she was obliged to sacrifice the sentiments of gratitude which animated her heart. She remained in France to suffer persecution and misery. She saw her husband arrested at the head of the troops he commanded, cast into a dungeon, and conducted to the scaffold. She had the courage to implore the mercy of him who never knew mercy: she threw herself at the feet of Robespierre. Madame Lamarlière had then the look of a young woman: a complexion of dazzling brilliancy, a profusion of fair hair, fine eyes and teeth, could not fail to render her exceedingly attractive. Her beauty was perhaps rather heightened than diminished by despair, when she threw herself at the feet of the dictator, and with a faltering voice implored the pardon of the husband of her child. But the axe was in the hand of the executioner, and amidst a nuptial festival Robespierre pronounced the sentence which made a widow and an orphan. It was on that very day that Robespierre gave away in marriage the daughter of a carpenter named Duplay, in whose house he lodged in the Rue St. Honoré. This Duplay was president of the jury on the Queen's trial. The Comtesse Lamarlière arrived before the hour fixed for the marriage ceremony, and she was obliged to wait in the dining-room, where the table was laid for the nuptial feast. Her feelings may easily be imagined! There she waited, and was introduced to the carpenter's wife. After she was gone, Robespierre merely said, 'That woman is very pretty—very pretty indeed,' accompanying the observation with some odious remarks."

We subjoin the opinion entertained by Lucien Bonaparte, himself an ardent apostle of liberty, respecting Robespierre:—"The first months of 1793 beheld the Jacobins redouble their atrocities; and Robespierre, the most cruel hypocrite, and greatest coward of them all, obtained unlimited power. Some ardent imaginations have not hesitated to celebrate the praises of that man, and also of Couthon and St. Just; they have even dared to insinuate that Robespierre was a patriotic

victim immolated by various conspirators more guilty than himself. They have stated that he fell because he would not proceed in the path of crime. These assertions are contradicted by facts. The revolutionary tribunal was never more active than during the last months of the power of that merciless tribune. Then were struck with hasty blows all those whom birth, fortune, or talents distinguished from the crowd. In the month of April, Malesherbes, one of the most virtuous of men, was dragged to the scaffold at seventy-two years of age, in the same cart with his sister, his son-in-law, his daughter, his grand-daughter, and the husband of that young woman! Robespierre was then at the height of his power. Because he afterwards decimated his accomplices, and because he struck at Danton and his partisans, was he for that reason to be considered more excusable? Blood cannot wash away blood! And for his festival of the Supreme Being, what else was it but a contempt for the religion of all Frenchmen, and a denial of the gospel? Blood was not sufficient for the incorruptible! He desired even to thrust his sacrilegious hands into the very depths of our conscience."—*Memoirs of the Prince of Canino.*

M.

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PETION.

At this period Petion was one of the most influential men of the Revolution. He was an advocate at Chartres, and had been deputed to the States-general by the *tiers-état* of the bailiwick in that city, and distinguished himself by a thorough zeal for the revolutionary party. Endowed with a pleasing address, and a disposition ever enterprising although weak in danger, he became, in spite of the mediocrity of his talents, one of the prime movers in the Revolution. On the 5th of October he denounced the banquets of the body-guards, and seconded the designs of the faction of Orleans, to which he was then entirely devoted. On the 8th he proposed giving to the King the title of "King of the French by consent of the Nation," and suppressing the form of "by the grace of God." In the course of 1790 he supported the revolutionary party with considerable zeal. On the 4th of December the National Assembly elected him their president. In June following he was appointed president of the Criminal Tribunal of Paris. When the Assembly was informed of the departure of Louis XVI., he was one of the three commissioners appointed to go to Varennes after this Prince. At the end of September the Duc d'Orleans sent him to England, and on his return he obtained the situation of mayor, of which he took possession on the 18th of November. It is from this period that his real influence may be dated, as well as the outrages with which he did not cease to overwhelm the King, sometimes by handbills, and sometimes through the means of insurrections. On the 3rd of August he formally demanded of the Assembly, in the name of the commune, the deposition of Louis. On the 10th he took care to be confined at home by the insurgents under his orders, at the very time that his adherents were preparing to attack the palace. It is doubtful whether Petion was privy to the massacres of September, although Prudhomme declares that the mayor, the ministers, &c., were agreed. Being appointed

deputy of Eure et Loire to the Convention, he was the first president of that Assembly, which, at its first meeting on the 21st of September 1792, decreed the abolition of royalty. From that time until the death of Louis XVI., Petion ascended the tribune almost every day, to urge the monarch's execution; and at this period he also laboured in the interests of the Duc d'Orleans, to whose party he appeared very constantly attached. In November, however, a hatred which was in the end fatal to him began to break out between Petion and Robespierre, although up to that time they had been called the two fingers of the hand. In January 1793 he voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and on the 25th of March he was appointed a member of the first committee of public safety, and of general defence. From the declarations of General Miaczinski, who had asserted that Petion was concerned in the projects of Dumouriez, occasion was taken—through the means of Robespierre, Danton, and that party—to form a committee for examining into his conduct. On the 2nd of June a decree of accusation was passed against Petion, and on the 25th of July he was outlawed because he had succeeded in escaping from his own house. In 1794 he was found dead of hunger, or assassinated, and half devoured by beasts, in a field in the department of Gironde. Petion is said to have had an air of haughtiness, a fine face, and an affable look.—*From the Biographie Moderne.*

N.

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The Marquis de Lafayette.

History cannot bestow too much space on the justification even of individuals, especially in a Revolution in which the principal parts were extremely numerous. M. de Lafayette has been so calumniated, and his character is nevertheless so pure, so consistent, that it is right to devote at least one note to him. His conduct during the 5th and 6th of October was that of continual self-devotion, and yet it has been represented as criminal by men who owed their lives to it. He has been reproached, in the first place, with the very violence of the national guard, which drew him against his will to Versailles. Nothing can be more unjust, for though you may with firmness control soldiers whom you have long led to victory, yet citizens recently and voluntarily enrolled, and who obey you merely from the enthusiasm of their opinions, are irresistible when these opinions get the better of them. M. de Lafayette struggled against them for a whole day, and certainly nobody could expect more. Besides, nothing could be more beneficial than his departure; for, but for the national guard, the palace would have been stormed, and it is impossible to say what might have been the fate of the royal family amidst the popular exasperation. As we have already seen, the life-guards would have been overpowered but for the national guards. The presence of M. de Lafayette and his troops at Versailles was therefore indispensable.

Not only has he been reproached for having gone thither, but he has also been censured for having gone to bed when there, and this indulgence has been made the subject of the most virulent and oft-repeated attacks. The truth is that M. de Lafayette remained up till the morning, and that he passed the whole night in sending out patrols, and restoring order

and tranquillity; and what proves how judiciously his precautions were taken is, that none of the posts committed to his care was attacked. All appeared quiet, and he did what any one else would have done in his place: he threw himself on a bed to get a little rest, which he so much needed after struggling for twenty-four hours against the populace. But that rest lasted no longer than half an hour. He was stirring at the first outcries, and in time to save the life-guards who were about to be massacred. What, then, is it possible to reproach him with?—not having been present at the first minute? But this might have happened in any other case. The issuing of an order or the inspecting of a post might have taken him away for half an hour from the point where the first attack was to take place; and his absence at the first moment of the action was the most inevitable of all accidents. But did he arrive in time to save almost all the victims, to preserve the palace and the august personages within it? Did he generously involve himself in the greatest dangers? This is what cannot be denied, and what procured him at the time universal thanks. There was then but one voice among those whom he had saved. Madame de Staël, who cannot be suspected of partiality in favour of M. de Lafayette, relates that she heard the life-guards shouting "*Lafayette for ever!*" Mounier, whose testimony is equally above suspicion, commends his zeal; and M. de Lally-Tollendal regrets that at this crisis he had not been invested with a kind of dictatorship. (*See* his Report to his Constituents.) These two deputies have expressed themselves so strongly against the 5th and 6th of October, that their evidence may be received with perfect confidence. At any rate, in the first moment nobody durst deny an activity that was universally acknowledged. Subsequently the spirit of party, feeling the danger of allowing any virtues to a constitutionalist, denied the services of Lafayette, and then commenced that long series of calumny to which he has ever since been exposed.

O.

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The Mob at Versailles.

"The mob crowded in the marble court, and wandering on the outside of the palace, began to express again their designs with frightful howlings. 'To Paris! to Paris!' were the first cries. Their prey was promised them, and then fresh cries ordered the unfortunate family to appear on the balcony. The Queen showed herself, accompanied by her children; she was forced by threats to send them away. I mixed in the crowd, and beheld for the first time that unfortunate Princess; she was dressed in white, her head was bare, and adorned with beautiful fair locks. Motionless, and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to me like a victim on the block. The enraged populace were not moved at the sight of woe in all its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate Princess could not even find a support in the King, for his presence only augmented the fury of the multitude. At last preparations for departure did more towards appeasing them than promises could have done, and by twelve o'clock the frightful procession set off. I hope such a scene will never be witnessed again! I have often asked myself how the metropolis of a nation so celebrated for urbanity and elegance of

manners—how the brilliant city of Paris could contain the savage hordes I that day beheld, and who so long reigned over it! In walking through the streets of Paris, it seems to me, the features even of the lowest and most miserable class of people do not present to the eye anything like ferociousness, or the meanest passions in all their hideous energy. Can those passions alter the features so as to deprive them of all likeness to humanity? Or does the terror inspired by the sight of a guilty wretch give him the semblance of a wild beast? These madmen, dancing in the mire, and covered with mud, surrounded the King's coach. The groups that marched foremost carried on long pikes the bloody heads of the life-guardsmen butchered in the morning. Surely Satan himself first invented the placing of a human head at the end of a lance! The disfigured and pale features, the gory locks, the half-open mouth, the closed eyes, images of death, added to the gestures and salutations which the executioners made them perform in horrible mockery of life, presented the most frightful spectacle that rage could have imagined. A troop of women, ugly as crime itself, swarming like insects, and wearing grenadiers' hairy caps, went continually to and fro, howling barbarous songs, embracing and insulting the life-guards. This scene lasted for eight hours before the royal family arrived at the Place de Grève. They alighted at the Hôtel de Ville, their first resting-place during protracted misery, that terminated some years afterwards in a horrible death. Thus ended the memorable 6th of October!"—*Memoirs of Lavalette.*

P.

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The Journey to Paris.

"The King did not leave Versailles till one o'clock. The hundred deputies in their carriages followed him. A detachment of brigands, carrying in triumph the heads of two of the life-guards, formed the advanced guard, which had set off two hours earlier. These cannibals stopped for a moment at Sèvres, and carried their ferocity to such a pitch as to force an unfortunate barber to dress the hair of those two bleeding heads. The main body of the Parisian army immediately followed. Before the King's carriage marched the poissardes, who had come the preceding evening from Paris, and that whole army of abandoned women, the scum of their sex, still drunk with fury and with wine. Several of them were astride upon the cannon, celebrating by the most abominable songs all the crimes which they had committed or witnessed. Others, nearer to the King's carriage, were singing allegorical airs, and by their gross gestures applying the insulting allusions in them to the Queen. Carts laden with corn and flour, which had come to Versailles, formed a convoy escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women and market-porters armed with pikes, or carrying large poplar boughs. This part of the cortège produced at some distance the most singular effect: it looked like a moving wood, amidst which glistened pike-heads and gun-barrels. In the transports of their brutal joy the women stopped the passengers and yelled in their ears, while pointing to the royal carriage, 'Courage, my friends; we shall have plenty of bread now that we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's

boy.' Behind his Majesty's carriage were some of his faithful guards, partly on foot, partly on horseback, most of them without hats, all disarmed, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The dragoons, the Flanders regiment, the Cent-Suisses, and the national guards, preceded, accompanied, and followed the file of carriages.

"I was an eye-witness of this distressing spectacle, this melancholy procession. Amidst this tumult, this clamour, these songs interrupted by frequent discharges of musketry, which the hand of a monster or an awkward person might have rendered so fatal, I saw the Queen retain the most courageous tranquillity of mind, and air of inexpressible nobleness and dignity: my eyes filled with tears of admiration and grief."—*Bertrand de Molleville.*

Q.

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Lafayette's Account of the 5th and 6th October 1789.

The following is Lafayette's own account of this affair. It is derived from the numerous *Memoirs* of the General, lately published by his family:—"The numerous and armed hordes who quitted Paris on the 5th of October, and who, united with the populace of Versailles, committed the disorders of that day, were totally distinct from the immense assemblage that, blockading themselves and us, made it difficult for the news of that tumultuous departure for Versailles to reach the Hôtel de Ville. I instantly perceived that, whatever might be the consequence of this double movement, the public safety required that I should take part in it, and after having received from the Hôtel de Ville an order and two commissaries, I hastily provided for the security of Paris, and took the road to Versailles at the head of several battalions. When we approached the hall of the Assembly the troops renewed their oath. They only advanced after I had offered my respects to the president, and received orders from the King, who, having heard speeches from the commissaries and me, desired me to occupy the posts of the former French guards; and in truth, at that time the pretension of taking possession of the palace would have appeared a most singular one. Not only the gardes-du-corps on service, but the Swiss sentinels stationed in the garden, and four hundred gardes-du-corps on horseback on the side towards Trianon, were not dependent in the slightest degree on me. I did not undoubtedly carry terror into the palace; I answered for my own troops; the result proved that I was right in doing so. I was not sufficiently master of the minds of the courtiers to believe that their security depended solely on myself: for example, it was not I who sent to their own homes in Versailles the greatest number of the officers of the gardes-du-corps; nor was it I who sent to Rambouillet, at two o'clock in the morning (instead of employing them in forming patrols), the four hundred horse-guards placed on the side nearest to the gardens of Trianon.

[I have been told by a person worthy of credit, who had this piece of intelligence from M. de la Tour du Pin, the minister, that the King had hesitated until two in the morning respecting the projects of flight proposed to him.]

"I procured lodgings for the drenched and fatigued troops; I ascer-

tained that the Hôtel des Gardes-du-corps was defended by a battalion; I ordered patrols in the town and round the palace. The entry into the King's chamber was refused me at two o'clock in the morning: I then repaired to the house of M. de Montmorin, in the minister's court, within reach of my grenadiers. At break of day all things appeared to me to wear a tranquil aspect; I went to the Hôtel de Noailles, very near the palace, in which the staff received reports. I made some necessary arrangements for Paris; I partook of some refreshments, and should have believed that exhausted nature required, after more than twenty hours' unremitting exertion, some repose, if a few minutes later a sudden alarm had not restored to me all my strength.

"That infernal irruption was in truth most sudden, and perfectly distinct from the other tumults. Two gardes-du-corps were killed; other brave and faithful guards stopped the brigands at the door of the apartment of the Queen, who was conducted to the King by young Victor Maubourg, one of their officers. The grenadiers of my advanced post had scarcely arranged themselves in order of battle when they received my command to hasten to the palace. A volunteer company also repaired thither very speedily. I flew at the same time to the spot, having sprung on the first horse I met with. I was fortunate enough, in the first instance, to liberate a group of gardes-du-corps, and having confided them to the charge of the few persons who accompanied me, I remained surrounded by a furious mob, one of whom cried out to the others to kill me. I commanded them to seize him, doubtless in a very authoritative voice, for they dragged him towards me, striking his head on the pavement. I found the apartments occupied with national guards. The King deigned never to forget the scene that ensued, when the grenadiers, with tears in their eyes, promised me to perish to the last man for him. During that time our guards were arriving; the courts were lined with national guards, and filled with a multitude in a high state of excitement. Those who heard me address the King were not dissatisfied with my expressions.

"I had long been of opinion that the Assembly would be more quiet, and the King more secure, in Paris. I refused, however, being present at the deliberation (become necessary, I own), in which the departure was decided upon; and as soon as the Queen had declared her noble determination of accompanying the King, I did, before thousands of witnesses, all that could be expected from the circumstances and my devotion. It was then that in the King's cabinet, while embraced by Madame Adelaide, I received from that respectable Princess testimonies of approbation that ill prepared me for the abuse from which I have since been obliged to vindicate myself.

"The statements of the proceedings of the Châtelet have mingled together the assertions, opinions, reports, and even suppositions of men of all parties. Such absurd accusations are found there, as that Mirabeau was seen on the 5th armed with a sabre, among the soldiers of a Flemish regiment; that a prince distributed money at six o'clock in the morning; and several tales of the same nature, the falsehood of which is evident. I have looked over some letters from officers and gardes-du-corps, found in the King's cabinet, written in 1790 and 1791. Some of them addressed to a friend are evidently intended to efface, at the expense of other persons, unfavourable expressions; other letters contain inaccuracies, contradictions, and insignificant phrases; but all of them tend to prove that we only had charge of the ancient posts, the French guards; that when the chiefs of the gardes-du-corps required instruc-

tions, it was to the King, the ministers, and M. d'Estaing, and not to me, that they thought proper to apply; that I had taken, and even redoubled, every precaution for the Hôtel des Gardes-du-corps; that those guards, as well as the palace, were saved by us; and that a wounded guard of the King selected my house in Paris as the place in which he would best be taken care of. These words, 'M. de Lafayette has saved us,' are continually repeated. Among the false assertions that have been propagated, I shall relate but one; it was said that the heads of two unfortunate gardes-du-corps had been carried before the carriage of the King. While we were only thinking of saving their comrades and the royal family, it is sufficiently horrible that bandits should have escaped with the infamous trophies of their crimes; but they had arrived at the Palais Royal; and public authority had succeeded in dispersing them before the King had even quitted Versailles."

Career of M. de Lafayette.

"Lafayette, born in Auvergne, of one of the most ancient families of that province, was employed, when still young, in the army that Louis XVI. sent to defend the independence of the English colonies of North America. Rochambeau placed him at the head of some volunteers, and in this manner he served with some distinction during the whole war. He returned to France with the rank of major-general, full of ideas of liberty. Being appointed by the noblesse of his province deputy to the States-general, he voted that the examination of the powers should take place in common. After the union of the three orders, he insisted, with Mirabeau, on the removal of the troops whom the Court was marching towards Paris. Being appointed vice-president, he presented his well-known declaration of rights. In July 1789 he was appointed commander of the Parisian national guard. A few days after the famous 5th of October, Lafayette, in a conference, very imperious on the one side, and very timid on the other, gave the Duc d'Orleans to understand that his name was the pretext for all commotions, and that he must leave the kingdom. An apparent mission was given to this Prince, and he set out for England. In February 1790, Lafayette, in the Assembly, solicited measures for repressing the disturbers of the provinces, and indemnifying the proprietors of burnt houses; these excesses he attributed to the counter-revolutionary spirit. He afterwards voted for the suppression of titles of honour and nobility, refusing even to admit of an exception in favour of the princes. At the Federation in July he presented the national guards, who were collected from every part of the kingdom, to the Assembly and the King. At the time of Louis' flight he was accused by the Jacobins of having assisted in it, and by the royalists of having contrived the arrest of his sovereign. When the King's fate was debated in the Assembly, Lafayette was among those who objected to the motion for bringing him to trial and declaring him deposed. When the constitution was accepted, Lafayette voted for the amnesty demanded by the King, and resigned his office of commander of the guard, upon which the municipality ordered a gold medal to be struck in his honour. In 1792, Lafayette went to Metz, where he took the command of the central army. At first he encamped under the walls of Givet, but his advanced guard, posted near Philipsburg, met with a slight check, upon which he re-

moved to the entrenched camp at Maubeige, and placed his advanced guard at Grisnelles, under the command of Gouvion, where it was surprised and cut to pieces, and its leader killed by a cannon-ball. Shortly afterwards Lafayette's army received accounts of the attempt made on the 20th of June, and in different addresses declared its disapprobation of the outrage offered on that day to Louis. Proud of such support, Lafayette went to Paris, and appeared at the bar of the Legislative Body, where he complained of these outrages, and accused the Jacobins. For one moment the Assembly seemed intimidated by this step, but the faction soon took courage; and Lafayette returned to his army, after having in vain urged Louis to leave Paris and come among his troops, who were then faithful. Soon after, commissions having been sent from Paris to insist on his removal from his command, he addressed his troops in a proclamation, in which he called on them to choose between the constitution and Petion for a king. The whole army exclaimed, 'Long live the King!' 'Long live the constitution!' but Lafayette, placing little dependence on this burst of enthusiasm, fled with several officers of his staff. He was then declared an emigrant. On his arrival at the Austrian advanced posts he was made a prisoner. He was afterwards delivered up to the King of Prussia, who caused him to be removed to Magdeburg, where he remained a year in a dungeon; but when Prussia made peace with France, he was restored to the Austrians, who sent him to Olmutz. After a rigorous imprisonment of three years and five months, he obtained his liberty at the request of Bonaparte. He then withdrew to Hamburg, and after the 18th Brumaire returned to France."—*Biographie Moderne.* From this period Lafayette remained in comparative retirement till the breaking out of the second Revolution in 1830, when he was again appointed commander of the national guards, which, however, he resigned shortly after the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne. He died in the year 1834, at the age of seventy-six.

R.

[*Page* 98.]

Jean Sylvain Bailly.

"Jean Sylvain Bailly was one of the forty of the French Academy, and deputy of Paris to the States-general. Born in Paris on the 15th of September 1736, nature had endowed him with all the talents which fit men for the study of the sciences, and the meditations of philosophy. After several essays, which were well received by the public, he published a "History of Astronomy." When the Revolution broke out in 1789 the electors of Paris chose him as secretary, and then as deputy of the *tiers-état* to the States-general. He was president of this Assembly in its first session. On the 16th of July he was appointed mayor of Paris. When, after the flight of the King, the parties were divided, and the more violent Revolutionists wished to seize the opportunity of pronouncing the forfeiture of Louis, Bailly opposed the ferments excited in Paris in favour of the party of the forfeiture. An immense crowd having thronged to the Champ de Mars to frame an address recommending the forfeiture, on the 17th July 1791, Bailly caused martial law to be proclaimed against this assembly, which was dispersed

by armed force. The National Assembly approved this step; but from this time Bailly perceived that his credit was sinking. He vacated the office of mayor early in November, and then went over to England, whence he returned shortly after to Paris, trusting to spend the rest of his days in retirement. He was, however, arrested in 1793, and brought to trial in November before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to death. On the day after the passing of his sentence he was put into the fatal cart, and while proceeding to execution, was loaded with the insults of the people. It was resolved that he should die on the Champ de Mars, in the very place where he had caused the seditious people to be fired on. Here he fell down in a fainting fit. When he recovered, he demanded haughtily that an end might be put to his miseries. 'Dost thou tremble, Bailly?' said one of his executioners, seeing his limbs, weakened by age, quiver. 'Friend,' answered he calmly, if I do tremble, it is with cold.' After having been subjected to every species of ignominy, he ran himself to the scaffold, which had been fixed upon a heap of dung. He died with great courage. Bailly was tall, his face long and serious, and his character by no means devoid of sensibility. There are several valuable works on astronomy by him. His widow died in 1800."—*Biographie Moderne.*

S.

[*Page* 108.]

Party Spirit in the Assembly.

It will not be uninteresting to show the opinion of Ferrières concerning the manner in which the deputies of his own party behaved in the Assembly.

"In the National Assembly," says Ferrières, "there were not more than about three hundred really upright men, exempt from party spirit, not belonging to any club, wishing what was right, wishing it for its own sake, independently of the interests of orders or of bodies, always ready to embrace the most just and the most beneficial proposal, no matter from what quarter it came, or by whom it was supported. These were the men worthy of the honourable function to which they had been called, who made the few good laws that proceeded from the Constituent Assembly. It was they who prevented all the mischief which was not done by it. Invariably adopting what was good, as invariably opposing what was bad, they have frequently produced a majority in favour of resolutions which but for them would have been rejected from a spirit of faction; and they have often defeated motions which but for them would have been adopted from a spirit of interest.

"While on this subject, I cannot abstain from remarking on the impolitic conduct of the nobles and the bishops. As they aimed only to dissolve the Assembly, to throw discredit on its operations, instead of opposing mischievous measures, they manifested an indifference on this point which is inconceivable. When the president stated the question, they quitted the hall, inviting the deputies of their party to follow them; or if they stayed, they called out to them to take no part in the deliberation. The Clubbists, forming through this dereliction of duty a majority of the Assembly, carried every resolution they pleased. The

bishops and the nobles, firmly believing that the new order of things would not last, hastened, with a sort of impatience, as if determined to accelerate the downfall, both the ruin of the monarchy and their own ruin. With this senseless conduct they combined an insulting disdain both of the Assembly and of the people who attended the sittings. Instead of listening, they laughed and talked aloud, thus confirming the people in the unfavourable opinion which it had conceived of them; and instead of striving to recover its confidence and its esteem, they strove only to gain its hatred and its contempt. All these follies arose solely from the mistaken notion of the bishops and the nobles, who could not persuade themselves that the Revolution had long been effected in the opinion and in the heart of every Frenchman. They hoped by means of these dikes to set bounds to a torrent which was daily swelling. All they did served only to produce a greater accumulation of its waters, to occasion greater ravages—obstinately clinging to the old system, the basis of all their actions, of all their opposition, but which was repudiated by all. By this impolitic obstinacy they forced the Revolutionists to extend the Revolution beyond the goal which they had set up for themselves. The nobles and the bishops then exclaimed against injustice, tyranny. They talked of the antiquity and the legitimacy of their rights to men who had sapped the foundation of all rights."—*Ferrières*, tom. ii. p. 122.

T.

[*Page* 110.]

The Marquis de Favras.

"The Marquis de Favras, formerly lieutenant of Monsieur's Swiss guards, was condemned by the Châtelet of Paris, on the 18th of February 1790, for having endeavoured to excite a counter-revolutionary project, and for having intended to attempt the life of Lafayette, Bailly, and Necker, and to carry off the King and the royal family. He was born at Blois, devoted himself from his earliest youth to the service, and went into the musketeers in 1755. In 1761 he obtained a company of dragoons in the regiment of Belsunce; and served with distinction in the campaigns of 1762 and 1763, after which he was appointed adjutant. In 1772 he acquired the office of first lieutenant of Monsieur's Swiss, which conferred the rank of colonel. In 1786 he went to Vienna to get his wife legitimatized as only daughter of the Prince of Anhalt-Schaumburg. In 1787 he commanded a legion in Holland at the time of the insurrection against the Stadtholder. In 1790 he was accused of having plotted, at Paris, against the Revolution; of having wanted to introduce armed men into Paris by night, in order to destroy the three principal heads of the administration; of attacking the King's guard; of taking away the seals of the State; and even of carrying off the King and his family to Véronne. He was summoned before the Châtelet, and repelled all the accusations brought against him; but his denials did not prevent the judges from condemning him. The announcement of his sentence did not shake his fortitude; he dictated his will with calmness, and paid great attention to the style of it. Favras was executed on the 11th of February 1790. On mounting

the scaffold he desired to be heard, and addressing himself to the people, said, 'Citizens, I am about to appear before God; I cannot be suspected of lying at this dreadful moment; well, then, I swear to you before Heaven, that I am not guilty. Do your office,' added he, addressing the executioner. The people showed the greatest fury against this victim, who was sacrificed to the policy of the moment. During the trial, groups of furious persons made the environs of the Châtelet echo with cries of 'Favras to the lamp-post!' Monsieur was so talked of among the populace as the principal person in this affair, that he thought proper to go to the town-hall and publicly disavow the plots ascribed to him. The Assembly seemed persuaded of the truth of these denials."—*Biographie Moderne.*

U.

[*Page* 112.]

The King's Speech, 4th February 1790.

The speech of the King on this occasion is too remarkable not to be quoted, with some remarks. That excellent and too unfortunate Prince was in a continual hesitation, and at certain times he perceived very clearly his own duties and the faults of the Court. The tone which pervades the speech delivered by him on the 4th of February proves sufficiently that in this instance his words were not prompted, and that he expressed himself with a due sense of his actual situation.

"Gentlemen, the critical circumstances in which France is placed bring me among you. The progressive relaxation of all the bonds of order and subordination, the suspension or the inactivity of justice, the discontents arising from individual privations, the unfortunate oppositions and animosities which are the inevitable consequences of long dissensions, the critical state of the finances, and the uncertainty respecting the public fortune; in short, the general agitation of minds, all seem to concur in exciting uneasiness in the true friends to the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom.

"A grand goal is presented to your view, but it is requisite that it be attained without any increase of agitation and without new convulsions. It was, I must say, in a more agreeable and a more quiet manner that I hoped to lead you to it when I formed the design of assembling you, and of bringing together, for the public welfare, the talents and the opinions of the representatives of the nation; but my happiness and my glory are not the less closely connected with the success of your labours.

"I have protected them by excessive vigilance from the baneful influence which the disastrous circumstances amidst which you are placed might have upon you. The horrors of dearth, which France had reason to apprehend last year, have been averted by the utmost care and by immense supplies. The disorder which the former state of the finances, the discredit, the extreme scarcity of specie, and the gradual decrease of the revenue, must naturally produce—this disorder, at least in its vehemence and its excesses, has hitherto been prevented. I have everywhere mitigated, and particularly in the capital, the dangerous consequences of the want of employment, and notwithstanding the decay of all the means of authority, I have maintained the kingdom, not in the quiet which I could have wished—very far from it—but in a state of

tranquillity sufficient to receive the blessing of a wise and well-regulated liberty. Lastly, notwithstanding our generally known situation at home, and notwithstanding the political storms which are agitating other nations, I have preserved peace abroad, and kept up with all the powers of Europe the relations of good-will and amity, which are capable of rendering that peace more durable.

"After having thus preserved you from great calamities, which might so easily have thwarted your efforts and your labours, I think the time is come when it is of importance to the interest of the State that I should associate myself, in a more express and manifest manner, in the execution and success of all that you have planned for the benefit of France. I cannot seize a more signal occasion than that when you submit to my acceptance decrees destined to establish a new organization in the kingdom, which must have so important and so propitious an influence on the happiness of my subjects, and on the prosperity of this empire.

"You know, gentlemen, it is more than ten years ago that at a time when the wishes of the nation relative to provincial assemblies had not yet been expressed, I began to substitute that kind of administration for the one which ancient and long habit had sanctioned. Experience having taught me that I have not erred in the opinion which I had formed of the utility of these establishments, I strove to extend the same benefit to all the provinces of my kingdom; and in order to ensure general confidence to the new administrations, I determined that the members who were to compose them should be freely elected by all the citizens. You have improved upon these views in several ways; and the most essential, no doubt, is that equal and wisely calculated subdivision which by breaking down the ancient partitions between province and province, and establishing a general and complete system of equilibrium, more intimately unites all the parts of the kingdom in one and the same spirit, and one and the same interest. This grand idea, this salutary design, are entirely your own: it required nothing less than a union of opinions on the part of the representatives of the nation; it required nothing less than their just ascendency over the general sentiments, to undertake with confidence a change of such vast importance, and to vanquish in the name of reason the opposition of habit and of private interests."

All that the King here says is perfectly just and sincere. It is true that he had formerly attempted all the improvements of his own accord, and that he had set a rare example among princes—that of anticipating the wants of their subjects. The commendations which he bestows on the new territorial division bear also the character of entire sincerity, for it was certainly beneficial to the government, by destroying the opposition which particular localities had frequently made to it. Everything induces us therefore to believe that the King here speaks with perfect sincerity. He proceeds:—

"I will promote, I will second, by all the means in my power, the success of that vast organization on which depends the welfare of France; and I think it necessary to observe, that I am too attentive to the internal condition of the kingdom, my eyes are too open to the dangers of all kinds by which we are encompassed, not to be deeply sensible that, in the present disposition of minds, and considering the actual state of public affairs, it is requisite that a new order of things should be established quietly and peaceably, or the kingdom may be exposed to all the calamities of anarchy.

"Let well-disposed citizens reflect on this, as I have done, fixing their attention exclusively on the welfare of the State, and they will perceive, even in spite of the difference of opinion, that a paramount interest must this day unite them all. Time will remedy what may yet remain defective in the collection of the laws which shall have been the work of this Assembly."

This indirect and delicate censure proves that the King had no intention to flatter, but to speak the truth, observing at the same time the necessary measure.

"But every enterprise that should tend to shake the principles of the constitution itself, all concert that should aim at overthrowing them or diminishing their beneficial influence, would serve only to introduce among us the frightful evils of discord; and supposing such an attempt against my people and myself to be successful, the result would deprive us of the various blessings of which a new order of things holds out a prospect to us, without supplying any substitute.

"Let us then confidently indulge the hopes we are justified in conceiving, and let us think of realizing them only by unanimity. Let it be known everywhere that the monarch and the representatives of the nation are united in the same interest and in the same wish; in order that this opinion, this firm belief, may diffuse through the provinces a spirit of peace and goodwill, and that all citizens distinguished for their honesty, all those who are capable of rendering the State essential service by their zeal and their talents, may be solicitous to take part in the different subdivisions of the general administration, the unanimity of which must efficaciously concur in the re-establishment of order, and in the prosperity of the kingdom.

"We must not disguise it from ourselves; there is much to be done to reach that goal. A persevering determination, a general and common effort, are absolutely necessary to obtain real success. Continue your labours, then, without any other passion than that of doing good; keep your chief attention constantly fixed on the condition of the people and on the public liberty; but direct it also to the means of soothing, of tranquillizing all jealousies, and put an end as speedily as possible to the different alarms which keep so many of her citizens aloof from France, and the effect of which is in such contrast with the laws of safety and liberty that you are desirous of establishing: prosperity will not return without the general consent. We perceive on every side hopes; be impatient to see also on every side happiness.

"Some day, I fondly believe, every Frenchman without exception will acknowledge the benefit of the total suppression of the differences of order and condition, when they have to labour in common for the public welfare, for the prosperity of the country, which equally interests all the citizens; and every one must see without difficulty, that in order to be called henceforward to serve the State in any manner, it will be sufficient for a man to have rendered himself remarkable by his talents and by his virtues.

"At the same time, however, all that reminds a nation of the antiquity and the continuity of the services of an honoured race is a distinction that nothing can destroy; and as it is united with the duties of gratitude, those who in all classes of society aspire to serve their country efficaciously, and those who have already had the happiness to do so, have an interest in respecting this transmission of titles or of recollections, the fairest of all the inheritances that can be bequeathed to one's children.

"Neither must the respect due to the ministers of religion be allowed to be swept away; and when their consideration shall be principally united to the sacred truths which are under the safeguard of order and morality, all honest and enlightened citizens will have an equal interest in upholding and defending it.

"*No doubt those who have relinquished their pecuniary privileges, those who will no longer form, as of old, an order in the State, find themselves subjected to sacrifices the importance of which I fully appreciate; but I am persuaded that they will have generosity enough to seek an indemnification in all the public advantages of which the establishment of National Assemblies holds out a hope.*"

The King continues, as the reader perceives, to impress upon all parties the advantages of the new laws, and at the same time the necessity of retaining something of the ancient. What he says to the privileged classes proves his real opinion respecting the necessity and justice of the sacrifices that had been required of them, and their resistance will be everlastingly condemned by the words contained in this speech. It would be vain to urge that the King was not free; the care which he here takes to balance the concessions, counsels, and even reproaches, proves that he spoke sincerely. He expressed himself very differently when some time afterwards he wished to give notoriety to the state of restraint in which he conceived himself to be. His letter to the ambassadors, quoted hereafter, will sufficiently prove this. The thoroughly popular exaggeration which pervades it demonstrates the intention to appear to be no longer free. But the moderation of what he says here leaves no room for doubt, and what follows is so touching, so delicate, that it is impossible not to have been felt by him who had made up his mind to write and to deliver it:—

"I, too, should have losses to enumerate, if, amidst the most important interests of the State, I could dwell upon personal calculations; but I find a compensation that satisfies me, a full and entire compensation in the increase of the national happiness; and this sentiment comes from the very bottom of my heart.

"I will defend, therefore, I will uphold, constitutional liberty, the principles of which the public wish, in accordance with mine, has sanctioned. *I will do more; and in concert with the Queen, who shares all my sentiments, I will early adapt the mind and heart of my son to the new order of things which circumstances have brought about. I will accustom him from his very first years to seek happiness in the happiness of the French*, and ever to acknowledge that in spite of the language of flatterers a wise constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience, and that a just liberty adds a new value to the sentiments of affection and loyalty, of which the nation has for so many ages given such touching proofs to its kings.

"I dare not doubt that in completing your work you will provide with wisdom and candour for the firm establishment of the executive power, that condition without which there cannot exist any durable order at home or any consideration abroad. No distrust can reasonably be left you: it is therefore your duty, as citizens and as faithful representatives of the nation, to ensure to the welfare of the State, and to the public liberty, that stability which can proceed only from an active and tutelary authority. You will surely bear in mind that without such an authority all the parts of your constitution will remain at once without bond and without correspondence: and in turning your attention to liberty, which you love, and which I love also, you will not lose

sight of this truth, that disorder in administration, by producing a confusion of powers, frequently degenerates, through blind violence, into the most dangerous and the most alarming of all tyrannies.

"Thus, not for my sake, gentlemen, who weigh not what is personal to myself against the laws and institutions which are to regulate the destiny of the empire, but for the very happiness of our country, for its prosperity, for its power, I exhort you to rid yourselves of all the impressions of the moment which could divert you from considering in its totality what such a kingdom as France requires, both on account of its great extent, its immense population, and its inevitable relations with foreign countries.

"Neither will you neglect to turn your attention to what is required of legislators by the manners, the character, and the habits of a nation that has become too famous in Europe, from the nature of its understanding and genius, for it to appear matter of indifference whether you uphold or undermine in it those sentiments of kindness, confidence, and generosity which have gained it so much renown.

"Set it also an example of that spirit of justice which serves as a safeguard to property, to that right respected by all nations, which is not the work of chance, which springs not from the privileges of opinion, but which is closely connected with the most essential relations of public order, and with the first conditions of social harmony.

"By what fatality is it that when tranquillity began to be restored, fresh disturbances have spread over the provinces! By what fatality is it that fresh outrages are there perpetrated! Join with me in putting a stop to them, and let us exert all our efforts to prevent criminal excesses from sullying these days in which the felicity of the nation is preparing. You who possess so many means of influencing public confidence, *enlighten, in regard to its true interests, that people which pains are taken to mislead; that good people which is so dear to me, and by which I am assured that I am loved when those around me wish to cheer me up under my troubles.* Ah! if it but knew how unhappy I feel at the news of an attack upon property, or an act of violence against persons, perhaps it would spare me this severe infliction.

"I cannot address you on the great interests of the State without urging you to bestow your attention, in a serious and definitive manner, on all that relates to the re-establishment of order in the finances, and to the tranquillity of the innumerable multitude of citizens who are connected by some tie with the public fortune.

"It is time to allay all apprehensions; it is time to confer on this kingdom the strength of credit which it has a right to claim. You cannot undertake everything at once; accordingly I invite you to reserve for other times part of the benefits which the assemblage of your talents pictures to your view; but when you shall have added to what you have already accomplished, a wise and rational plan for the exercise of justice; when you shall have firmly laid the foundations of a perfect equilibrium between the revenue and the expenditure of the State; lastly, when you shall have completed the work of the constitution, you will have acquired strong claims to public gratitude; and in the successive continuation of the National Assemblies, a continuation founded henceforward on that very constitution, there will be nothing more to do than to add from year to year new means of prosperity. May this day on which your sovereign comes to unite with you in the most frank and cordial manner, be a memorable epoch in the history of this empire! It will be so, I hope, if my ardent wishes, if my earnest exhortations can be a signal of

peace and of reconciliation between you. *Let those who would still keep aloof from a spirit of concord that is become so necessary, make a sacrifice to me of all the recollections which afflict them; I will repay them with my gratitude and my affection.*

"Profess all of you from this day forward, profess all of you—and I will set the example—but one opinion, but one interest, but one will—attachment to the new constitution, and an ardent desire for the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of France."

V.

[*Page* 113.]

The Queen's Opinion of Mirabeau.

Previously to this interview, the Queen, though she dreaded his power, held Mirabeau in the utmost detestation, as appears from the following anecdote which the Duchesse d'Abrantès has related in her *Memoirs*:—"On the 7th of May 1789 the Queen was informed of Mirabeau's hostile intentions. M. Necker was consulted about the expediency of entering into a negotiation with him; and his opinion was, that Mirabeau was possessed of extraordinary talent, but wanted judgment; and M. Necker considered him not very formidable. He therefore declined to have anything to do with the matter, and merely yielded to the Queen's wish to place at her disposal a sum of money to assist the execution of her designs. Furnished with his instructions and a well-stocked purse, the Comte de Reb— went one morning to Mirabeau, plied him with much art, and finally made him offers which he felt confident he would not hesitate to accept. But fate ordained that the man who had always been needy and tormented by creditors, should be at that moment well supplied with money. What was the result? He rejected the Comte de Reb—'s offer, and asked him for whom he took him. He thus dismissed the Comte with all the dignity of an ancient Greek, telling him that offers of money could not be listened to by him. The Comte, though chagrined, did not lose hope. He knew Mirabeau well enough, and was sure he would not remain long in his present frame of mind. Shortly afterwards a certain M. Joulevet called on the Comte de Reb—, and announced to him that Mirabeau consented to place all his influence at the disposal of the Court, but required an honourable treaty, and not a paltry bargain; that he did not wish to supersede M. Necker, but that any other department of the ministry would suit him. On these terms he would devote himself to the Court. The Comte, on hearing this, went to Mirabeau, was well received, and heard all the reasons he gave for his readiness to *sacrifice* himself by entering the ministry at such a moment. The same day the Comte saw the individual who was to speak to the Queen; and he, on the first intelligence of the capitulation of Mirabeau—for he was really a tower of strength—ran immediately to acquaint her Majesty with the news. The Comte de Reb— followed, and when he entered the royal cabinet the Queen advanced towards him, her countenance beaming with pleasure. 'The King will be gratified by your zeal, Monsieur,' said she to the plenipotentiary: 'well, had you a good bargain of this man? How much has he cost?' He replied that Mirabeau, with true magnanimity,

had rejected all propositions of a pecuniary nature. He then mentioned the appointment to the ministry. At this the Queen reddened, and then turned deadly pale. She closed her eyes, and striking her forehead with her hand, exclaimed, 'A minister! Make Riquetti Mirabeau a minister! Never, never will I allow the threshold of the King's council to be sullied by the footsteps of such a man!' She trembled with rage. 'Let him have money—grant him all he asks for; but to make him a minister! Is it possible that my friends can give me this advice?' She then paced the room with every mark of agitation, repeating the words, 'A minister, forsooth! a minister.' The negotiation was consequently broken off for a season; for Mirabeau would not accept money, and the Queen would not till long afterwards consent to grant him an interview."

W.

[*Page* 114.]

THE MARQUIS DE BOUILLÉ.

"The Marquis de Bouillé was a gentleman of Auvergne, and a relative of Lafayette's. After having served in the dragoons, he became colonel of the regiment of Vexin infantry. Having attained the rank of major-general, the King appointed him governor-general of the Windward Islands. In 1778 he took Dominica, St. Eustatia, and soon after St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. On his return he was made lieutenant-general. In 1789 he brought back to its duty the revolted garrison of Metz. On the 5th of September in the same year, Grégoire complained to the Assembly that M. de Bouillé had not administered the civic oath individually, and obtained a decree that he should be obliged to do it. In 1790 he was commissioned to bring under subjection the garrison of Nancy, which had risen against its chiefs; he advanced upon the town with four thousand men, and succeeded in this enterprise, in which he showed much bravery, and which at first gained him great praises from the National Assembly, and afterwards as many reproaches. Being chosen by the King to facilitate his escape from Paris, in June 1791, Bouillé marched at the head of a body of troops to protect the passage of the royal family; but by false advices or ill-executed orders, this enterprise failed, and M. de Bouillé had great difficulty in leaving France. From Luxemburg he wrote to the Assembly a letter full of threats, and concluded by saying, that if a hair of Louis XVI.'s head was touched, he would not leave one stone on another in Paris. On the 13th of July the Assembly decreed that he should be tried for contumacy, and that the papers relative to the King's escape should be sent to the high court of the nation. From Vienna, whither he had first gone, Bouillé passed to the Court of Sweden, which gave him employment, and in the name of which he promised powerful assistance to the French princes. After the death of Gustavus III., M. de Bouillé went to England, where he published some valuable papers on the Revolution. He died in London, in 1803."—*Biographie Moderne.*

X.

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The Abbé Maury.

"Jean Siffrein Maury, Prior of Lyons, Abbot of La Frenade, and King's preacher, was born at Vabreas, in the county of Avignon, on the 26th of June 1746, of a family engaged in commerce and in the law. He came very young to Paris, where his talent for preaching gained him several benefices, and he acquired reputation and a seat in the Academy by his sermons and panegyrics previous to the Revolution; at which period he employed all his eloquence in defence of the monarchy. It has been observed that he is almost the only person whom this line of conduct has not led to indigence or death. In 1789 the clergy of Peronne deputed him to the States-general, where he displayed eloquence, erudition, and a talent for extempore speaking, which rendered him formidable to the opposite party. In the chamber of the clergy he strongly objected to the union of the orders, and when it was effected, he for some time abandoned Versailles, and was arrested at Peronne, but soon released by order of the Assembly, in which he again appeared. On the 13th of October the Abbé Maury spoke eloquently in defence of the property of the clergy, which it was proposed to declare national. On the 9th of November he occasioned a tremendous commotion by accusing the president of exclusive partiality to the left side. On the 19th of December, he, supported by a great part of his order, protested against the measure for making assignats payable from the property of the clergy. On the 23rd he spoke with energy against the admission of Jews, executioners, and players to the rights of citizens, representing the two latter professions as infamous. On the 24th of February 1791, Maury made a victorious attack on the motion for compelling the King and the presumptive heir to the crown to reside near the Legislative Body, and ended his speech by a shout of 'God save the King!' which was repeated by the right side. On the 13th of May he discussed the great question concerning the admission of people of colour to the rights of citizens, which produced considerable effect on the Assembly, and gained him the applause of all parties. Leaving France after the Assembly closed, Maury went to Rome, where the Pope conferred on him the title of bishop, and sent him to Frankfort, in 1792, to assist as apostolic nuncio at the coronation of the Emperor. In 1792, after the 10th of August, the Legislative Assembly passed a decree of accusation against Maury; but it is worthy of remark, that though one of the most zealous defenders of the monarchy and the clergy, he was never an object of personal hatred to the populace. 'At least he does not seek to betray us, but openly supports the cause he has embraced,' said the people of the capital. Maury's presence of mind was remarkable. On one occasion when a Parisian mob pursued him with the fatal cry of 'To the lamp-post!' he coolly turned round and said, 'And when you have put me in the place of the lamp, do you imagine you will see the better?' A general laugh followed this remark, and Maury was left unmolested. In 1793 he was appointed Archbishop of Nice, and next year he received the cardinal's hat. In the beginning of 1805, Maury addressed a letter to Napoleon, in which he recognized the new government. Although he himself escaped the scaffold by quitting France before the reign of the Jacobins, yet almost the whole of Maury's family perished in one year."—*Biographie Moderne.*

Y.

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M. DE CALONNE.

"M. Calonne was the third who had succeeded to the office of controller of the finances from the dismissal of M. Necker. He was confessedly a man of ability, and had filled successively the office of intendant of Metz, and of the province of Flanders and Artois. The public, however, saw with disgust and apprehension the wealth of the nation fall into the hands of a man who had dilapidated his own patrimony; who, inconsiderate in character, and immoral upon system, had dishonoured his talents by his vices, and his dignities by the baseness of his conduct; and who, while he exercised the office of procureur-general of the parliament of Douay, had degraded himself so far as to act as the spy of the minister with respect to the procureur-general of the parliament of Bretagne, and had the insolence to sit as the judge of that respectable magistrate, whom he had calumniated; and who, grown grey in the intrigues of gallantry and of the Court, came with a flock of needy sycophants, to devour the revenues of the nation under the pretence of administering them. The first part of the career of M. Calonne was, notwithstanding, brilliant, but it was only a brilliant deception. One of his first measures was to establish a sinking fund, which, by a kind of ministerial juggle, was, in a certain course of years, to discharge the whole national debt. It was even reported by his agents that he had discovered the miraculous secret of paying off the debts of the nation by—borrowing!"—*Impartial History of the French Revolution.*

In the memoirs ascribed to the unfortunate Princesse de Lamballe, it is asserted that M. de Calonne took an active part in the publication of Madame de la Motte's work against the Queen, relative to the celebrated affair of the necklace. It is there said also, that Sheridan, having accidentally seen at a London bookseller's a copy of the first edition, corrected by a person in Paris, supposed to be one of the King's ministers, wrote to the Princesse de Lamballe to inform her of the circumstance. A confidential agent was sent to London to purchase this copy, which was transmitted to the Queen; and the additions and corrections were instantly recognized as the handwriting of M. de Calonne. His dismissal from office was the immediate consequence.

Z.

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THE EMIGRANTS.

In order to convey a correct idea of the emigration and the opinions which divided it, I cannot do better than quote the Memoirs of Fromont himself. In a volume entitled *Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Révolution*, M. Fromont thus expresses himself (p. 4 *et seq.*):—

"I repaired secretly to Turin (January 1790) to the French princes,

to solicit their approbation and their support. In a council which was held on my arrival, I demonstrated to them, that *if they would arm the partisans of the altar and the throne, and make the interests of religion go hand in hand with those of royalty, it would be easy to save both.* Though strongly attached to the faith of my forefathers, it was not upon the non-Catholics that I proposed to make war, but upon the declared foes of Catholicism and royalty, upon those who loudly asserted that Jesus Christ and the Bourbons had been talked of too long, upon those who wished to strangle the last of kings with the intestines of the last of priests. The non-Catholics *who continued faithful* to the monarchy have always found in me the most affectionate fellow-citizen; the *rebel* Catholics, the most implacable enemy.

"My plan tended solely to raise a party, and to give it all the extension and consistency I could. The real argument of the Revolutionists being force, I felt that the real answer was force. *Then, as at present,* I was convinced of this great truth, *that a strong passion can be stifled only by a still stronger; and that religious zeal alone can stifle the republican mania.* The miracles which zeal for religion has since wrought in La Vendée and in Spain prove that the philosophers and the Revolutionists of all parties would not have succeeded in establishing their anti-religious and anti-social system for a few years over the greater part of Europe, had the ministers of Louis XVI. conceived such a plan as mine, or had it been sincerely adopted and supported by the advisers of the emigrant princes.

"But, unluckily, most of the persons who directed Louis XVI. and the princes of his house reasoned and acted only on philosophic principles, though the philosophers and their disciples were the cause and the agents of the Revolution. They would have fancied that they were ridiculous and dishonoured if they had uttered the single word *religion,* or had employed the powerful means which it furnishes, and of which the greatest politicians of all ages have successfully availed themselves. While the National Assembly strove to mislead the people, and to secure their confidence by the suppression of feudal rights, of tithes, of the *gabelle,* &c., the monarchists proposed to bring them back to submission by an exposition of the incoherence of the new laws, by a picture of the misfortunes of the King, and by writings above their comprehension. By these means they hoped to revive in the hearts of all the French a pure and disinterested love for their sovereign; they imagined that the clamours of the discontented would stop the enterprises of the factions, and enable the King *to proceed direct to the goal which he was desirous of attaining.* The worth of my advice was probably rated according to my station in life, and the value placed by the grandees of the Court upon their titles and their wealth."

M. Fromont continues his narrative, and in another place characterizes the parties into which the fugitive Court was divided, in the following manner (p. 33):—

"These honourable titles, and the attention generally paid to me at Turin, would have made me forget the past, and conceive the most flattering hopes for the future, if I had discovered prudence in the advisers of the princes, and perfect harmony among those who had most influence on our affairs; but I observed with grief that the *emigration was split into two parties,* one of which would not attempt a counter-revolution but *by the aid of foreign powers,* and the other, but *by the royalists of the interior.*

"The *first party* promised, that on the cession of certain provinces to

the powers, they would furnish the French princes with armies sufficiently numerous to reduce the factions; that in time it would be easy to withdraw the concessions which they had been forced to make; and that the Court, by contracting no obligation *to any of the bodies of the State*, would be able to dictate laws to all the French. . . . . The courtiers trembled lest the nobility of the provinces and the royalists of the *tiers-état* should have the honour of setting the tottering monarchy upon its legs again. They were aware that they would no longer be the dispensers of bounties and favours, and that they would be at an end as soon as the nobility of the provinces should have re-established the royal authority at the expense of its blood, and thereby earned the gratitude and the confidence of its sovereign. Dread of this new order of things caused them to unite, if not to dissuade the princes from employing in any way the royalists of the interior, at least to persuade them to fix their attention principally on the Cabinets of Europe, and to induce them to found their greatest hopes on foreign assistance. In consequence of this dread, they *secretly* set at work the most efficacious means for ruining the internal resources, and for thwarting the proposed plans, several of which were calculated to effect the re-establishment of order if they had been wisely directed and supported. This is what I myself witnessed; this is what I will some day prove by authentic facts and testimonies; but the time is not yet come. In a conference held about this very time on the subject of the advantage to be derived from the favourable disposition of the people of Lyons and Franche-Comté, I stated without reserve the means which ought to be employed, *at the same time*, to ensure the triumph of the royalists of the Gevaudan, the Cevennes, the Vivarais, the Comtat-Venaissin, Languedoc, and Provence. In the heat of the discussion the Marquis d'Autichamp, maréchal-de-camp, *the great champion of the powers*, said to me, 'But will not the oppressed and the relatives of the victims seek to revenge themselves?' 'What signifies that,' said I, 'provided we attain our aim?' 'See,' he exclaimed, 'how I have made him admit that private revenge would be wreaked!' With something more than astonishment at this observation, I said to the Marquis de Rouzière, who sat next to me, 'I did not imagine that a civil war ought to resemble a mission of Capuchins.' Thus it was that, by filling princes with the fear of rendering themselves odious to their bitterest enemies, the courtiers induced them to adopt half-measures, sufficient, no doubt, to provoke the zeal of the royalists of the interior, but most inadequate, after compromizing them, to protect them from the fury of the factions. Since that time I recollect that while the army of the princes was in Champagne, M. de la Porte, aide-de-camp to the Marquis d'Autichamp, having taken prisoner a republican, fancied, agreeably to the system of his general, that he should bring him back to his duty by a pathetic exhortation, and by restoring to him his arms and his liberty; but no sooner had the republican got to the distance of a few paces than he levelled his conqueror with the ground. The Marquis d'Autichamp, unmindful of the moderation which he had displayed at Turin, burned several villages to avenge the death of his imprudent missionary.

"*The second party* maintained that, since the powers had several times taken up arms to humble the Bourbons, and in particular to prevent Louis XIV. from securing the crown of Spain for his grandson, so far from calling them to our aid, we ought, on the contrary, to rekindle the zeal of the clergy, the devotion of the nobility, the love of the people, for the King, and *lose no time in quelling a family quarrel*, of which foreigners might perhaps be tempted to take advantage. . . . It was to this fatal

division among the leaders of the emigration, and to the unskilfulness or the treachery of the ministers of Louis XVI., that the Revolutionists owed their first successes. I will go still farther, and assert that it was not the National Assembly which effected the Revolution, but those who were about the King and the Princes. I maintain that the ministers delivered up Louis XVI. to the enemies of royalty, as certain dabblers have delivered up the Princes and Louis XVIII. to the enemies of France. I maintain that the majority of the courtiers about Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and the Princes of their house, were and are *charlatans, real political eunuchs;* that to their listlessness, their cowardice, or their treason, are to be imputed all the calamities which France has suffered, and those which still threaten the world. If I had borne a great name, and had belonged to the council of the Bourbons, I should have outlived the idea that a horde of base and cowardly brigands, none of whom have displayed any kind of genius or superior talent, should have contrived to overthrow the throne, to establish their domination over several powerful States of Europe, and to make the world tremble. When this idea haunts me, I bury myself in the obscurity of my station, that it may screen me from censure, as it has withheld from me the power to arrest the progress of the Revolution."

AA.

[*Page* 131.]

Baron de Clootz.

"J. B. de Clootz, a Prussian baron, known since the Revolution by the name of Anacharsis Clootz, was born at Cleves, on the 24th of June 1755, and became the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he dissipated by his misconduct. He was not destitute of ability, but was half crazed by his fanatical love of liberty, and his constant habit of poring over the works of German metaphysicians. As he was the nephew of Cornelius Parr, author of several works, he thought he must also be a writer. He travelled in different parts of Europe, and particularly cultivated the society of Burke, who was then a member of the opposition in the English parliament. During the French Revolution, Clootz made himself notorious by the absurd extravagance of his conduct. The masquerade, known by the name of the 'Embassy of the Human Race,' was the first scene in which he attracted attention. He appeared on the 19th of June 1790 at the bar of the National Assembly, followed by a considerable body of Parisian porters in foreign dresses, whom he presented as deputies from all nations. He styled himself the 'Orator of the human race,' and requested to be admitted to the Federation, which was agreed to. On the 22nd of January 1792 he wrote a letter to the Legislative Assembly, beginning thus: 'The orator of the human race to the legislature of the human race sends greeting.' On the 21st of April he delivered a ridiculous tirade at the bar relative to the declaration of war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; proposed to the Assembly to adhere for a year to a strict regimen; and ended by offering what he called a patriotic gift of twelve thousand livres. He in consequence obtained the honour of a seat among the members. On the 12th of August he came to congratulate the Assembly on the

events of the 10th, and offered to raise a Prussian legion. On the 27th he begged the Assembly to set a price on the heads of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick, and delivered a long speech, in which the following expressions occurred: 'Charles IX. had a successor: Louis will have none.' 'You know how to value the heads of philosophers: a price yet remains to be set on those of tyrants.' 'My heart is French, and my soul sans-culotte.' The hatred of this fanatic against the Christian religion was as fervent as that which he entertained against the monarchy. In September, 1792 he was deputed from the Oise to the Convention, where he voted for the death of Louis XVI. in the name of the human race! In the same year he published a work entitled 'The Universal Republic,' wherein he laid it down as a principle that 'the people was the sovereign of the world—nay, that it was God!'—'that fools alone believed in a Supreme Being!' &c. He soon afterwards fell under the suspicion of Robespierre, was arrested as a Hebertist, and condemned to death on the 24th of March 1794. He died with great firmness, and on his way to execution, lectured Hebert on materialism, 'to prevent him,' as he said, 'from yielding to religious feelings in his last moments.' He even asked to be executed after all his accomplices, in order that he might have time 'to establish certain principles during the fall of their heads.'"—*Biographie Moderne.*

BB.

[*Page* 134.]

The Bishop of Autun.

"Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, minister for foreign affairs, ci-devant Bishop of Autun, Abbé of Celles and St. Denis, was born at Paris in 1754, and as deputy from the clergy of the bailiwick of Autun, joined the meeting of the commons on the opening of the States-general. He combined with natural ability a great facility for labour and application. His name, his dignities, and his example operated on a great number of deputies, who were wholly guided by his counsels. On the 20th of August 1789, Talleyrand procured the adoption of an article concerning the admission of all citizens without distinction to all offices. Three days afterwards he opposed the mention of divine worship in the declaration of the rights of man, and maintained that it was in the constitutional act that the holy name of the Catholic religion ought to be pronounced. In August, October, and November he made speeches on the finances, in one of which he recommended the sale of Church property. In February 1790 he composed the famous address to the French, to remind them of what the National Assembly had already done for them, and still intended to do; and on the 14th of July he celebrated thé mass of the Federation. On the 29th of December he published an address to the clergy, giving an account of the motives which had induced him to take the constitutional oath, and exhorting them to follow his example. In March and November 1791 he joined the Abbé Siéyes in defending the nonjuring priests. Having been very intimate with Mirabeau, he in the tribune in March 1792 read a long discourse on Inheritances, which that great statesman had entrusted to him on his death-bed, in order that he should communicate

it to the Assembly. Assisted by the Bishops of Lydia and Babylon, Talleyrand consecrated the first bishops who were called constitutional, an act which drew upon him the displeasure of the Court of Rome. After the session he was sent to England as private negotiator, in order to conclude a treaty of peace between the two nations, but failed in his negotiation. Terrified at the blood which was so lavishly poured forth in France, and informed also that after the 10th of August 1792 papers had been found at the Tuileries which might compromise him, he retired to the United States. After the 9th Thermidor 1794 he returned to Paris, became a member of the National Institute, and in 1797 he entered on the administration of foreign affairs. From that time he began to acquire great influence in the government, and was one of those who contrived the events of the 18th Brumaire. In 1802, after the re-establishment of Catholic worship in France, the First Consul obtained for Talleyrand a brief from the Pope, which restored him to a secular and lay life, and authorized his marriage with Mrs. Grant."—*Biographie Moderne.*

Talleyrand remained in the administration of foreign affairs up to the period of the disastrous Russian campaign, when he began to make secret overtures—at least so it is reported of him by Napoleon's biographers—to the Bourbons. On the Emperor's downfall he held office for a time under Louis XVIII., and on the expulsion of Charles X. was appointed ambassador to England by Louis Philippe. He soon resigned this appointment, and lived in comparative retirement at his château until his death in 1838.

CC.

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THE 14TH JULY 1790.

"In spite of plotting aristocrats, lazy, hired spademen, and almost of destiny itself (for there has been much rain), the Champ de Mars on the 13th of the month is fairly ready. The morning comes—cold for a July one—but such a festivity would make Greenland smile. Through every inlet of that national amphitheatre (for it is a league in circuit, cut with openings at due intervals) floods in the living throng; covers without tumult space after space. Two hundred thousand patriotic men, and twice as good, one hundred thousand patriotic women, all decked and glorified as one can fancy, sit waiting in this Champ de Mars. What a picture, that circle of bright-dyed life, spread up there on its thirty-seated slope; leaning, one would say, on the thick umbrage of those avenue trees, for the stems of them are hidden by the height; and all beyond it mere greenness of summer earth, with the gleams of waters, or white sparklings of stone edifices. On remotest steeple and invisible village belfry stand men with spy-glasses. On the heights of Chaillot are many-coloured undulating groups; round, and far on, over all the circling heights that embosom Paris, it is as one more or less peopled amphitheatre, which the eye grows dim with measuring. Nay, heights have cannon, and a floating battery of cannon is on the Seine. When eye fails, ears shall serve; and all France properly is but one amphitheatre, for in paved town and unpaved hamlet men walk listening, till the muffled thunder sounds audible on their horizon, that they too may

begin swearing and firing. But now, to streams of music come federates enough—for they have assembled on the Boulevard St. Antoine, and come marching through the city, with their eighty-three department banners and blessings not loud but deep; comes National Assembly and takes seat under its canopy; comes Royalty, and takes seat on a throne beside it. And Lafayette, on white charger, is here, and all the civic functionaries; and the federates form dances till their strictly military evolutions and manœuvres can begin. Task not the pen of mortal to describe them: truant imagination droops—declares that it is not worth while. There is wheeling and sweeping to slow, to quick, and double-quick time. Sieur Motier, or Generalissimo Lafayette—for they are one and the same, and he is General of France in the King's stead for four and twenty hours—must step forth with that sublime, chivalrous gait of his; solemnly ascend the steps of the Fatherland's altar, in sight of Heaven and of scarcely breathing earth; and pronounce the oath, 'To King, to law and nation,' in his own name, and that of armed France. Whereat, there is waving of banners, and acclaim sufficient. The National Assembly must swear, standing in its place; the King himself audibly. The King swears; and now be the welkin split with *vivats;* let citizens enfranchised embrace; armed federates clang their arms; above all, that floating battery speak! It has spoken—to the four corners of France! From eminence to eminence bursts the thunder, faint heard, loud repeated. From Arras to Avignon—from Metz to Bayonne! over Orleans and Blois it rolls, in cannon-recitative; Puy bellows of it amid his granite mountains; Pau, where is the shell-cradle of Great Henri. At far Marseilles, one can think, the ruddy evening witnesses it; over the deep blue Mediterranean waters, the castle of If, ruddy-tinted, darts forth from every cannon's mouth its tongue of fire; and all the people shout—Yes, France is free! Glorious France, that has burst out so, into universal sound and smoke; and attained—the Phrygian *cap* of liberty!"—*Carlyle's French Revolution.*

DD.

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The Champ de Mars.

I have already quoted some pages of the Memoirs of Ferrières relative to the first sitting of the States-general. As nothing is more important than to ascertain the real sentiments which the Revolution excited, I think it right to give the description of the Federation by the same Ferrières. We shall see if this enthusiasm is genuine, if it was communicative, and if that Revolution was so hideous as some have wished to make it appear:—

"Meanwhile, the federalists were arriving from all parts of the empire. They were lodged in the houses of private individuals, who cheerfully supplied beds, linen, wood, and all that could contribute to render their stay in the capital agreeable and comfortable. The municipality took precautions that so great an influx of strangers might not disturb the public tranquillity. Twelve thousand labourers worked incessantly at preparing the Champ de Mars. Notwithstanding the activity with which the operations were prosecuted, they advanced but

slowly. It was feared that they could not be completed by the 14th of July, the day irrevocably fixed for the ceremony, because it was the famous epoch of the insurrection of Paris, and of the taking of the Bastille. In this perplexity, the districts, in the name of the country, invited the good citizens to assist the workmen. This civic invitation electrified all heads; the women shared and propagated the enthusiasm; seminarists, scholars, nuns of the order called *Sœurs du Pot*, Carthusians grown old in solitude, were seen quitting their cloisters, hurrying to the Champ de Mars, with shovels upon their shoulders, bearing banners adorned with patriotic emblems. There all the citizens collected, blended together, formed an immense and incessantly moving mass of labourers, every point of which presented a varied group; the dishevelled courtesan is placed beside the modest matron, the Capuchin draws the truck with the chevalier of St. Louis, the porter with the *petit maître* of the Palais Royal, the sturdy fishwoman drives the wheelbarrow filled by the hands of the delicate and nervous lady; wealthy people, indigent people, well-dressed people, ragged people, old men, boys, comedians, *Cent-Suisses*, clerks, working and resting, actors and spectators, exhibited to the astonished eye a scene full of life and bustle; moving taverns, portable shops, increased the charm and gaiety of this vast and exhilarating picture; songs, shouts of joy, the sound of drums and military instruments, that of spades and wheelbarrows, the voices of the labourers calling to and encouraging one another. . . . The mind felt sinking under the weight of a delicious intoxication at the sight of a whole people who had descended again to the sweet sentiments of a primitive fraternity. . . . As soon as the clock struck nine the groups separated. Each citizen repaired to the station of his section, returned to his family, to his acquaintance. The bands marched off to the sound of drums, returned to Paris, preceded by torches, indulging from time to time in sallies against the aristocrats, and singing the celebrated air, *Ça ira*.

"At length the 14th of July, the day of the Federation, arrived, amidst the hopes of some, and the alarms and terrors of others. If this grand ceremony had not the serious and august character of a festival at once national and religious, a character almost incompatible with the French spirit, it displayed that lively and delightful image of joy and enthusiasm a thousand times more touching. The federalists, ranged by departments under eighty-three banners, set out from the site of the Bastille; the deputies of the troops of the line and of the navy, the Parisian national guard, drums, bands of music, the colours of the sections, opened and closed the procession.

"The federalists passed through the Rues St. Martin, St. Denis, and St. Honoré, and proceeded by the Cours la Reine to a bridge of boats constructed across the river. They were greeted by the way with the acclamations of an immense concourse which filled the streets, the windows of the houses, and the quays. The heavy rain which was falling neither deranged nor slackened the march. Dripping with wet and perspiration, the federalists danced *farandoles*, shouting 'Long live our brethren, the Parisians!' Wine, ham, fruit, sausages, were let down from the windows for them; they were loaded with blessings. The National Assembly joined the procession at the Place Louis XV., and walked between the battalion of the veterans and that of the young pupils of the country—an expressive image, which seemed to concentrate in itself alone all ages and all interests.

"The road leading to the Champ de Mars was covered with people, who clapped their hands, and sang *Ça ira*. The Quai de Chaillot and

the heights of Passy presented a long amphitheatre, where the elegant dresses, the charms, the graces of the women enchanted the eye, without allowing it the faculty of dwelling upon any portion of the scene in preference. The rain continued to fall; nobody seemed to perceive it: French gaiety triumphed both over the bad weather, the bad roads, and the length of the march.

"M. de Lafayette, mounted on a superb horse, and surrounded by his aides-de-camp, gave orders, and received the homage of the people and the federalists. The perspiration trickled from his face. A man, whom nobody knew, pushed through the crowd, and advanced, holding a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other. 'General,' said he, 'you are hot; take a glass.' Raising his bottle, he filled a large glass, and handed it to M. de Lafayette. The general took the glass, eyed the stranger for a moment, and drank off the wine at a draught. The people applauded. Lafayette, with a smile of complaisance, cast a benevolent and confiding look upon the multitude, and that look seemed to say, 'I shall never conceive any suspicion, I shall never feel any uneasiness, so long as I am in the midst of you.'

"Meanwhile more than three hundred thousand persons of both sexes, from Paris and the environs, assembled ever since six in the morning in the Champ de Mars, sitting on turf seats, which formed an immense circus, drenched, draggled, sheltering themselves with parasols from the torrents of rain which descended upon them, at the least ray of sunshine adjusting their dresses, waited, laughing and chatting, for the federalists and the National Assembly. A spacious amphitheatre had been erected for the King, the royal family, the ambassadors, and the deputies. The federalists, who first arrived, began to dance *farandoles;* those who followed joined them, forming a round which soon embraced part of the Champ de Mars. A sight worthy of the philosophic observer was that exhibited by this host of men, who had come from the most opposite parts of France, hurried away by the impulse of the national character, banishing all remembrance of the past, all idea of the present, all fear of the future, indulging in a delicious thoughtlessness; and three hundred thousand spectators, of all ages, of both sexes, following their motions, beating time with their hands, forgetting the rain, hunger, and the weariness of long waiting. At length, the whole procession having entered the Champ de Mars, the dance ceased; each federalist repaired to his banner. The Bishop of Autun prepared to perform mass at an altar in the antique style, erected in the centre of the Champ de Mars. Three hundred priests, in white surplices, girt with broad tricoloured scarfs, ranged themselves at the four corners of the altar. The Bishop of Autun blessed the *oriflamme* and the eighty-three banners; he struck up the *Te Deum.* Twelve hundred musicians played that hymn. Lafayette, at the head of the staff of the Parisian militia, and of the deputies of the army and navy, went up to the altar, and swore in the name of the troops and the federalists to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the King. A discharge of four pieces of cannon proclaimed to France this solemn oath. The twelve hundred musicians rent the air with military tunes; the colours, the banners waved; the drawn sabres glistened. The president of the National Assembly repeated the same oath. The people and the deputies answered with shouts of *I swear it.* The King then rose, and in a loud voice said, '*I, King of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the State in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me.*' The

Queen, taking the Dauphin in her arms, held him up to the people, and said, '*Here is my son; he joins as well as myself in those sentiments.*' This unexpected movement was repaid by a thousand shouts of '*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive M. le Dauphin!*' The cannon continued to mingle their majestic voices with the warlike sounds of military instruments and the acclamations of the people. The weather had cleared up; the sun burst forth in all his splendour; it seemed as if it had pleased God Himself to witness this mutual contract, and to ratify it by His presence. . . . . Yes, He did both see and hear it, and the terrible calamities which ever since that day have not ceased to desolate France—O Providence, ever active and ever faithful!—are the just punishment of perjury. Thou hast stricken both the monarch and the subject who violated their oath!

"The enthusiasm and the festivities were not confined to the day of the Federation. During the stay of the federalists at Paris there was one continued series of entertainments, of dances, and of rejoicings. People again went to the Champ de Mars, where they drank, sang, and danced. M. de Lafayette reviewed part of the national guard of the departments, and the army of the line. The King, the Queen, and the Dauphin were present at this review. They were greeted with acclamations. The Queen, with a gracious look, gave the federalists her hand to kiss, and showed them the Dauphin. The federalists, before they quitted the capital, went to pay their homage to the King; all of them testified the most profound respect, the warmest attachment. The chief of the Bretons dropped on his knee and presented his sword to Louis XVI. 'Sire,' said he, 'I deliver to you, pure and sacred, the sword of the faithful Bretons; it shall never be stained but with the blood of your enemies.' 'That sword cannot be in better hands than those of my dear Bretons,' replied Louis XVI., raising the chief of the Bretons, and returning to him his sword. 'I have never doubted their affection and their fidelity. Assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend of all the French.' The King, deeply moved, pressed the hand of the chief of the Bretons, and embraced him. A mutual emotion prolonged for some moments this touching scene. The chief of the Bretons was the first to speak. 'Sire,' said he, 'all the French, if I may judge from our hearts, love and will love you, because you are a citizen King.'

"The municipality of Paris resolved also to give an entertainment to the federalists. There was a regatta on the river, fireworks, illumination, ball and refreshments in the Halle au Blé, and a ball on the site of the Bastille. At the entrance of the enclosure was an inscription, in large letters, ICI L'ON DANSE (*Dancing here*). Happy assemblage, which formed a striking contrast with the antique image of horror and despair called forth by the recollection of that odious prison! The people went to and from one of these places to the other without impediment. The police, by prohibiting the circulation of carriages, prevented the accidents so common in public festivities, as well as the tumultuous noise of horses and wheels, and shouts of *Gare!* (Take care)—a noise which wearies and stuns the citizens, makes them every moment afraid of being run over, and gives to the most splendid and best regulated fête the appearance of a flight. Public festivities are essentially for the people. It is they alone who ought to be considered. If the rich are desirous of sharing their pleasures, let them put themselves on a level with the people for that day; by so doing they will gain sensations to which they are strangers, and will not disturb the joy of their fellow-citizens.

"It was in the Champs Elysées that persons of feeling enjoyed more satisfactorily this charming popular festival. Columns of lights hung from every tree, and festoons of lamps connected them together; pyramids of fire, placed at intervals, diffused a pure light, which the enormous mass of surrounding darkness rendered still more brilliant by its contrast. The people covered the alleys and the greensward. The citizen, seated with his wife amidst his children, ate, chatted, walked about, and enjoyed himself. Here young lads and lasses danced to the sound of several bands of music stationed in the open spaces which had been formed. Farther on sailors, in jacket and trousers, surrounded by numerous groups who looked on with interest, strove to climb up tall masts rubbed with soap, to gain a prize reserved for him who should reach and bring down a tricoloured flag fastened to the summit. You should have seen the bursts of laughter which greeted those who were forced to relinquish the attempt, and the encouragements given to those who, more lucky or more adroit, appeared likely to reach the top. A soothing sentimental joy, diffused over every face, beaming in every eye, reminded you of the peaceful pleasures of the happy shades in the Elysian fields of the ancients. The white dresses of a multitude of females strolling under the trees of those beautiful alleys served to heighten the illusion."—*Ferrières*, tome ii. p. 89.

EE.

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The Value of Assignats.

M. de Talleyrand had predicted in a very remarkable manner the financial results of paper-money. In his speech he first showed the nature of that money, characterized it with the greatest justice, and explained the reasons of its speedy inferiority.

"Will the National Assembly," said he, "order an issue of two thousand millions of money in assignats? People judge of this second issue by the success of the first; but they will not perceive that the wants of commerce, checked by the Revolution, naturally caused our first conventional issue to be received with avidity; and these wants were such, that, in my opinion, this currency would have been adopted, had it even not been forced: to make an attack on this first success, which, moreover, has not been complete, since the assignats are below par, in favour of a second and more ample issue, is to expose ourselves to great dangers; for the empire of the law has its measure, and this measure is the interest which men have to respect or to infringe it.

"The assignats will undoubtedly have characters of security which no paper-money ever had; none was ever created upon so valuable a pledge, clothed with so solid a security; that I am far from denying. The assignat, considered as a title of credit, has a positive and material value; this value of the assignat is precisely the same as that of the land which it represents; but still it must be admitted, above all, that never will any national paper be upon a par with the metals; never will the supplementary sign of the first representative sign of wealth have the exact value of its model: the very title proves want, and want spreads alarm and distrust around it.

"Why will assignat-money be always below specie? In the first place, because there will always be doubts of the exact application of its proportions between the mass of the assignats and that of the national property; because there will long be uncertainty respecting the consummation of the sales; because no conception can be formed by what time two thousand millions of assignats, representing nearly the value of the domains, will be extinguished; because money being put in competition with paper, both become a marketable commodity; and the more abundant any commodity is, the lower must be its price; because with money one will always be able to do without assignats, whilst it is impossible with assignats to do without money, and fortunately the absolute want of money will keep some specie in circulation, for it would be the greatest of all evils to be absolutely destitute of it."

Farther on the speaker added: "To create an assignat currency is not assuredly representing a metallic commodity, it is merely representing a metallic currency; now a metal that is merely money, whatever idea may be attached to it, cannot represent that which is at the same time money and merchandise. Assignat-money, however safe, however solid it may be, is therefore an abstraction of paper-money; it is consequently the free or forced sign, not of wealth, but merely of credit. It thence follows that to give to paper the functions of money by making it like other money, the medium between all exchangeable objects, is changing the quantity recognized as unity, otherwise called in this matter the mint standard; it is operating in a moment what centuries scarcely operate in a State that is advancing in wealth; and if, to borrow the expression of a foreign writer, money performs in regard to the price of things the same function as degrees, minutes, and seconds in regard to angles, or scales in regard to geographical maps and plans of all kinds, I ask what must be the result from this alteration in the common measure?"

After showing what the new money was, M. de Talleyrand predicted with singular precision the confusion which would result from it in private transactions:—

"But let us at length follow the assignats in their progress, and see what course they will have to take. The reimbursed creditor then must either purchase lands with the assignats, or he must keep them, or employ them for other acquisitions. If he purchases land, then your object will be fulfilled: I shall applaud with you the creation of assignats, because they will not be thrown into circulation; because, in short, they will only have made that which I propose to you to give to public credits, the faculty of being exchanged for public domains. But if this distrustful creditor prefers losing the interest by keeping an inactive title; if he converts assignats into metals for the purpose of hoarding them, or into bills on foreigners to carry them abroad; if these latter classes are much more numerous than the first; if, in short, the assignats remain a long time in circulation before they come to be extinguished in the chest of the sinking fund; if they are forced into currency, and stop in the hands of persons who are obliged to take them at par, and who, owing nothing, cannot employ them but with loss; if they are the occasion of a great injustice done by all debtors to all creditors anterior to the passing of assignats at the par of money, whilst it will be contradicted in the security which it orders, since it will be impossible to oblige the sellers to take them at the par of specie, that is to say, without raising the price of their commodities in proportion to the loss upon the assignats; how sorely then will this ingenious operation have disappointed

the patriotism of those whose sagacity has devised, and whose integrity defends it! and to what inconsolable regret should we not be doomed!"

It cannot then be asserted that the National Assembly was wholly unaware of the possible result of its determination; but to these forebodings might be opposed one of those answers which one never dare give at the moment, but which would be peremptory, and which become so in the sequel—the necessity of replenishing the exchequer and of dividing property.

FF.

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The Comte de Montmorin.

"Armand Marc Comte de Montmorin St. Herem, minister of finance and secretary of State, was one of the Assembly of Notables held at Versailles, and had the administration of foreign affairs at the time when the States-general opened. He was dismissed in 1789 with Necker, but was immediately recalled by order of the National Assembly. In September 1790, when all his colleagues were dismissed, he retained his place, and even the portfolio of the interior was for a time confided to him. In April 1791 he sent a circular letter to all the ministers at foreign Courts, assuring their sovereigns that the King was wholly unrestrained, and sincerely attached to the new constitution. In the beginning of June he was struck from the list of Jacobins, and was afterwards summoned to the bar for giving the King's passport when he fled to Varennes; but he easily cleared himself from this charge by proving that the passport had been taken out under a supposititious name. M. de Montmorin soon after this tendered his resignation; yet though withdrawn from public life, he continued near the King, and together with Bertrand de Molleville, Malouet, and a few others, formed a kind of privy council, which suggested and prepared various plans for strengthening the monarchy. This conduct drew on him the inveterate hatred of the Jacobins, who attacked him and Bertrand as members of the Austrian committee. M. de Montmorin was one of the first victims who fell in the massacres of September."—*Biographie Moderne.*

"The unfortunate M. de Montmorin had taken refuge, on the 10th of August, at the house of a washerwoman in the Faubourg St. Antoine. He was discovered in the early part of September by the imprudence of his hostess, who bought the finest fowls and the best fruit she could find, and carried them to her house, without taking any precautions to elude the observation of her neighbours. They soon suspected her of harbouring an aristocrat. This conjecture spread among the populace of the faubourg, who were almost all of them spies and agents of the Jacobins. M. de Montmorin was in consequence arrested, and conducted to the bar of the National Assembly. He answered the questions put to him in the most satisfactory manner; but his having concealed himself, and a bottle of laudanum having been found in his pocket, formed, said his enemies, a strong presumption that he was conscious of some crime. After being detained two days in the committee, he was sent a prisoner to the Abbaye, and a few days afterwards was murdered in a manner too shocking to mention, and his mangled body carried in triumph to the National Assembly."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

GG.

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The Priests and the Oath to the New Constitution.

Ferrières, an eye-witness of the intrigues of that period, mentions those which were employed to prevent the oath of the priests. This page appears to me too characteristic not to be quoted:—

"The bishops and the Revolutionists intrigued, and were extremely busy, the one to cause the oath to be taken, the other to prevent it. Both parties were sensible of the influence which the line of conduct pursued by the ecclesiastics of the Assembly would have in the provinces. The bishops visited their curés; devotees of both sexes set themselves in motion. Nothing was talked of in every company but the oath of the clergy. One would have supposed that the destiny of France and the fate of every Frenchman depended on its being taken or not taken. Men the most free in their religious opinions, and the most notoriously immoral women, were suddenly transformed into rigid theologians, into ardent missionaries of the purity and integrity of the Romish faith.

"The *Journal de Fonteney*, *L'Ami du Roi*, and *La Gazette de Durosoir* employed their usual weapons—exaggeration, falsehood, calumny. Numberless tracts were distributed, in which the civil constitution of the clergy was treated as schismatic, heretical, and destructive of religion. The devotees hawked about pamphlets from house to house; they entreated, conjured, threatened, according to particular dispositions and characters. To some they represented the clergy triumphant, the Assembly dissolved, the prevaricating ecclesiastics stripped of their benefices, confined in their houses of correction; the faithful ones covered with glory and loaded with wealth. The Pope was about to launch his anathemas at a sacrilegious Assembly, and at the apostate priests. The people, deprived of the sacraments, would rise; the foreign powers would enter France, and that structure of iniquity and villainy would crumble to pieces upon its own foundations."—*Ferrières*, tome ii. p. 198.

HH.

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The Royalist Legions.

M. Fromont relates the following circumstance in his work, already quoted:—

"In this state of things the princes conceived the plan of forming in the interior of the kingdom, as soon as possible, legions of all the loyal subjects of the King, to be employed till the troops of the line should be completely reorganized. Desirous of being at the head of the royalists, whom I had directed and commanded in 1789 and 1790, I wrote to Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, begging his royal highness to

grant me the commission of colonel-commandant, worded in such a manner that every royalist who, like myself, should raise a sufficient number of good citizens to form a legion, might have reason to flatter himself that he should obtain the like favour. Monsieur le Comte d'Artois applauded the idea, and listened favourably to my application; but the members of the council were not of his opinion; they thought it so strange that a commoner should aspire to a military commission, that one of them angrily said to me, 'Why did you not ask for a bishopric?' The only answer I gave to the questioner was a loud burst of laughter, which somewhat disconcerted his gravity. Meanwhile the question was discussed at the house of M. de Flaschlanden: the persons engaged in this deliberation were of opinion that these new corps ought to be called civic legions (*legions bourgeoises*). I remarked to them, that under this denomination they would merely supply the place of the national guards; that the princes could not make them march to any quarter where they might be needed, because they would allege that they were bound only to defend their own hearths; that it was to be feared that the factions would find means to set them at loggerheads with the troops of the line; that with empty words they had armed the people against the depositaries of the public authority; that it would therefore be more politic to follow their example, and to give to these new corps the denomination of *royal militia;* that . . . 'No, no, sir,' said the Bishop of Arras, suddenly interrupting me, 'the word *bourgeois* must be inserted in your commission;' and the Baron de Flaschlanden, who drew it up, inserted the word *bourgeois* accordingly." —*Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Révolution*, p. 62.

II.

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The Prince de Condé.

"Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, was born at Chantilly, in 1736. He was the only son of the Duc de Bourbon and the Princesse de Hesse-Rheinfels. In 1753 he married the Princesse de Rohan-Soubise, who in 1756 bore him the Prince de Bourbon-Condé. In the Seven Years' War he distinguished himself by his skill and courage, and in 1762 gained a victory at Johannisberg over the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. In the Revolution he emigrated, in 1789, to Brussels, and thence to Turin. He afterwards formed a little corps of emigrant nobility, which joined the Austrian army under Wurmser. In 1795 he entered, with his corps, into the English service. In 1797 he entered the Russian service, and marched with his corps to Russia, where he was hospitably received by Paul I. In 1800, after the separation of Russia from the coalition, he re-entered the English service. He returned to Paris in 1814; and the next year fled with the King to Ghent. He died at Paris in 1818. His grandson was the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien."—*Cyclopædia Americana.*

JJ.

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THE EMIGRANTS IN CAMP.

"Many of the emigrants had joined the army in a state of complete destitution. Others were spending improvidently the last relics of their fortunes. Several corps, composed wholly of officers, served as private soldiers. The naval officers were mounted. The country gentlemen formed themselves into companies, distinguished by the names of their native provinces. All were in good spirits, for the camp life was free and joyous. Some became drawers of water, others hewers of wood; others provided and dressed the provisions, and everywhere the inspiring note of the trumpet resounded. The camp, in fact, was a perfect kingdom. There were princes dwelling in waggons; magistrates on horseback; missionaries preaching the Bible, and administering justice. The poor nobles conformed with careless philosophy to this altered state of things, cheerfully enduring present privations in the sanguine expectation of speedily regaining all that they had lost. They confidently believed that the end of autumn would find them restored to their splendid homes, to their groves, to their forests, and to their old dove-cotes."—*Chateaubriand's Memoirs of the Duc de Berri.*

KK.

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GENERAL SANTERRE.

"Santerre, a brewer in the Faubourg St. Antoine, at Paris, possessed a boldness and energy which gave him great weight in his own neighbourhood. Though ignorant, he knew well how to address a mob, which made him courted by the Orleanists. On the taking of the Bastille he distinguished himself at the head of the forces of his faubourg, and when the national guard was formed, he was appointed commander of a battalion. In 1792 he began to obtain decided influence with the people, and on the 10th of August, becoming commander of the national guard, he conducted the King to the Temple. Yet, notwithstanding his democratic zeal, he was not considered fit to direct the massacres in the prisons. Marat said of him, that he was a man without any decided character. On the 11th of December he conducted the King to the bar of the National Convention on the occasion of his trial; and in January 1793 commanded the troops who superintended his execution. It was Santerre who interrupted the unfortunate monarch when he attempted to address the people, by ordering the drums to be beat. Wishing to figure as a warrior, Santerre departed, with 14,000 men, to fight the royalists in La Vendée; he was, however, continually unsuccessful; and on one occasion, it having been reported that he was killed, this epitaph was made on him: 'Here lies General Santerre, who had nothing of Mars but his beer.' Santerre survived the troubles of the Revolution, and died in obscurity."—*Biographie Moderne.*

LL.

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The Poisoning of Mirabeau.

The author of the *Mémoires d'un Pair de France* positively asserts that Mirabeau was poisoned. He says, that in 1793, Robespierre, at a moment when he was off his guard, ventured to boast of the share which he had taken in that crime. "Two parties," he adds, "were then labouring to accomplish the ruin of the King; a third wished it without declaring itself: all of them were concerned to see that Louis XVI. inclined to a cordial reconciliation with the constitution, and all dreaded the sound advice which Mirabeau had it in his power to give him. It was well known that this man was the only person capable of directing affairs in such a manner as to keep the factions within the limits which they hoped to pass. As the issue of any attempt to strip him of his popularity was uncertain, it was thought better to despatch him; but as no assassin was to be found, it was necessary to have recourse to poison. Marat furnished the receipt for it; it was prepared under his superintendence, and he answered for its effect. How to administer it was the next question. At length it was resolved to choose the opportunity of a dinner, at which the poisonous ingredients should be introduced into the bread or wine, or certain dishes of which Mirabeau was known to be fond. Robespierre and Petion undertook to see to the execution of this atrocious scheme, and were assisted by Fabre d'Eglantine and two or three other subordinate Orleanists. Mirabeau had no suspicion of this perfidy; but its effects were manifested immediately after a party of pleasure, at which he had indulged in great intemperance. He was soon aware that he was poisoned, and told his intimate friends so, and especially Cabanis, to whom he said, 'You seek the cause of my death in my physical excesses; you will find it rather in the hatred borne me by those who wish for the overthrow of France, or those who are afraid of my ascendency over the minds of the King and Queen.' It was impossible to drive it out of his head that his death was not natural, but great pains were taken to prevent this opinion from getting abroad."

MM.

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G. J. Danton.

"Georges Jacques Danton, an advocate by profession, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, October 26, 1759, and beheaded April 5, 1794. His external appearance was striking. His stature was colossal; his frame athletic; his features harsh, large, and disagreeable; his voice shook the Assembly; his eloquence was vehement; and his imagination as

gigantic as his person, which made every one recoil, and at which, says St. Just, 'Freedom herself trembled.' He was one of the founders of the club of the Cordeliers. His importance increased in 1792, when he became one of the instigators of the events of the 20th of June, and a leader on the 10th of August. After the fall of Louis XVI., Danton was made minister of justice, and usurped the appointments of officers in the army and departments. He thus raised up a great number of creatures wholly devoted to his views. Money flowed from all sides into his hands, and was profusely squandered on his partisans.. His violent measures led to the September massacres. The invasion of Champagne by the Prussians spread consternation through Paris; and Danton alone preserved his courage. He assumed the administration of the State, prepared measures of defence, called on all Frenchmen capable of bearing arms to march against the enemy, and prevented the removal of the Assembly beyond the Loire. From this time forward he was hated by Robespierre, who could never pardon the superiority which Danton had shown on this occasion. On the occasion of the Festival of Reason, in which the Hebertists acted a conspicuous part, Danton declared himself against the attack on the ministers of religion, and subsequently united with Robespierre to bring Hebert and his partisans to the scaffold. But their connection was not of long duration. Danton wished to overthrow the despotism of Robespierre, who in his turn was anxious to get rid of a dangerous rival. Danton was accordingly denounced to the committee of safety by St. Just, and imprisoned with his adherents in the Luxembourg. When he was transferred thence to the Conciergerie he appeared deeply mortified at having been duped by Robespierre. On his trial he said composedly, 'I am Danton, sufficiently well known in the Revolution; I shall soon pass to nothingness; but my name will live in the Pantheon of history.' He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as an accomplice in a conspiracy for the restoration of monarchy, and his large property was confiscated. He mounted the car with courage; his head was elevated; his look commanding and full of pride. On ascending the scaffold he was for a moment softened. 'Oh, my wife, my dear wife, shall I never see you again?' he said, but checked himself hastily, and exclaimed, 'Courage, Danton! no weakness.' He was thirty-five years old at the time of his death."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

"During the short period that elapsed before his execution, Danton's mind, in a distracted state, reverted to the innocence of his earlier years. He spoke incessantly about trees, flowers, and the country. Then giving way to unavailing regret, he exclaimed, 'It was just a year ago that I was the means of instituting the revolutionary tribunal; may God and man forgive me for what I then did; but it was not that it might become the scourge of humanity.' When his sentence was read to him in his cell, 'We are sacrificed,' said Danton, 'to a few dastardly brigands; but I drag Robespierre after me in my fall.'"—*Alison.*

"Danton had sold himself to the Court, on condition that they would purchase from him, for 100,000 livres, his place of advocate, which after the suppression was only worth 10,000 livres. Lafayette met Danton at M. de Montmorin's the same evening that the bargain was concluded. He was a man ready to sell himself to all parties. While he was making incendiary motions in the Jacobins, he was their spy at Court, where he regularly reported whatever occurred. On the Friday previous to the

10th of August, 50,000 crowns were given him, and Madame Elizabeth exclaimed, 'We are tranquil, for we may depend on Danton.' Lafayette was apprized of the first payment, but not of the ensuing ones. Danton spoke of it himself at the Hôtel de Ville, and endeavouring to justify himself, said, 'General, I am a greater monarchist than you are yourself.' He was nevertheless one of the leaders of the 10th of August." —*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

"Danton was sometimes denominated the Mirabeau, sometimes the Alcibiades of the rabble. He may be said to have resembled both (with the differences only of the patrician order and the populace)—in his tempestuous passions, popular eloquence, dissipation, and debts, like the one; his ambition, his daring and inventive genius, like the other. He exerted his faculties, and indulged his voluptuary indolence alternately, and by starts. His conceptions were isolated, but complete in themselves, and of terrific efficacy as practical agents in revolutions. Danton's ambition was not personal. He would freely sacrifice himself for the republic or his party. He was inhuman, not so much from instinctive cruelty, as from a careless prodigality of blood. He viewed the Revolution as a great game in which men played for their lives. He took those he won as freely as he would have paid those he lost."—*British and Foreign Review.*

NN.

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RECEPTION OF THE NEWS OF THE FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

"A group in the Palais Royal were discussing in great alarm the consequences of the King's flight, when a man, dressed in a threadbare greatcoat, leaped on a chair, and addressed them thus: 'Citizens, listen to a tale which shall not be a long one. A certain well-meaning Neapolitan was once on a time startled in his evening walk by the astounding intelligence that the Pope was dead. He had not recovered his astonishment, when, behold! he was informed of a new disaster—the King of Naples was also no more. "Surely," said the worthy Neapolitan, "the sun must vanish from heaven at such a combination of fatalities!" But they did not cease here. The Archbishop of Palermo, he was informed, had also died suddenly. Overcome by this last shock, he retired to bed, but not to sleep. In the morning he was disturbed in his melancholy reverie by a rumbling noise, which he recognized at once to be the motion of the wooden instrument which makes macaroni. "Aha!" says the good man, starting up, "can I trust my ears? The Pope is dead—the King of Naples is dead—the Bishop of Palermo is dead—yet my neighbour the baker still makes macaroni. Come, the lives of these great men are not then so indispensable to the world after all."' The man in the greatcoat jumped down and disappeared. 'I have caught his meaning,' said a woman among the listeners. 'He has told us a tale, and it begins like all tales—*There was* ONCE *a King and a Queen.*'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

OO.

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Barnave.

"Ant. Pierre Jos. Marie Barnave was a barrister, and deputy to the States-general. The son of a very rich attorney of Grenoble, he warmly espoused the revolutionary party, and was named by the *tiers-état* deputy of that town to the States-general. He there showed himself from the beginning one of the most implacable enemies of the Court. He warmly supported the tennis-court oath, and declared loudly in favour of the assertion of the rights of man. In 1790 he voted the abolition of religious orders. At the meeting of the 22nd of May he was one of those who were decidedly of opinion that the King should be deprived of the right of making war and peace, and opposed Mirabeau on many great questions of policy. At the sitting of the 19th of June he demanded that the Assembly should, before it rose, decree the suppression of all feudal titles and rights. In August he fought a duel with M. de Cazalès, and wounded him with a pistol-shot. Barnave had before fought with the Vicomte de Noailles; he had fired first, and missed his adversary, who discharged his pistol in the air; the difference was then adjusted by their friends. At the time of Louis XVI.'s flight Barnave showed great presence of mind in the midst of the stupefaction of the greatest part of the Assembly. On the news arriving of the King's arrest, Barnave was appointed, together with Petion and Latour-Maubourg, to bring the royal family back to Paris. He returned in the same carriage with them; showed them great respect, and by so doing, lost much of his popularity. In giving an account of his mission, he spoke about the inviolability of the King's person, for which he was hooted by the Assembly. At the end of the session Barnave was appointed mayor of Grenoble, where he married the only daughter of a lawyer, who brought him a fortune of 700,000 livres. After the events of the 10th of August 1792, certain documents having established the connivance of Barnave with the Court, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, and condemned to death on the 29th of November 1793. Barnave was a small but well-looking man, and professed Protestantism. Few orators of his day possessed so much grace of diction and sagacity of analysis. Mirabeau himself was astonished that a young man should speak so long, so rapidly, and so eloquently, and said of Barnave, 'It is a young tree, which, however, will mount high if it be let to grow.'"—*Biographie Moderne.*

PP.

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The Return from Varennes.

The following particulars of the return from Varennes were communicated to Madame Campan by the Queen herself:—

"On the very day of my arrival the Queen took me into her cabinet, to tell me that she had great need of my assistance for a correspondence

which she had established with MM. Barnave, Duport, and Alexandre Lameth. She informed me that M. de J * * * was her agent with these relics of the constitutional party, who had good intentions, but unfortunately too late; and she added that Barnave was a man worthy to inspire esteem. I was surprised to hear the name of Barnave uttered with such kindness. When I had quitted Paris a great number of persons never mentioned it but with horror. I made this remark to her; she was not astonished at it, but told me that he was very much changed; that this young man, full of intelligence and noble sentiments, was of the class who are distinguished by education, and merely misled by the ambition arising from mere merit. 'A feeling of pride, which I cannot blame too much in a young man of the *tiers-état*,' said the Queen with reference to Barnave, 'has caused him to applaud all that tends to smooth the way to honours and glory for the class in which he was born. If power should ever fall again into our hands, the pardon of Barnave is written beforehand in our hearts.' The Queen added that the same sentiments were not felt for the nobles who had thrown themselves into the revolutionary party, they who obtained all favours, and frequently to the detriment of persons of an inferior order, among whom were to be found the most splendid talents; lastly, that the nobles, born to be the rampart of the monarchy, were too culpable in having betrayed its cause to deserve pardon. The Queen astonished me more and more by the warmth with which she justified the favourable opinion that she had formed of Barnave. She then told me that his conduct during the journey had been excellent, whilst the republican rudeness of Petion had been insulting; that he ate and drank in the King's carriage with little regard to delicacy, throwing fowls' bones out at the window, at the risk of hitting the King in the face, lifting up his glass, when Madame Elizabeth was helping him to wine, without saying a word to signify that he had had enough;' that this offensive tone was wilfully assumed, since he was a man of education; and that Barnave had been shocked at it. Being pressed by the Queen to take something: 'Madam,' replied Barnave, 'the deputies of the National Assembly, under circumstances so solemn, ought to trouble your Majesty solely with their mission, and by no means with their wants.' In short, his respectful behaviour, his delicate attentions, and all that he said, had won not only her goodwill, but also that of Madame Elizabeth.

"The King had begun to speak to Petion on the situation of France, and on the motives of his conduct, which were grounded on the necessity of giving to the executive power a force requisite for its action for the welfare of the constitutional act itself, since France could not be a republic. . . . 'Not yet, to be sure,' replied Petion, 'because the French are not yet ripe enough for that.' This audacious and cruel reply imposed silence on the King, who maintained it till his arrival at Paris. Petion had the little Dauphin on his knees; he amused himself with rolling the fair hair of the interesting boy upon his fingers; and in the warmth of talking he pulled his locks with such force as to make him cry. . . . 'Give me my child,' said the Queen; 'he is accustomed to kindness, to respect, which unfit him for such familiarities.'

"The Chevalier de Dampierre had been killed near the King's carriage as it left Varennes. A poor village curé, a few leagues from the place where this crime was committed, had the imprudence to approach for the purpose of speaking to the King. The savages who surrounded the carriage rushed upon him. 'Tigers,' cried Barnave,

'have you ceased to be French? From a nation of brave men, are you changed into a nation of murderers?' Nothing but these words saved the curé, who was already struck to the ground, from certain death. Barnave, as he uttered them, had almost thrown himself out at the door, and Madame Elizabeth, touched by this noble warmth, held him back by his coat. In speaking of this circumstance, the Queen said that in the most critical moments she was always struck by odd contrasts; and that on this occasion the pious Elizabeth holding Barnave by the skirt of his coat had appeared to her a most surprising thing. That deputy had experienced a different kind of astonishment. The remarks of Madame Elizabeth on the state of France, her mild and persuasive eloquence, the noble simplicity with which she conversed with Barnave, without abating an iota of her dignity, all appeared to him celestial in that divine Princess, and his heart, disposed undoubtedly to noble sentiments, if he had not pursued the way of error, was subdued by the most touching admiration. The conduct of the two deputies showed the Queen the total separation between the republican party and the constitutional party. At the inns where she alighted she had some private conversations with Barnave. The latter talked much of the blunders of the royalists in the Revolution, and said that he had found the interests of the Court so feebly, so injudiciously defended, that he had several times been tempted to make it an offer of a bold champion, acquainted with the spirit of the age and that of the nation. The Queen asked what were the means that he should have advised resorting to. 'Popularity, madam.' 'And how could I have any?' replied her Majesty. 'It had been taken from me.' 'Ah, madam! it was much easier for you to conquer it than for me to obtain it.' This assertion would furnish matter for comment: my task is merely to record this curious conversation."—*Mémoires de Madame de Campan*, tome ii. p. 150 *et seq.*

QQ.

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Return of the Royal Family to Paris.

"Lafayette went forward to meet the procession. During his absence an immense crowd had been allowed to approach the Tuileries, and endeavoured, as the royal family were alighting, to maltreat the two gardes-du-corps who had served as couriers during the escape, and were then seated on the box of the King's carriage. The Queen, anxious for their safety, no sooner saw the commander-in-chief than she exclaimed, 'Save the gardes-du-corps;' on which Lafayette placed them himself in security in one of the halls of the palace. The royal family alighted without having experienced any insults. The King was apparently calm. Lafayette then, with a feeling of mingled respect and emotion, presented himself at the King's apartment, and said to him, 'Has your Majesty any orders to give me?' 'It appears to me,' replied the King, with a smile, 'that I am more under your orders than you are under mine.' Lafayette then respectfully announced to him the decree of the Assembly, at which the King testified no displeasure. The Queen, however, betrayed some irritability, and wished

to force Lafayette to receive the keys of the desks which had remained in the carriage. He replied that no person thought or would think of opening those desks. The Queen then placed the keys on his hat. Lafayette requested her to pardon the trouble he gave her of taking back those keys, and declared that he would not touch them. 'Well,' said the Queen impatiently, 'I shall find persons less scrupulous than you are.'"—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

RR.

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The King's Motive for Flight.

Here is the answer itself, the composition of Barnave, and a model of reasoning, address, and dignity:—

"I see, gentlemen," said Louis XVI. to the commissioners, "I see by the object of the mission which is given to you, that here is no question of an examination; I will therefore answer the inquiries of the Assembly. I shall never be afraid of making public the motives of my conduct. It was the insults and menaces offered to my family and myself on the 18th of April that were the cause of my departure from Paris. Several publications have endeavoured to provoke acts of violence against my person and against my family. I deemed that there would not be safety, nor even decency, for me to remain longer in this city. Never was it my intention to leave the kingdom; I had had no concert on this subject, either with foreign powers, or with my relatives, or with any of the French emigrants. I can state, in proof of my intentions, that apartments were provided at Montmedy for my reception. I had selected this place, because, being fortified, my family would be safer there; because, being near the frontiers, I should have been better able to oppose every kind of invasion of France, had a disposition been shown to attempt any. One of the principal motives for quitting Paris was to set at rest the argument of my non-freedom, which was likely to furnish occasion for disturbances. If I had harboured an intention of leaving the kingdom, I should not have published my memorial on the very day of my departure: I should have waited till I was beyond the frontiers. But I always entertained the wish to return to Paris. It is in this sense that the last sentence in my memorial must be taken, where it is said, 'Frenchmen, and above all, Parisians, what pleasure shall I feel in finding myself again in your midst!' . . . I had in my carriage but three thousand louis in gold, and fifty-six thousand livres in assignats. I did not warn Monsieur of my departure till a very short time before. Monsieur has gone into another country only because he had agreed with me that we should not both take the same route: he was to come back into France to me. The passport was requisite to facilitate my journey: it purported to be for a foreign country merely because the office for foreign affairs gives none for the interior of the kingdom. The road to Frankfort was not even taken. I have made no protest but in the memorial which I left before my departure. That protest does not bear, as the tenor of it attests, upon the groundwork of the principles of the constitution, but on the form of sanctions—that is to say, on the little liberty that I appeared to enjoy, and on the

circumstance that, as the decrees had not been laid before me *en masse*, I could not judge of the constitution as a whole. The chief reproach contained in the memorial relates to the difficulties in the means of administration and execution. I have ascertained during my journey that public opinion was decided in favour of the constitution; I did not conceive that I could judge fully of this public opinion in Paris; but from the observations which I have personally made during my journey, I am convinced how necessary it is for the support of the constitution to give strength to the powers established for the maintenance of public order. As soon as I had ascertained the general will, I hesitated not, as I never have hesitated, to make a sacrifice of everything that is personal to me. The happiness of the people has always been the object of my wishes. I will gladly forget all the crosses that I have experienced if I can but ensure the peace and the felicity of the nation."

SS.

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DUMOURIEZ.

"Dumouriez was born at Cambray, and was descended from a Provençal family engaged in the law. He was forty-seven years of age at the commencement of the Revolution. Up to that time he had lived amidst intrigues, in which he was but too fond of engaging. The first part of his political life was spent in discovering those by whose help he might rise; and the second, in discovering those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before 1789, a constitutionalist under the first Assembly, a Girondin under the second, and a Jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But he had all the resources of great men—an enterprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success. He was, besides, frank, ingenious, clever, bold, equally fitted for the council and the field; full of expedients, and knowing how to submit to the misfortune of a difficult position until he could change it. It must be admitted, however, that these fine qualities were injured by several defects. Dumouriez was rash, thoughtless, and extremely capricious, in consequence of his continual thirst for action. But his great fault was want of all political principle."—*Mignet.*

TT.

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THOMAS PAINE.

"Thomas Paine was born in 1737, at Thetford, in Norfolk, where his father, a Quaker, was a staymaker. He received his education at a grammar-school in his native place. In early life he followed his father's business, and afterwards became a grocer and exciseman at

Lewes, but was dismissed for keeping a tobacconist's shop, which was incompatible with his duties. In 1774 he went to America, and became editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Hostilities having commenced between England and the United States, he composed his celebrated pamphlet, 'Common Sense,' which was written with great vigour, and for which the legislature of Pennsylvania voted him five hundred pounds. He was soon afterwards appointed clerk to the committee for foreign affairs; when he published a series of political appeals, which he entitled the 'Crisis.' In 1787 he embarked for France, and after visiting Paris, went to England. On the appearance of 'Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution,' he wrote his well-known 'Rights of Man,' for which he was prosecuted; but while the trial was pending he was chosen member of the National Convention for the department of Calais, and making his escape, he set out for France. On the trial of Louis XVI. he voted against the sentence of death, which offended the Jacobins, who in 1793 ordered him to be committed to the Luxembourg. Just previous to his confinement he had finished his 'Age of Reason,' which, when published, lost him the greater part of his American connections. On the fall of Robespierre he was released, and remained in France till 1802, when he embarked again for America. His subsequent life was by no means happy; for though possessed of a decent competence, yet his attacks on religion, and his habitual intemperance, had greatly narrowed the circle of his friends. He died in 1809, in his seventy-third year."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

UU.

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DESMOULINS.

"B. Camille Desmoulins, a lawyer, born at Guise, in Picardy, in 1762, was the son of the lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Guise. His appearance was vulgar, his complexion swarthy, and his looks unprepossessing. He made his first appearance at the bar to plead against his own father, whom he wanted to make him a greater allowance than he could afford. At the very commencement of the Revolution he formed an intimate acquaintance with Robespierre. In July 1789 he harangued a large mob in the Palais Royal with a brace of pistols in his hand, and assumed the appellation of attorney-general of the lamp-post. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to Danton, and organized with him the September massacres. He asserted frequently, that society consisted of two classes of men—gentlemen and sans-culottes; and that in order to save the republic, it was necessary to take the purses of the one, and put arms into the hands of the other. His connection with Danton was his ruin; and his sentence of death, the word 'clemency,' which he recommended in his journal of the *Old Cordelier*. He was arrested in 1794, and during his imprisonment he gave himself up alternately to rage and despair. His favourite studies were the works of Young and Hervey. When led to execution, at the age of thirty-three, he made the most violent efforts to avoid getting into the cart. His shirt was in tatters, and his shoulders bare; his eyes glared, and he foamed at the mouth,

crying out, while he ascended the scaffold, 'This, then, is the reward reserved for the first apostle of liberty! The monsters who assassinate me will not survive me long.' His wife, whom he adored, and by whom he was as warmly beloved, beautiful, courageous, and sensible, begged to share his fate, and ten days afterwards Robespierre sent her to the scaffold, where she exhibited much more firmness than her husband." —*Biographie Moderne.*

VV.

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Transactions in the Assembly.

Bouillé had an intimate friend in Comte de Gouvernet; and though they differed widely in their opinions, each entertained a high esteem for the other. Bouillé, who does not spare the constitutionalists, expresses himself in the most honourable manner towards M. de Gouvernet, and seems to place the utmost confidence in him. To give in his Memoirs an idea of what was passing in the Assembly at this period, he quotes the following letter, addressed to him by Comte de Gouvernet, on the 26th of August 1791:—

"I have held out hopes to you which I no longer entertain. That fatal constitution, which was to be revised and amended, will not be touched. It will remain what it is—a code of anarchy, a source of calamities; and owing to our unlucky star, at the moment when the democrats themselves begin to be sensible of some of their errors, it is the aristocrats, who, by refusing their support, oppose their reparation. In order to enlighten you, and to justify myself for having perhaps imparted to you a false hope, I must go back a little in my account of things, and tell you all that has passed, since I have to-day a safe opportunity of writing to you.

"On the day of the King's departure, and the following day, the two sides of the Assembly were closely watching each other's movements. The popular party was in great consternation; the royalist party extremely uneasy. The least indiscretion would have been liable to awaken the fury of the people. All the members of the right side were silent, and those of the other left their leaders to propose measures, which they call measures of *safety*, and which were not opposed by any one. On the second day after the King's departure the Jacobins became menacing, and the constitutionalists moderate. They were then, and they still are, much more numerous than the Jacobins. They talked of accommodation, of a deputation to the King. Two of them proposed to M. Malouet conferences, which were to be opened the following day; but news arrived of the King's apprehension, and then no further mention was made of them. Their opinions, however, having been manifested, they found themselves from that very circumstance separated more than ever from the furious. The return of Barnave, the respect which he had paid to the King and Queen, while the ferocious Petion insulted their misfortunes, and the gratitude which their Majesties testified to Barnave, have in some measure changed the heart of that young man, which till then knew no pity. He is, as you know, the ablest and one of the most influential of his party. He had therefore rallied round

him four-fifths of the left side, not only to save the King from the fury of the Jacobins, but to restore to him part of his authority, and to furnish him also with the means of defending himself in future, by keeping in the constitutional line. In regard to the latter part of Barnave's plan, nobody was in the secret but Lameth and Duport; for the constitutional crowd still gave them so much uneasiness that they could not reckon upon a majority of the Assembly without including the right side, and they conceived that they might rely upon it when in revising their constitution they should give greater latitude to the royal authority.

"Such was the state of things when I wrote to you. But convinced as I was of the awkwardness of the aristocrats and their continual blunders, I was not aware how far they could go.

"When the news of the King's apprehension at Varennes arrived, the right side, in the secret committees, determined to vote no more, and to take no further part in the deliberations or the discussions of the Assembly. Malouet disapproved this course. He represented to them that whilst the session lasted, and they attended it, they were bound to make an active opposition to measures injurious to public order and to the fundamental principles of the monarchy. All his remonstrances were useless: they persisted in their resolution, and secretly drew up a protest against all that was doing. Malouet declared that he would continue to protest in the tribune, and to make ostensibly all possible efforts to prevent the evil. He told me that he had not been able to bring over to his opinion more than thirty-five or forty members of the right side, and that he much feared that this false step of the most zealous royalists would be productive of mischievous consequences.

"The general dispositions of the Assembly were then so favourable to the King, that while he was coming back to Paris, Thouret, having ascended the tribune to determine the manner in which the King should be guarded (I was at the sitting), the utmost silence prevailed in the hall and in the galleries. Almost all the deputies, even on the left side, looked confounded during the reading of that fatal decree, but no one spoke. The president was going to put it to the vote, when Malouet abruptly rose, and with indignant look, exclaimed, 'What are you about, gentlemen? After apprehending the King, it is proposed that you should constitute him prisoner by decree. Whither will this step lead you? Have you considered that? Would you order the King to be imprisoned?' 'No! no!' cried several members of the left side, rising tumultuously; 'we mean not that the King should be a prisoner;' and the decree was on the point of being rejected almost unanimously, when Thouret hastily added, 'The last speaker has not justly comprehended the terms and the object of the decree. We have no intention, any more than he, to imprison the King; it is for his safety and that of the royal family that we propose these measures.' And it was not till after this explanation that the decree passed, though the imprisonment became an absolute reality, and is continued to this day without shame.

"At the end of July, the constitutionalists, who suspected the protest of the right side, without having any certainty of it, proceeded leisurely with their plan of revision. They dreaded the Jacobins and the aristocrats more than ever. Malouet went to their committee of revision. He at first addressed them as men who had nothing to learn respecting the dangers and the faults of their constitution; but he found them less disposed in favour of great reforms. They were afraid of losing their

popularity. Target and Duport opposed his arguments, and defended their work. Next day he met Chapelier and Barnave, who at first disdainfully refused to answer his provocations, and at length agreed to the plan of attack, all the risks of which he was ready to incur. He proposed to discuss, in the sitting of the 8th, all the principal points of the constitutional act, and to point out all its vices. 'You, gentlemen,' said he, 'answer me. Overwhelm me unanimously with your indignation. Defend your work with advantage on the least dangerous articles, even on the plurality of the points, against which my censure will be levelled; and as for those which I shall characterize as anti-monarchical, as preventing the action of the government, say that neither the Assembly nor the committee needed my remarks on that head; that you intend to propose their reform; and forthwith propose it. Be assured that it is our only resource for upholding the monarchy, and for returning in time to give all the support that is necessary for it.' This was accordingly agreed upon: but the protest of the right side having become known, and its perseverance in not voting having deprived the constitutionalists of all hope of succeeding in their plan of revision, which the Jacobins opposed with all their might, they gave it up. Malouet, who had no regular communications with them, nevertheless made his attack. He solemnly rejected the constitutional act as anti-monarchical, and as impracticable of execution in several points. The development of his motives had begun to produce a considerable impression, when Chapelier, who had no further hope from the execution of the agreement, broke it, crying blasphemy, interrupting the speaker, and requiring that he should be ordered to leave the tribune, which was accordingly done. Next day he acknowledged that he was in the wrong; but he said that he and his partisans had lost all hope from the moment when they had no further aid to expect from the right side.

"I was obliged to relate to you this long history, lest you should lose all confidence in my prognostics. They are gloomy now: the evil is extreme; and to repair it, I perceive, either within or without, but one remedy, which is the union of force with reason."—*Mémoires de Bouillé*, p. 288 *et seq.*

WW.

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The King and the Constitution.

This minister has given such an account of the dispositions of the King and Queen at the commencement of the first legislature, as leaves but little doubt of their sincerity. He relates his first interview with these august personages as follows:—

"After replying to some general observations which I had made on the difficulty of circumstances and on the numberless faults which I was liable to commit in a department with which I was unacquainted, the King said to me, 'Well, have you still any objection?' 'No, Sire; the wish to please and to obey your Majesty is the only sentiment that I feel; but to know if I can flatter myself with the prospect of

serving you usefully, it would be necessary that you should let me know what is your plan relative to the constitution, and what the line of conduct which you wish your ministers to pursue.' 'Very true,' replied the King. 'I consider that constitution as by no means a masterpiece; in my opinion it has very great defects, and if I had been at liberty to address some observations to the Assembly, very beneficial reforms might have resulted from them; but now it is too late, and I have accepted it such as it is. I have sworn to cause it to be executed, and I ought and will be strictly faithful to my oath; and the more so, as I believe the most rigorous execution of the constitution to be the surest means of making the nation acquainted with it, and rendering it sensible of the changes that it would be well to introduce in it. I have not, neither can I have, any other plan than this; I will assuredly not deviate from it, and it is my wish that the ministers should conform to it.' 'This plan, Sire, appears to me infinitely prudent; I feel myself capable of following it, and I engage to do so. I have not sufficiently studied the new constitution, either as a whole or in its details, to have a decided opinion upon it; and I will abstain from adopting one, be it what it may, before its execution has enabled the nation to appreciate it by its effects. But may I be permitted to ask your Majesty if the Queen's opinion on this point agrees with the King's?' 'Yes, precisely; she will tell you so herself.'

"I went down-stairs to the Queen, who, after declaring with extreme kindness that she felt under as much obligation to me as the King for having accepted the ministry under such critical circumstances, added these words: 'The King has acquainted you with his intentions relative to the constitution; do you not think that the only plan he has to follow is to adhere to his oath?' 'Most certainly, madam.' "Well, be assured that nothing shall induce us to change. Come, M. Bertrand, courage! I hope that, with patience, firmness, and perseverance, all is not yet lost.'"—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome vi. p. 22.

The testimony of M. Bertrand is corroborated by that of Madame Campan, which, though sometimes suspicious, has on this occasion very much the air of truth:—

"The constitution had been, as I have said, presented to the King on the 3rd of September; I recur to this presentation, because it furnished a very important subject of deliberation. All the ministers, excepting M. de Montmorin, insisted on the necessity of accepting the constitutional act in its entire state. Such, too, was the opinion of the Prince de Kaunitz. Malouet wished that the King would frankly point out the vices and dangers which he discovered in the constitution. But Duport and Barnave, alarmed at the spirit which prevailed in the association of the Jacobins, and even in the Assembly, where Robespierre had already denounced them as traitors to the country, and apprehensive of great calamities, agreed in opinion with the majority of the ministers and M. de Kaunitz. Those who sincerely wished to uphold the constitution advised that it should not be accepted purely and simply: of this number were, as I have mentioned, Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet. The King appeared to like their advice; and this is one of the strongest proofs of the sincerity of the unfortunate monarch."—*Memoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 161.

XX.

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The Marquis de Condorcet.

"Marie Jean Nicholas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, was born in 1743. His was one of the oldest families in Dauphiné. He was educated in the college of Navarre, at Paris, and from early youth devoted himself to the study of the exact sciences. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld was his patron, and introduced him into the world at the age of nineteen. With astonishing facility Condorcet treated the most difficult problems in mathematics, and gained such celebrity as a man of science that in 1777 he was made secretary to the Academy of Sciences. He contributed several articles to the 'Encyclopædia,' and was intimate with most of the writers of that great work. Under a cold exterior, Condorcet concealed the most violent passions. D'Alembert compared him to a volcano covered with snow. On the intelligence of the King's flight, he defined the royal dignity as an anti-social institution. In 1792 he was appointed president of the Assembly, and composed the proclamation addressed to the French and to Europe, which announced the abolition of royalty. On the trial of Louis he voted for the severest sentence not capital, at the same time he voted for the abolition of capital punishments, except in crimes against the State. In 1793 he was accused of being an accomplice with Brissot, and to save his life, concealed himself in the house of Madame Verney, where he remained eight months, during which period, though in constant fear of discovery, he wrote one of his best philosophical treatises. Having at length learned that death was denounced against all who harboured a proscribed individual, he left his generous hostess, and fled in disguise from Paris. He wandered about for some time, until, driven by hunger, he entered a small inn at Clamar, where he was arrested as a suspicious person, and thrown into prison. On the following morning, March 28, 1794, he was found dead on the floor of his room, having apparently swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which nothing but his love for his wife and daughter prevented him using before."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

YY.

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Vergniaud.

"Vergniaud was the most eloquent speaker of the Gironde, but he had not the vigour requisite for the leader of a party in troubled times. Passion, in general, had little influence over his mind. He was humane, gentle, and benevolent; difficult to rouse to exertion, and still more to be convinced of the wickedness either of his adversaries or a large part

of his supporters. But when great occasions arose, he poured forth his generous thoughts in streams of eloquence which never have been equalled in the French Assembly. It was not like that of Mirabeau, broken and emphatic, but uniformly elegant, sonorous, and flowing—swelling at times into the highest strains of impassioned oratory. Guadet was more animated than Vergniaud; but Gensonné, with inferior talents for speaking, was nevertheless looked up to as a leader of his party, from his firmness and resolution of character. Barbaroux, a native of the South of France, brought to the strife of faction the ardent temperament of his sunny climate. He was resolute, sagacious, and daring, and early divined the bloody designs of the Jacobins."—*Alison.*

ZZ.

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Brissot de Warville.

"The principal leader of the Gironde was Brissot, who had been a member of the municipality of Paris during the preceding session, and now belonged to the Assembly. The opinions of Brissot, who wished for a complete reform; his great activity of mind, which exerted itself by turns in the journal called the *Patriot*, in the rostrum of the Assembly, and at the club of the Jacobins; and his accurate and extensive acquaintance with the situations of foreign powers, combined to give him great influence at a moment when France was distracted with the strife of parties."—*Mignet.*

"Brissot de Warville was born in 1754 at a village near Chartres. His father kept a cook's shop, which occasioned the saying that the son had all the heat of his father's stoves. After passing four years in an attorney's office he turned author, and at twenty years of age had already published several works, one of which occasioned his imprisonment in the Bastille in 1784. He married a person attached to the household of Madame d'Orleans, and afterwards went to England. He lived there on pay as a spy from the lieutenant of police at Paris. At the same time he employed himself in literature, and endeavoured to form an academy in London; but this speculation proving unsuccessful, he returned to France, and distinguished himself greatly during the Revolution. At the time of the trial of Louis XVI. he strove to bring the subject of his condemnation before the people, and afterwards voted for his death, though he was anxious to obtain a reprieve. Being denounced, together with the rest of the Girondins, by the Jacobins, he was guillotined in 1793. Brissot was thirty-nine years of age, of middle stature, slightly formed, and pale. He was so passionate an admirer of the Americans that he adopted the appearance of a Quaker, and was pleased to be mistaken for one."—*Biographie Moderne.*

AAA.

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THE KING'S LETTERS TO THE EMIGRANTS.

It is Madame Campan who takes it upon her to inform us that the King kept up a secret correspondence with Coblentz:—

"While the courtiers were conveying the confidential letters of the King to the princes, his brothers, and to the foreign princes, the Assembly requested the King to write to the princes and to exhort them to return to France. The King directed the Abbé de Montesquieu to draw up for him the letter which he proposed sending. This letter, admirably written, in a touching and simple style, suitable to the character of Louis XVI., and full of very strong arguments on the advantage of rallying round the principles of the constitution, was put into my hands by the King for the purpose of making a copy of it.

"At this period M. Mor . . . ., one of the intendants of Monsieur's household, obtained from the Assembly a passport to go to the Prince, on account of some work that was absolutely necessary to be done to his house. The Queen selected him to carry this letter: she determined to deliver it to him herself, and acquainted him with her motive for doing so. The choice of this courier surprised me: the Queen assured me that there could not be a fitter, that she even reckoned upon his indiscretion, and that it was merely essential that the public should know of the King's letter to his brothers. *The princes were no doubt forewarned by the private correspondence.* Monsieur nevertheless showed some surprise, and the messenger returned more afflicted than pleased by such a mark of confidence, which had well-nigh cost him his life during the years of terror."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 172.

BBB.

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Letter from the King to Louis Stanislas Xavier, French Prince, the King's Brother.

PARIS, *November* 11, 1791.

I wrote to you, my brother, on the 16th of October last, and you ought not to have had any doubt of my real sentiments. I am surprised that my letter has not produced the effect which I had a right to expect from it. In order to recall you to your duty, I have used all the arguments that ought to touch you most. Your absence is a pretext for all the evil-disposed, a sort of excuse for all the deluded French, who imagine that they are serving me by keeping all France in an alarm and an agitation, which are the torment of my life. The Revolution

is finished; the constitution is completed; France wills it, I will maintain it: upon its consolidation now depends the welfare of the monarchy. The constitution has conferred rights upon you; it has attached to them one condition, which you ought to lose no time in fulfilling. Believe me, brother, and repel the doubts which pains are taken to excite in you respecting my liberty. I am going to prove to you by a most solemn act, and in a circumstance which interests you, that I can act freely. Prove to me that you are my brother and a Frenchman by complying with my entreaties. Your proper place is by my side; your interest, your sentiments alike urge you to come and resume it; I invite you, and if I may, I order you, to do so.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Answer of Monsieur to the King.

COBLENTZ, *December* 3, 1791.

SIRE, MY BROTHER AND LORD,—The Comte de Vergennes has delivered to me, in the name of your Majesty, a letter, the address of which, notwithstanding my baptismal names which it contains, is so unlike mine, that I had some thoughts of returning it unopened. However, upon his positive assertion that it was for me, I opened it, and the name of brother which I found in it having left me no further doubt, I read it with the respect which I owe to the handwriting and the signature of your Majesty. The order which it contains to return and resume my place by your Majesty's person is not the free expression of your will; and my honour, my duty, nay, even my affection, alike forbid me to obey. If your Majesty wishes to be acquainted with all these motives more in detail, I beg you to refer to my letter of the 10th of September last. I also entreat you to receive with kindness the homage of the sentiments equally tender and respectful, with which I am, &c. &c. &c.

Letter from the King to Charles Philippe, French Prince, the King's Brother.

PARIS, *November* 11, 1791.

You must certainly be aware of the decree which the National Assembly has passed relative to the French who have left their country. I have not thought it right to give my consent to it, fondly believing that mild means will more effectually accomplish the end which is proposed, and which the interest of the State demands. The various communications which I have made to you cannot leave you in any doubt respecting my intentions or my wishes. The public tranquillity and my personal peace are interested in your return. You could not persist in a conduct which disturbs France and which grieves me, without disregarding your most essential duties. Spare me the regret of recurring to severe measures against you; consult your true interest; suffer yourself to be guided by the attachment which you owe to your country, and yield, in short, to the wish of the French and to that of your King. This step on your part will be a proof of your sentiments for me, and will ensure to you the continuance of those which I always entertained for you.

(Signed) LOUIS

Answer of the Comte d'Artois to the King.

COBLENTZ, *December* 5, 1791.

SIRE, MY BROTHER AND LORD,—Comte de Vergennes delivered to me yesterday a letter which he assured me had been addressed to me by your Majesty. The superscription, which gives me a title that I cannot admit, led me to suppose that this letter was not destined for me; however, having recognized the seal of your Majesty, I opened it, and paid respect to the handwriting and the signature of my King; but the total omission of the name of brother, and above all, the decisions referred to in this letter, have furnished me with a fresh proof of the moral and physical captivity in which our enemies dare to hold your Majesty. After this declaration, your Majesty will think it natural that, faithful to my duty and the laws of honour, I shall not obey orders evidently wrung from you by violence.

Besides, the letter which I had the honour to write to your Majesty, conjointly with Monsieur, on the 10th of September last, contains the sentiments, the principles, and the resolutions from which I shall never swerve; I refer to it, therefore, absolutely; it shall be the basis of my conduct, and I here renew my oath to that effect. I entreat your Majesty to receive the homage of the sentiments equally tender and respectful, with which I am, &c. &c. &c.

CCC.

[*Page* 187.]

THE DISTURBANCES IN LA VENDÉE.

The Report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné is indisputably the best historical authority concerning the commencement of the disturbances in La Vendée. The origin of those disturbances is the most interesting part of it, because it makes us acquainted with their causes. I have thought it necessary, therefore, to subjoin this Report. It seems to me to throw light on one of the most curious portions of that melancholy history.

Report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné, Civil Commissioners sent into the Departments of La Vendée and Deux-Sèvres, by virtue of Decrees of the Constituent Assembly, made to the Legislative Assembly, October 9, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,—The National Assembly decreed, on the 16th of July last, on the report of its committee of research, that civil commissioners should be sent to the department of La Vendée, to collect all the information they could obtain respecting the causes of the recent disturbances in that country, and to concur with the administrative bodies in the restoration of the public tranquillity.

On the 23rd of July we were charged with this mission, and we set out two days afterwards for Fontenay-le-Comte, the chief town of that department.

After conferring for some days with the administrators of the

directory upon the state of things and the disposition of people's minds; after concerting with the three administrative bodies some preliminary measures for the maintenance of public order, we determined to visit the different districts composing this department, in order to examine how much was true or false, real or exaggerated, in the complaints which had already reached us—to ascertain, in short, with all possible accuracy, the state of this department.

We have travelled over almost every part of it, sometimes for the purpose of obtaining information that we needed, at others, to maintain peace, to obviate public disturbances, or to prevent the violence with which some of the citizens believed themselves to be threatened.

We have examined in several district directories all the municipalities of which each of them is composed; we have listened with the greatest attention to all the citizens who had either facts to communicate or suggestions to propose to us; we have carefully collected and compared together all the particulars that have come to our knowledge; but as these details are more numerous than diversified, as the facts, complaints, and observations have been everywhere alike, we shall present to you in one general point of view, and in an abridged but accurate manner, the result of this multitude of particular facts.

We deem it unnecessary to submit to you the information which we obtained concerning anterior disturbances; they have not appeared to us to have any very direct influence on the present state of this department; besides, the law of amnesty having put a stop to the different prosecutions to which those disturbances gave occasion, we could present to you only vague conjectures and uncertain results concerning those matters.

The epoch of the taking of the ecclesiastical oath was the first epoch of the disturbances in the department of La Vendée; till then the people there had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity. Remote from the common centre of all action and all resistance, disposed by their natural character to the love of peace, to the sentiment of order, to respect for the law, they reaped the benefits of the Revolution without experiencing its storms.

In the country, the difficulty of the communications, the simplicity of a purely agricultural life, the lessons of childhood and of the religious emblems destined incessantly to engage our attention, had opened the soul to a multitude of superstitious impressions, which in the present state of things no kind of instruction can either destroy or moderate.

Their religion, that is to say, religion such as they conceive it, is become to them the strongest, and indeed, we may say, the only moral habit of their lives; the most essential object which it holds forth to them is the worship of images; and the minister of this worship, he whom the country people consider as the dispenser of the Divine favour, who can, by the fervour of his prayers, mitigate the inclemency of the seasons, and has at his peculiar disposal the happiness of a future life, soon secures to himself the softest as well as the strongest affections of their souls.

The constancy of the people of this department in the kind of their religious acts, and the unlimited confidence possessed by the priests to whom they are accustomed, are some of the principal elements of the disturbances which have agitated and are still likely to agitate them.

It is easy to conceive with what assiduity either misguided or

factious priests have contrived to avail themselves of these dispositions of the people towards them. Nothing has been neglected to kindle their zeal, to alarm their consciences, to strengthen weak characters, to encourage decided characters: in some have been awakened uneasiness and remorse; in others, hopes of happiness and salvation; and upon almost all the influence of seduction and fear has been tried with success.

Many of these ecclesiastics are upright and sincere; they appear to be deeply impressed both with the ideas which they disseminate and with the sentiments which they inspire: others are accused of cloaking with zeal for religion interests dearer to their hearts; these latter have a political activity, which increases or relaxes according to circumstances.

A powerful coalition has been formed between the late Bishop of Luçon and part of the former clergy of his diocese: they have concerted a plan of opposition to the execution of the decrees which were to be carried into effect in all the parishes; pastoral charges and inflammatory papers sent from Paris have been addressed to all the curés, to fortify them in their resolution, or to engage them in a confederation which is presumed to be general. A circular letter written by M. Beauregard, grand-vicar of M. de Merci, late Bishop of Luçon, deposited in the office of the tribunal of Fontenay, and which that ecclesiastic avowed at the time of his examination, will fix your opinion, gentlemen, in an accurate manner, both respecting the secret of that coalition, and the skilfully combined proceedings of those who have formed it.

It is as follows:—

Letter, dated Luçon, May 31, 1791, *under envelope, addressed to the Cure of La Réorthe.*

A decree of the National Assembly, Sir, dated 7th May, grants to the ecclesiastics whom it has pretended to remove for refusing to take the oath, the use of the parish churches for saying mass there only. The same decree authorizes the Roman Catholics, as well as the non-conformists, to meet for the exercise of religious worship in any place which they shall have chosen for that purpose, on condition that in their public instructions nothing shall be said against the civil constitution of the clergy.

The liberty granted to the legitimate pastors by the first article of this decree ought to be considered as a snare so much the more dangerous, because true believers would not find in the churches of which the intruders have gained possession any other instructions but those of their false pastors; because they could not receive the sacraments there but from their hands; and thus they would have with these schismatic pastors a communication which the laws of the Church interdict. To obviate so great an evil, gentlemen, the curés will feel the necessity of securing as soon as possible a place where they can, by virtue of the second article of this decree, exercise their functions, and assemble their faithful parishioners, as soon as their pretended successors have taken possession of their churches. Without this precaution, the Catholics, fearful of being deprived of the mass and the divine offices, and called by the voice of false pastors, might soon be induced to communicate with them, and be exposed to the risk of an almost inevitable seduction.

In the parishes where there are few wealthy proprietors, it will no doubt be difficult to find a suitable building, and to procure sacred vessels and ornaments: then a mere barn, a movable altar, a surplice of muslin or any other common stuff, and vessels of tin will suffice, in this case of necessity, for the celebration of the sacred mysteries and of divine service.

This simplicity, this poverty, by reminding us of the first ages of the Church and of the cradle of our holy religion, may be a powerful means of exciting the zeal of the ministers and the fervour of the faithful. The first Christians had no other temples but their houses; there the pastors and their flock met to celebrate the sacred mysteries, to hear the word of God, and to sing the praises of the Lord. In the persecutions with which the Church was afflicted, obliged to forsake their churches, they retired into caverns and even into tombs; and for the true believers these times of trial were periods of the greatest fervour. There are very few parishes where messieurs the curés could not procure a building and ornaments such as I have just mentioned, and till they can provide themselves with needful things, such of their neighbours as shall not be displaced will be able to assist them with what they can spare from their churches. We shall have it in our power immediately to supply with sacred stones those who want them, and at this moment we can cause the cups, or the vessels employed as substitutes for them, to be consecrated.

M. the Bishop of Luçon, in the particular instructions which he has transmitted to us, by way of supplement to those of M. the Bishop of Langres, and which will be circulated in like manner in the different dioceses, proposes to messieurs the curés:—

1. To keep a double register, in which shall be entered the acts of baptism, marriage, and burial of the Catholics of the parish: one of these registers shall remain in their hands; the other shall be by them deposited every year in the hands of a confidential person.

2. Besides this register, messieurs the curés will keep another, likewise double, in which shall be entered the acts of dispensation concerning marriages, which they shall have granted by virtue of the powers which shall be given them by Article 18 of the Instructions. These acts shall be signed by two trusty and faithful witnesses, and to give them greater authenticity, the registers destined to contain them shall be approved, numbered, and signed by M. the bishop, or in his absence, by one of his vicars-general. A duplicate of this register shall be delivered, as above mentioned, to a confidential person.

3. Messieurs the curés will wait, if possible, before they retire from their church and their ministry, till their pretended successor has notified to them the act of his appointment and institution, and till they protest against all that may be done in consequence.

4. They shall draw up privately a report (*procès-verbal*) of the intrusion of the pretended curé, and of the invasion made by him upon the parish church and the living: in this report, the model of which I annex, they will formally protest against all the acts of jurisdiction which he may choose to exercise as curé of the parish; and to give to this act all possible authenticity, it shall be signed by the curé, his vicar if he has one, and a neighbouring priest, and even by two or three pious and discreet laymen, taking nevertheless the utmost precaution not to betray the secret.

5. Such of messieurs the curés whose parishes shall be declared suppressed without the intervention of the legitimate bishop, shall adopt

the same means: they shall consider themselves as being still the only legitimate pastors of their parishes, and if it be absolutely impossible for them to remain there, they shall endeavour to procure a lodging sufficiently near to be able to supply the spiritual wants of their parishioners, and they shall take care to forewarn and to instruct them in their duties on that head.

6. If the civil power should oppose the faithful Catholics having one general cemetery, or if the relatives of deceased persons manifest too strong a repugnance to their being interred in a separate place, though specially consecrated, as it is said in Article 19 of the Instructions, after the legitimate pastor or one of his representatives shall have said at the house the prayers prescribed by the ritual, and shall have drawn up the certificate of death, which shall be signed by the relatives, the body of the deceased may be carried to the door of the church, and the relations shall be at liberty to accompany it; but they shall be warned to retire at the moment when the intruding curé and vicars come to have the body lifted up, that they may not participate in the ceremonies and prayers of the schismatic priests.

7. In the acts, when the displaced curés are denied their title of curé, they shall sign those acts with their Christian and family name without losing any quality.

I beg you, Sir, and such of your colleagues to whom you may think it right to communicate my letter, to have the goodness to inform us of the moment of your removal, if it does take place, of the installation of your pretended successor, and of its most remarkable circumstances, of the dispositions of your parishioners on this head, of the means which you think it right to adopt for the service of your parish, and of your residence, if you are absolutely obliged to leave it. You cannot doubt that all these particulars will deeply interest us: your griefs are ours, and our most ardent wish is to be able, by sharing them, to mitigate their bitterness.

I have the honour to be, with a respectful and inviolable attachment, your most humble and most obedient servant.

These manœuvres were powerfully seconded by missionaries established in the village of St. Laurent, district of Montaigu; nay, it is to the activity of their zeal, to their underhand dealings, to their indefatigable and secret exhortations that, we are of opinion, the disposition of a very great part of the population in almost the whole of the department of La Vendée and in the district of Chatillon, department of the Deux-Sèvres, is principally to be attributed. It is of essential importance to fix the attention of the National Assembly on the conduct of these missionaries and the spirit of their institution.

This establishment was founded, about sixty years ago, for a society of secular priests, living by alms, and destined as missionaries to the duty of preaching. These missionaries, who have won the confidence of the people by artfully distributing rosaries, medals, and indulgences, and by setting up Calvaries of all forms upon the roads of all this part of France—these missionaries have since become numerous enough to form new establishments in other parts of the kingdom. They are to be found in the late provinces of Poitou, Anjou, Bretagne, and Aunis, labouring with the same activity for the success, and in some measure for the eternal duration, of this sort of religious practices, which have become, through their assiduous endeavours, the sole religion of the people. The village of St. Laurent is their headquarters; they have

recently built there a spacious and handsome monastic house, and acquired, it is said, other territorial property.

This congregation is connected by the nature and spirit of its institution with an establishment of gray nuns, founded in the same place, and known by the name of *filles de la sagesse* (nuns of wisdom). Devoted in this department and in several others to attendance on the poor, particularly in the hospitals, they are a very active medium of general correspondence for these missionaries throughout the kingdom. The house of St. Laurent has become their place of refuge when the intolerant fervour of their zeal or other circumstances have obliged the managers of the hospitals which they attend to dispense with their services.

To determine your opinion respecting the conduct of these ardent missionaries and the religious morality which they profess, it will be sufficient, gentlemen, to lay before you a brief summary of the maxims contained in various manuscripts found upon them by the national guard of Angers and Cholet.

These manuscripts, drawn up in the form of instructions for the country people, lay it down as a rule that they must not apply to the constitutional priests, stigmatized as intruders, for the administration of the sacraments; that all those who partake therein, even by their mere presence, commit a deadly sin, for which nothing but ignorance or defect of understanding can be an excuse; that those who shall have the audacity to get married by intruders will not be really married, and that they will draw down the divine malediction upon themselves and their children; that things will be so arranged that the validity of the marriages performed by the late curés will not be disputed; but that meanwhile they must make up their minds to the worst; that if the children do not pass for legitimate, they will nevertheless be so; that, on the contrary, the children of those who shall have been married by the intruders will be really *bastards*, because God will not have ratified the union, and because it is better that a marriage should be invalid in the sight of men than in the sight of God; that they ought not to apply to the new curés in cases of burial; and that if the former curé cannot officiate without risking his life and liberty, the relatives or friends of the deceased ought privately to perform the duty of interment.

On this subject it is observed that the late curé will take care to keep an accurate register for the registration of these different acts; that in fact it is impossible for the civil tribunals to pay any attention to this point, but that is a misfortune to which people must submit; that the civil registration is a great advantage, which must nevertheless be dispensed with, because it is better to be deprived of it than to turn apostate by applying to an intruder.

Lastly, all true believers are exhorted to have no communication with an intruder, and to take no part in his intrusion; it is declared that the municipal officers who shall instal him will be apostates like himself, and that the very sextons, singers, and bellringers ought that very moment to resign their places.

Such, gentlemen, is the absurd and pernicious doctrine which is contained in those manuscripts, and of which the public voice accuses the missionaries of St. Laurent of having been the most zealous propagators.

They were denounced at the time to the committee of research of the National Assembly, and the silence observed in regard to them has

served only to increase the activity of their efforts, and to extend their baneful influence.

We have deemed it indispensably necessary to lay before you an abridged analysis of the principles contained in these writings, as displayed in an *arrêté* of the department of Maine and Loire, of the 5th June 1791, because it is sufficient to compare them with the circular letter of the grand-vicar of the late Bishop of Luçon to be convinced that they belong to a general system of opposition to the decrees on the civil organization of the clergy, and that the present state of the majority of the parishes of this department exhibits only the development of this system, and the principles of this doctrine, set almost everywhere in action.

The too tardy removal of the curés has greatly contributed to the success of this coalition: this delay has been occasioned, in the first place, by the refusal of M. Servant, who, after having been appointed to the bishopric of the department, and accepted that office, declared, on the 10th of April, that he withdrew his acceptance. M. Rodrigue, the present bishop of the department—whose moderation and firmness are almost his sole support in a chair surrounded by storms and embarrassments—M. Rodrigue could not be nominated till the first days in the month of May. At that time the acts of resistance had been calculated and determined upon agreeably to a uniform plan; the opposition was commenced and in full activity; the grand-vicars and the curés had agreed and bound themselves closely together by the same bond; the jealousies, the rivalships, the quarrels, of the old ecclesiastical hierarchy had had time to subside, and all interests had been blended into one general interest.

The removal could only be in part effected: the very great majority of the old public ecclesiastical functionaries still remains in the parishes invested with its former functions; the last appointments have been almost wholly unsuccessful; and the persons lately elected, deterred by the prospect of the numberless contradictions and disagreements prepared for them by their nomination, reply to it by refusals alone.

This division of sworn and nonjuring priests has formed an absolute division between the people of their parishes: families, too, are divided: wives have been seen, and are daily seen, parting from their husbands, children leaving their parents: the state of citizens is in most cases certified only upon loose pieces of paper, and the individual who receives them, not being clothed with any public character, cannot give any legal authenticity to this kind of proof.

The municipalities have disorganized themselves, and the greater number of them that they might not concur in the removal of nonjuring curés.

A great portion of the citizens has renounced the service in the national guard, and that which remains could not be employed without danger in any operations having for their principle or object acts concerning religion, because the people would then view the national guards, not as the unimpassioned instruments of the law, but as the agents of a party hostile to its own.

In several parts of the department, an administrator, a judge, a member of the electoral body, are objects of aversion to the people, because they concur in the execution of the law relative to the ecclesiastical functionaries.

This disposition of mind is the more deplorable, as the means of public instruction are daily becoming more difficult. The general laws

of the State are confounded by the people with the particular regulations for the civil organization of the clergy, and this renders the reading and the publication of them useless.

The malcontents, the men who dislike the new system, and those who in the new system dislike the laws relative to the clergy, studiously keep up this aversion of the people, strengthen by all the means in their power the influence of the nonjuring priests, and weaken the influence of the others; the pauper obtains no relief, the artisan cannot hope to obtain any employment for his talents and industry, unless he promises not to attend mass said by a priest who has taken the oath; and it is by this concurrence of confidence in the former priests on the one hand, and of threats and seductive arts on the other, that at this moment the churches where priests who have taken the oath officiate are deserted, and that people throng to those where, for want of candidates, the removals have not yet been carried into effect.

Nothing is more common than to see in parishes of five or six hundred persons ten or twelve only attending mass said by the sworn priest; the proportion is the same in all the places of the department. On Sundays and holidays may be seen whole villages and hamlets whose inhabitants leave their homes to go to the distance of a league, and sometimes ten leagues, to hear mass said by a nonjuring priest. These habitual desertions have appeared to us the most powerful cause of the ferment, sometimes secret, at others open, which exists in almost all the parishes served by priests who have taken the oath; it is easy to conceive that a multitude of persons who consider themselves obliged by their conscience to go to a distance to obtain the spiritual succours which they need, must see with aversion, when they return home exhausted with fatigue, the five or six individuals who find at hand the priest of their choice; they view with envy and treat with harshness, nay, frequently even with violence, the men who seem to them to possess an exclusive privilege in matters of religion. The comparison which they make between the facility which they formerly had to find by their side priests who enjoyed their confidence, and the trouble, fatigue, and loss of time occasioned by these repeated journeys, greatly diminishes their attachment to the constitution, to which they attribute all the discomforts of their new situation.

It is to this general cause, more active perhaps at this moment than the secret provocation of the nonjuring priests, that in our opinion ought to be attributed more especially the state of internal discord in which we have found the greater number of the parishes of the department served by priests who have taken the oath.

Several of them have presented to us, as well as to the administrative bodies, petitions praying that they may be authorized to hire particular edifices for the use of their religious worship; but as these petitions, which we knew to be instigated with the greatest activity by persons who did not sign them, appeared to us to belong to a more general and more secret system, we have not deemed it right to take any measure tending to a religious separation, which we conceived at the time, considering the state of this department, to involve all the characters of a civil breach between the citizens. We have thought and publicly said that it was for you, gentlemen, to determine in a precise manner how, and by what concurrence of moral influences, laws, and means of execution, the exercise of the

liberty of religious opinions ought on this point, and in the present circumstances, to ally itself to the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

It is certainly matter of surprise that the nonjuring priests who reside in their old parishes do not avail themselves of the liberty allowed by the law to say mass in the church where the new curé officiates, and are not eager to make use of that faculty, in order to spare their old parishioners, and those who have remained attached to them, the loss of time and the inconveniences of these numerous and compulsory journeys. To explain this conduct, apparently so extraordinary, it is of importance to recollect that one of the things which have been most strongly recommended to the nonjuring priests, by the able men who have directed this grand religious enterprise, is to abstain from all communication with the priests whom they call intruders and usurpers, lest the people, who are struck only by sensible signs, should at length become accustomed to see no difference between the priests who should perform in the same church the exercises of the same worship.

Unfortunately this religious division has produced a political breach between the citizens, and this breach is further widened by the appellation given to each of the two parties: the small number of persons who go to the church of the priests who have taken the oath call themselves and are called *patriots;* those who attend the church of the nonjuring priests are called and call themselves *aristocrats.* Thus, with the poor country people, love or hatred of their country consists nowadays not in obeying the laws, and in respecting the legitimate authorities, but in going or not going to mass said by a sworn priest. On this point ignorance and prejudice have struck such deep root that we have had great difficulty to make them comprehend that the political constitution of the State was not the civil constitution of the clergy; that the law did not tyrannize over consciences; that every one was at perfect liberty to go to the mass that he liked best, and to the priest in whom he had most confidence; that they were all equal in the sight of the law, and that on this point it imposed on them no other obligation than to live in peace, and to bear mutually with the difference of each other's religious opinions. We have done all in our power to banish this absurd denomination from the minds and from the language of the country people, and we have endeavoured to do so the more assiduously, because it was easy for us to calculate at that period all the consequences of such a demarcation in a department where these pretended *aristocrats* form more than two-thirds of the population.

Such, gentlemen, is the result of the facts that have come to our knowledge in the department of La Vendée, and such are the reflections to which these facts have given rise.

We have taken on this subject all the measures that were in our power, both to maintain the general tranquillity, and to prevent or suppress the violations of public order: organs of the law, we have everywhere spoken its language. At the same time that we established means of order and security, we took pains to explain or to elucidate, before the administrative bodies, the tribunals, or individuals, the difficulties incident either to the right understanding of the decrees or to their mode of execution; we exhorted the administrative bodies and the tribunals to redouble their vigilance and zeal in the execution of the laws which protect the safety of persons and property—to use,

in short, with firmness, the authority which the law has conferred on them; we distributed part of the public force which was at our disposal in places where the danger was described to us as being more serious or more imminent; we repaired to every place on the first tidings of disturbance; we ascertained the state of things with more calmness and reflection; and after having, either by the language of peace and consolation, or by the firm and just expression of the law, pacified this momentary tumult of individual passions, we were of opinion that the mere presence of the public force would be sufficient. It is to you, gentlemen, and to you alone, that it belongs to take truly efficacious measures respecting a matter which, from the relation into which it has been brought with the constitution of the State, exercises at this moment a much greater influence upon that constitution than the first and most simple notions of reason, apart from the experience of facts, could lead one to imagine.

In all our operations relative to the distribution of the public force we have been seconded in the most active manner by a general officer well known for his patriotism and his intelligence. No sooner was M. Dumouriez apprized of our arrival in the department than he came to associate himself with us in our labours, and to concur with us in the maintenance of the public peace. We were on the point of being totally deprived of troops of the line at a moment when we had reason to believe that they were more necessary for us than ever; it was to the zeal and to the activity of M. Dumouriez that we were indebted for immediate succour, which, owing to the delay of the organization of the gendarmerie, was in some measure the sole guarantee of the tranquillity of the country.

We had just finished our mission in this department of La Vendée, gentlemen, when the decree of the National Assembly of the 8th of August, which, on the application of the administrators of the department of the Deux-Sèvres, authorized us to proceed to the district of Chatillon, reached us as well as the directory of this department.

We had been informed on our arrival at Fontenay-le-Comte, that this district was in the same state of religious agitation as the department of La Vendée. Some days before the receipt of the decree for our commission, several citizens, electors and public functionaries of that district, came to make a written complaint to the directory of the department of the Deux-Sèvres respecting disturbances which, as they alleged, existed in different parishes; they declared that an insurrection was on the point of breaking out. The remedy which to them appeared the most certain and the most prompt, and which they most earnestly proposed, was to compel all the curés who had not taken the oath, and been superseded, and all vicars who had not taken the oath, to quit the district within three days. The directory, after having long hesitated to adopt a measure which appeared to it to be contrary to the principles of strict justice, conceived at length that the public character of the complainants was sufficient to prove both the reality of the evil and the urgent necessity of the remedy. A resolution (*arrête*) was in consequence passed on the 5th of September, and the directory ordered all ecclesiastics to quit the district in three days, but at the same time invited them to repair within the same term to Niort, the chief town of the department, *assuring them that they should there find protection and safety for their persons.*

The resolution was already printed and about to be carried into execution, when the directory received a despatch containing the

decree of commission which it had solicited. It immediately passed a fresh resolution, by which it suspended the execution of the first, and left to our prudence the faculty of confirming, modifying, or suppressing.

Two administrators of the directory were by the same resolution appointed commissioners to communicate to us what had passed, to repair to Chatillon, and there take in concert with us all the measures that we should deem necessary.

On our arrival at Chatillon we caused the fifty-six municipalities of which that district is composed to be called together; they were successively summoned into the hall of the directory. We consulted each of them on the state of its parish. All these municipalities expressed the same wish: those whose curés had been superseded solicited the restoration of those priests; those whose nonjuring curés were still in office desired to retain them. There is another point on which all these country people agreed, that is, the liberty of religious opinions, which, they said, had been granted to them, and which they were anxious to enjoy. On the same and the following day the neighbouring country sent numerous deputations of its inhabitants to reiterate the same petition. "We solicit no other favour," said they, unanimously, "than to have priests in whom we have confidence." Several of them attached so high a value to this favour that they even assured us that they would willingly pay double their imposts to obtain it.

The very great majority of the public ecclesiastical functionaries of this district have not taken the oath; and whilst their churches are scarcely sufficient to hold the concourse of citizens, those of the priests who have taken the oath are almost deserted. In this respect the state of this district has appeared to us to be the same as that of the department of La Vendée: there, as in other parts, we have found the denominations of *patriot* and *aristocrat* completely established among the people, in the same signification, and perhaps in a more general manner. The disposition of people's minds in favour of the nonjuring priests appeared to us more decided than in the department of La Vendée; the attachment felt for them, the confidence reposed in them, have all the characters of the warmest and deepest sentiment; in some of these parishes, priests who have taken the oath, or citizens attached to these priests, had been exposed to threats and insult; and although there, as elsewhere, these acts of violence have appeared to be sometimes exaggerated, yet we ascertained—and the mere report of the disposition of minds is sufficient to produce this conviction—that most of the complaints were founded on undeniable rights.

At the same time that we recommended the utmost vigilance on this point to the judges and to the administrators, we omitted nothing that could infuse into the people notions and feelings more conformable with respect for the law and with the right of individual liberty.

We ought to inform you, gentlemen, that these very men, who had been described to us as furious, as deaf to every sort of reason, left us with souls filled with peace and happiness when we had given them to understand that respect for liberty of conscience was inherent in the principles of the new constitution; they were deeply penitent and grieved for the faults which some of them might have committed; they promised us with emotion to follow the advice which we gave them —to live in peace, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions, and to respect the public functionary established by the law. They were heard, as they went away, congratulating themselves on

having seen us, repeating to one another all that we had said to them, and mutually encouraging each other in their resolutions of peace and good fellowship.

The same day messengers came to inform us that several of these country people, on their return home, had posted up bills declaring that each of them had engaged to denounce and cause to be apprehended the first person who should injure another, and especially priests who had taken the oath.

We ought to remark that in this same district, which has long been agitated by the difference of religious opinions, the arrears of taxes for 1789 and 1790, amounting to 700,000 livres, have been almost entirely paid up; proof of which was furnished us by the directory of the district.

After we had carefully observed the state of minds and of things, we were of opinion that the resolution of the directory ought not to be carried into execution, and the commissioners of the department, as well as the administrators of the directory of Chatillon, were of the same opinion.

Setting aside all the motives of determination which we were enabled to draw both from things and persons, we examined whether the measure adopted by the directory were, in the first place, just in its nature, and in the next, whether it were efficacious in execution.

We conceived that the priests who have been superseded cannot be considered as in a state of rebellion against the law, because they continue to reside in the place of their former functions, especially since among these priests there are some who, it is matter of public notoriety, lead charitable and peaceful lives, far from all public and private discussion. We conceived that in the eye of the law a man cannot be in a state of rebellion unless by putting himself in that state by precise, certain, and authenticated acts. We conceived, lastly, that acts of provocation against the laws relative to the clergy and against all the laws of the kingdom ought, like all other misdemeanours, to be punished by legal forms.

Examining afterwards the efficacy of this measure, we saw that if faithful Catholics have no confidence in the priests who have taken the oath, it is not the way to inspire them with more to remove from them in this manner the priests of their choice. We saw that in the districts where the great majority of the nonjuring priests continue to exercise their functions, agreeably to the permission of the law till they are superseded, it would certainly not be, in such a system of repression, diminishing the evil to remove so small a number of persons when you would be obliged to leave in the same places a much greater number whose opinions are the same.

Such, gentlemen, are some of the ideas which have guided our conduct in this circumstance, independently of all the reasons of locality, which alone would have been strong enough to oblige us to follow this line: such, in fact, was the dispositions of minds, that the execution of this resolution would have infallibly been the signal for a civil war in those parts.

The directory of the department of the Deux-Sèvres, apprized at first by its commissioners, and afterwards by us, of all that we had done on this head, has been pleased to present to us the expression of its thanks by a resolution of the 19th of last month.

We shall add, with respect to the measure for removing the nonjuring priests who have been superseded, that it was constantly

proposed to us almost unanimously by those citizens of the department of La Vendée who are attached to the priests that have taken the oath—citizens who themselves form, as you have seen, the smallest portion of the inhabitants; in transmitting to you this petition we merely acquit ourselves of a commission with which we have been entrusted.

Neither can we suffer you to remain ignorant that some of the priests who have taken the oath, that we have seen, have been of a contrary opinion. One of them, in a letter which he addressed to us on the 12th of September, whilst assigning to us the same causes of the disturbances, whilst expatiating on the many vexations to which he is daily exposed, remarked that the only way of remedying all these evils (these are his own expressions) "is to be tender towards the opinion of the people, whose prejudices must be cured by gentleness and prudence; for," he adds, "all war on account of religion, whose wounds still bleed, must be prevented. . . . It is to be feared that the rigorous measures necessary under present circumstances against the disturbers of the public peace may appear rather in the light of a persecution than of a punishment inflicted by the law. . . . What prudence is it needful to employ! Mildness, instruction, are the weapons of truth."

Such, gentlemen, is the general result of the particulars which we have collected, and the observations which we have made, in the course of the mission with which we have been entrusted. The most pleasing reward of our labours would be to have facilitated for you the means of establishing, on solid foundations, the tranquillity of these departments, and having responded by the activity of our zeal to the confidence with which we have been honoured.

DDD.

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M. Isnard.

"M. Isnard, a wholesale perfumer at Draguignan, was deputed from Var to the Legislature, and afterwards to the Convention. His father, who was rich, had taken great pains with his education. In 1793 he voted for the King's death, observing, that 'were the lightnings of heaven in his hands, he would blast with them all those who should attack the sovereignty of the people.' Isnard was outlawed as a Girondin on the fall of that party, but succeeded in making his escape; and after the overthrow of the Mountaineers, resumed his seat in the Convention. Being then sent to the department of the Bouches du Rhone, he there declaimed vehemently against the Terrorists, who afterwards accused him of having encouraged the bloody reprisals made on them in the South, and of having addressed the people as follows: 'If you meet any Terrorists, strike them; if you have not arms, you have sticks; if you have not sticks, dig up your parents, and with their bones knock down the monsters!' In 1796 Isnard became a member of the Council of Five Hundred. In 1801 he published a work on the 'Immortality of the Soul.'"—*Biographie Moderne.*

EEE.

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Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette.

"Luckner had been the most distinguished partisan of the Seven Years' War. After the peace of 1763 the Duc de Choiseul drew him into our service. He was much attached to the new constitution, but without pretending to understand it; and when the Jacobins wished to exalt his liberal opinions, he often embarrassed them by making the most absurd blunders. He had not the power of forming great combinations, but he had a quick eye, the habit of military tactics, and all the activity of youth. Rochambeau, who had made his fortune by arms, had been engaged in the war of Flanders, and distinguished himself also in the Seven Years' War. He never lost sight of the points most important to the soldier's trade. These two marshals had one fault in common—they were too distrustful of their new and inexperienced troops. Lafayette did not share this feeling. He augured better of the enthusiasm for liberty, having been an American general officer at the age of nineteen. With the exception of these three generals, there was not an officer in the French army who had ever fought at the head of two thousand men."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

FFF.

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Foreign Plans regarding France.

I have already had occasion to refer several times to the sentiments of Leopold, of Louis XVI., and of the emigrants; I shall now quote some extracts which will leave no doubt respecting them. Bouillé, who was abroad, and whose reputation and talents had caused him to be courted by the sovereigns, had opportunities of learning better than any other person the sentiments of the different Courts, and his testimony is above suspicion. In different parts of his Memoirs he thus expresses himself:—

"It may be inferred from this letter that the King of Sweden was quite uncertain respecting the real plans of the Emperor and his allies, which ought then to have been not to interfere any more in the affairs of France. The Empress [of Russia] was no doubt informed of them, but she had not communicated them to him. I knew that at the moment she was exerting all her influence with the Emperor and the King of Prussia to induce them to declare war against France. She had even written a very strong letter to the former of these sovereigns, in which she represented to him that the King of Prussia, for a mere incivility offered to his sister, had sent an army into Holland; whilst he [the Emperor] patiently suffered the insults and affronts heaped upon the Queen of France, the degradation of her rank and dignity, and the

overthrow of the throne of a King who was his brother-in-law and ally. The Empress acted with the like energy towards Spain, which had adopted pacific principles. Meanwhile the Emperor, after the acceptance of the constitution by the King, had received the new ambassador of France, whom he had previously forbidden to appear at his Court. He was even the first to admit the national flag into his ports. The Courts of Madrid, Petersburg, and Stockholm were the only ones which at this period withdrew their ambassadors from Paris. All these circumstances tend to prove that the views of Leopold were directed towards peace, and that they were the result of the influence of Louis XVI. and of the Queen."—*Mémoires de Bouille*, p. 314.

In another place Bouillé says :—

"Meanwhile several months elapsed without my perceiving any progress in the plans which the Emperor had entertained for assembling armies on the frontiers, for forming a congress, and for opening a negotiation with the French government. I presumed that the King had hoped that his acceptance of the new constitution would restore to him his personal liberty, and re-establish tranquillity in the nation, which an armed negotiation might have disturbed; and that he had consequently prevailed upon the Emperor and the other sovereigns his allies not to take any step liable to produce hostilities, which he had constantly studied to avoid. I was confirmed in this opinion by the unwillingness of the Court of Spain to furnish the fifteen millions of livres which she had engaged to give him towards the expenses of his expedition. This Prince had prevailed on me to write on his behalf to the Spanish minister, from whom I received only vague replies. I then advised the King of Sweden to open a loan in Holland, or in the free maritime cities of the North, under the guarantee of Spain, whose dispositions, however, in regard to the affairs of France appeared to me to be changed.

"I learned that the anarchy was daily increasing in France, and this was but too plainly proved by the multitude of emigrants of all classes who sought refuge on the foreign frontiers. They were armed and formed into regiments on the banks of the Rhine, and they composed a little army which threatened the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These measures awakened the fury of the people, and aided the destructive projects of the Jacobins and anarchists. The emigrants had even planned an attempt upon Strasburg, where they imagined that they had supporters who could be relied on, and partisans who would open the gates to them. The King, who was informed of the scheme, employed commands and even entreaties to stop them, and to prevent them committing any act of hostility. To this end he sent to the princes, his brothers, the Baron de Viomenil, and the Chevalier de Cogny, who signified to them, in his name, his disapprobation of the arming of the French nobility, to which the Emperor opposed all possible obstacles, but which was nevertheless continued."—*Ibid.*, p. 309.

Lastly, Bouillé gives from the lips of Leopold himself his plan of a congress :—

"At length, on the 12th of September, the Emperor Leopold sent me word to call on him, and to bring with me the plan of the arrangements for which he had previously asked me. He desired me to step into his cabinet, and told me that he could not speak to me earlier on the subject concerning which he wished to see me, because he was waiting

for answers from Russia, Spain, England, and the principal sovereigns of Italy; that he had received them, and they were conformable with his intentions and his plans; that he was assured of their assistance in the execution, and of their agreement; excepting, however, the Cabinet of St. James's, which had declared its determination to preserve the strictest neutrality. He had taken the resolution to assemble a congress, to treat with the French government, not only concerning the redress of the grievances of the Germanic body, whose rights in Alsace and in other parts of the frontier provinces had been violated, but at the same time concerning the means of restoring order in the kingdom of France, the anarchy of which disturbed the tranquillity of all Europe. He added that this negotiation should be supported by formidable armies with which France would be encompassed; that he hoped this expedient would succeed, and prevent a sanguinary war, the very last resource that he would employ. I took the liberty of asking the Emperor if he was informed of the real intentions of the King. He was acquainted with them; he knew that this Prince disliked the employment of violent means. He told me that he was, moreover, informed that the charter of the new constitution was to be presented to him in a few days, and that it was his opinion that the King could not avoid accepting it without restriction, from the risks to which he would subject his life and the lives of his family if he made the least difficulty, and if he hazarded the slightest observation; but that his sanction, forced at the time, was of no importance, as it was possible to rescind all that should have been done, and to give France a good government, which should satisfy the people, and leave to the royal authority a latitude of powers sufficient to maintain tranquillity at home and to ensure peace abroad. He asked me for the plan of disposition of the armies, assuring me that he would examine it at leisure. He added, that I might return to Mentz, where Comte de Brown, who was to command his troops, and who was then in the Netherlands, would send word to me as well as to Prince Hohenlohe, who was going into Franconia, in order that we might confer together when the time should arrive.

"I judged that the Emperor had not adopted this pacific and extremely reasonable plan, since the conference of Pilnitz, till he had consulted Louis XVI., who had constantly wished for an arrangement, and to have recourse to negotiation, rather than the violent expedient of arms."—*Ibid.*, p. 299.

GGG.

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The Duc d'Orleans and the Courtiers.

The following is Bertrand de Molleville's account of this circumstance:—

"I made a report on the same day to the council of the visit paid me by the Duc d'Orleans and of our conversation. The King determined to receive him, and on the next day he had a conversation with him of more than half an hour, with which his Majesty appeared to us to be much pleased. 'I think, like you,' said the King, 'that he is perfectly sincere, and that he will do all that lies in his power to repair the

mischief which he has done, and in which it is possible that he may not have taken so large a part as we have imagined.'

"On the following Sunday he came to the King's levee, where he met with the most humiliating reception from the courtiers, who were ignorant of what had passed, and from the royalists, who were in the habit of repairing to the palace in great numbers on that day, to pay their court to the royal family. They crowded around him, making believe to tread upon his toes and to thrust him towards the door, so as to prevent him from entering. He went down-stairs to the Queen, whose table was already laid. The moment he appeared, a cry was raised on all sides of *Gentlemen, take care of the dishes!* as though they had been sure that his pockets were full of poison.

"The insulting murmurs which his presence everywhere excited forced him to retire without seeing the royal family. He was pursued to the Queen's staircase, where some one spat on his head and several times upon his coat. Rage and vexation were depicted in his face; and he left the palace convinced that the instigators of the outrages which he had received were the King and Queen, who knew nothing of the matter, and who indeed were extremely angry about it. He swore implacable hatred against them, and kept but too faithfully this horrible oath. I was at the palace that day and witnessed all the circumstances that I have here related."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome vi. p. 290.

HHH.

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The Vicomte de Mirabeau.

"Vicomte de Boniface de Riquetti Mirabeau was brother of the famous Mirabeau, and served with distinction in America. His celebrated relative said of him one day, 'In any other family the Vicomte would be a good-for-nothing fellow and a genius: in ours, he is a blockhead and a worthy man.' In 1789 the younger Mirabeau was deputed to the States-general, and defended his order with an energy equal to that with which his brother attacked it. On one occasion, when he had kept possession of the tribune above an hour, the latter, after the sitting was concluded, went to his house, and gently reproached him with often drinking to excess, which led him into unpleasant embarrassments. 'What do you complain of?' answered the Vicomte, laughing; 'this is the only one of all the family vices that you have left me.' In 1790 the younger Mirabeau emigrated, levied a legion, and served under the Prince de Condé. His singular conformation had gained him the nickname of 'Hogshead;' and indeed he was almost as big as he was tall, but his countenance was full of intelligence. In the beginning of the Revolution he wrote a satire entitled 'The Magic Lantern,' and left behind him a collection of tales, the versification of which is sprightly and graceful."—*Biographie Moderne.*

III.

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DURANTHON.

"Duranthon was born at Massedon, in 1736. In December 1793 he was dragged before the revolutionary tribunal, and guillotined." "He was an honest man," says Madame Roland in her Memoirs, "but very indolent; his manner indicated vanity, and his timid disposition and pompous prattle made him always appear to me no better than an old woman."

KKK.

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CLAVIÈRES.

"Clavières was born at Geneva, in 1735, where," says M. Dumont, "he became one of the popular leaders; shrewd and penetrating, he obtained the credit of being also cunning and artful; he was a man of superior intellect; deaf from his youth, and deprived by this infirmity of the pleasures of society, he had sought a compensation in study, and formed his education by associating politics and moral philosophy with trade. Being denounced by Robespierre, to avoid the guillotine he stabbed himself in prison, June 9, 1793. His wife poisoned herself on the following day."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

LLL.

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ROLAND.

J. M. Roland de la Platière, born at Villefranche, near Lyons, of a family distinguished in the law for its integrity, was the youngest of five brothers, left orphans and without fortune. In order to avoid entering into the church, like his elder brother, he left home at the age of nineteen; went to Rouen, engaged in the direction of the manufactories, distinguished himself by his love of study and his taste for commercial subjects, and obtained the place of inspector-general, first at Amiens, and then at Lyons. He travelled through a great part of Europe, and during the Revolution sided with the Girondins. He made great efforts, but in vain, to stop the September massacres. In 1793 he signed the order for the King's execution, and was soon afterwards involved in the fall of his party. He, however, contrived to escape to Rouen; but as soon as he heard of his wife's execution he resolved not to survive her; and having left his asylum

in the evening, he went along the road to Paris, sat down against a tree, and stabbed himself with a sword that he had brought with him in a cane. He killed himself so quietly that he did not change his attitude; and the next day the people who passed by thought he was asleep. A paper was found about him couched in these terms: 'Whoever you may be that find me lying here, respect my remains; they are those of a man who devoted all his life to being useful, and who died as he lived, virtuous and honest. Not fear but indignation has made me quit my retreat; when I learned that my wife had been massacred, I would not remain any longer in a world stained with crimes.' Roland was of an irascible temper, and deeply versed in the ancient and most of the modern languages."—*Biographie Moderne.*

MMM.

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Madame Roland.

"M. J. Philipon Madame Roland was born at Paris, in 1754. She was the daughter of a distinguished engraver who had ruined his fortune by dissipation. At nine years old she made an analysis of Plutarch. In 1780 she married Roland, then inspector of the manufactories. In 1792, having appeared at the bar of the National Convention, to give information concerning a denunciation, she spoke with remarkable grace and dignity, and was admitted to the honours of the sitting. In 1793 she was condemned to death, together with other of the Girondins. She went to execution with irony and disdain on her lips; and on reaching the Place de la Révolution, she bowed to the statue of liberty, exclaiming, 'O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!' She was thirty-nine years of age. Without being beautiful, she had a sweet and artless countenance, and elegant figure. Her large black eyes were full of expression; her voice was musical; and her conversation peculiarly attractive. Her mind was well stored with knowledge, but she was too much addicted to satire."—*Biographie Moderne.*

"Condorcet, alluding to Madame Roland's influence over her husband, used to say, 'When I wish to see the minister of the interior, I can never get a glimpse of anything but the petticoats of his wife.'"—*History of the Convention.*

NNN.

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Marat.

"J. P. Marat, born in 1744, of Calvinist parents, was not five feet high; his face was hideous, and his head monstrous for his size. From nature he derived a daring mind, an ungovernable imagination, a vindictive temper, and a ferocious heart. He studied medicine before

he settled in Paris, where he was long in indigence. At last he obtained the situation of veterinary surgeon to the Comte d'Artois. At the period of the Revolution his natural enthusiasm rose to delirium, and he set up a journal entitled *The People's Friend*, in which he preached up revolt, murder, and pillage. In 1790 Lafayette laid siege to his house, but he found an asylum in that of an actress, who was induced by her husband to admit him. In the different searches made after him, the cellars of his partisans and the vaults of the Cordeliers' church successively gave him shelter, and thence he continued to send forth his journal. In August, Marat became a member of the municipality, was one of the chief instigators of the September massacres, and even proposed to Danton to set the prisons on fire. Several deputies pressed the Assembly to issue a warrant for his arrest; but they could not obtain it, for Danton and Robespierre were his supporters. On one occasion Marat said to the people, 'Massacre 270,000 partisans of the former order of things!' Soon afterwards he was made president of the Jacobin society. Marat was stabbed to the heart, while in the bath, by Charlotte Corday. He had some talent; wrote and spoke with facility, in a diffuse, incoherent, but bold and impassioned manner. After his death, honours almost divine were paid him; and in the Place du Carrousel a sort of pyramid was raised in celebration of him, within which were placed his bust, his bathing-tub, his writing-desk, and lamp; and a sentinel was posted there, who one night died either of cold or horror. Eventually, however, France indignantly broke his bust, tore his remains from the Pantheon, and dragged them through the mud."—*Biographie Moderne.*

The following description of Marat is full of graphic energy:—"Marat's political exhortations began and ended like the howl of a bloodhound for murder. If a wolf could have written a journal, the gaunt and famished wretch could not have ravened more eagerly for slaughter. It was blood which was Marat's constant demand; not in drops from the breast of an individual, not in puny streams from the slaughter of families; but blood in the profusion of an ocean. We are inclined to believe that there was a touch of insanity in this unnatural ferocity; and the wild and squalid features of the wretch appear to have intimated a degree of alienation of mind. Danton murdered to glut his rage; Robespierre, to avenge his injured vanity, or to remove a rival whom he hated; Marat, from the same instinctive love of blood which induces a wolf to continue his ravages of the flocks long after his hunger is appeased."—*Sir Walter Scott.*

"None exercised a more fatal influence upon the period in which he lived than Marat. He depraved the morals of the existing parties, already sufficiently lax; and to him were owing the two ideas which the committee of public safety realized at a later period—the extermination of multitudes, and the dictatorship."—*Mignet.*

"A woman of Toulouse, who was desirous of obtaining the liberty of a relation, resolved on soliciting Marat. On going to his house she was informed that he was absent; but he heard the voice of a female, and came out himself. He wore boots, but no stockings, a pair of old leather breeches, a white silk waistcoat, and a dirty shirt, the bosom of which was open, and showed his yellow chest. Long dirty nails, skinny fingers, and a hideous face suited exactly this whimsical dress. He took the lady's hand, and leading her into a very pleasant room, furnished with blue and white damask, decorated

with silk curtains, elegantly drawn up in festoons, and adorned with china vases full of natural flowers, which were then scarce and dear, Marat sat down beside her on a luxurious couch, heard the recital she had to make him, became interested in her, kissed her hand, and promised to set her cousin free. In consequence he was liberated from prison within twenty-four hours."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.*

"'Give me,' said Marat, 'two hundred Neapolitans, the knife in their right hand, in their left a *muff* to serve for a target, and with these I will traverse France and complete the Revolution.' He also made an exact calculation showing in what manner 260,000 men might be put to death in one day."—*Barbaroux's Memoirs.*

OOO.

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The Queen and Dumouriez.

Madame Campan gives a different account of the conversation with Dumouriez:—

"All the parties," says she, "were bestirring themselves either to ruin the King or to save him. One day I found the Queen in extreme agitation: she told me that she knew not what to do; that the leaders of the Jacobins had offered themselves to her through Dumouriez; or that Dumouriez, forsaking the party of the Jacobins, had come and offered himself to her; that she had given him an audience; that being alone with her, he had thrown himself at her feet, and told her that he had put on the red cap, and even pulled it down over his ears, but that he neither was nor ever could be a Jacobin; that the Revolution had been suffered to roll on to that mob of disorganizers, who, aspiring only to pillage, were capable of everything, and had it in their power to furnish the Assembly with a formidable army, ready to sap the remains of a throne already too much shaken. While speaking with extreme warmth, he had taken hold of the Queen's hand, and kissed it with transport, saying, 'Allow yourself to be saved.' The Queen told me that it was impossible to believe the protestations of a traitor; that all his conduct was so well known that the wisest plan indisputably was not to trust him; and besides, the princes earnestly recommended that no confidence should be placed in any proposal from the interior."—Tome ii. p. 202.

The account of that conversation here differs, as the reader may perceive, in some respects; yet the groundwork is the same. In passing through the lips of the Queen and those of Madame Campan, it could not fail to acquire a colouring rather unfavourable to Dumouriez. The narrative of Dumouriez describes in a much more probable manner the agitations of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette; and as it contains nothing injurious to that Princess, or that does not correspond with her character, I have preferred it. It is possible, however, that the presumption of Dumouriez may have caused him to record in preference the particulars most flattering to himself.

PPP.

[*Page* 211.]

The Empress of Russia.

Bouillé, whose Memoirs I have already quoted, and whose situation enabled him to form a correct judgment of the real intentions of the powers, utterly disbelieved both the zeal and the sincerity of Catherine. On this subject he expresses himself as follows:—

"It is obvious that this Prince (Gustavus) relied much on the dispositions of the Empress of Russia, and on the active part which she was to take in the confederacy, and which was confined to demonstrations. The King of Sweden was deceived; and I doubt whether Catherine would ever have entrusted him with the eighteen thousand Russians she had promised. I am persuaded, moreover, that the Emperor and the King of Prussia had not communicated to him either their views or their plans. They had both of them personally more than a dislike for him, and they were desirous that he should not take any active part in the affairs of France."—*Bouillé*, p. 319.

QQQ.

[*Page* 212.]

The King's Reluctance to Declare War.

Madame Campan acquaints us, in one and the same passage, with the construction of the Iron Chest, and the existence of a secret protest made by the King against the declaration of war. This apprehension of the King for the war was extraordinary, and he strove in all possible ways to throw it upon the popular party.

"The King had a prodigious quantity of papers, and unluckily conceived the idea of having a closet made very secretly in an inner corridor of his apartments, by a locksmith whom he had kept at work about him for more than ten years. But for the denunciation of this man, that closet might have long remained unknown. The wall, just at the place where it was made, was painted to look like large stones, and the opening was completely masked in the brown grooves formed by the shaded part of these painted stones. But before this locksmith had denounced to the Assembly what has since been called the Iron Chest, the Queen knew that he had talked of it to some of her friends, and that this man, in whom the King, from habit, placed too great confidence, was a Jacobin. She apprized the King of this, and prevailed upon him to fill a very large portfolio with such papers as he was most anxious to preserve, and to commit it to my care. She begged him in my presence not to leave anything in that closet; and the King, to quiet her, replied that he had left nothing there. I would have taken up the portfolio for the purpose of carrying it to my apartments; it was too heavy for me to lift. The King told me that he would carry it himself; I went before to open the doors for him. When he had laid down this portfolio in my

inner cabinet, he merely said, 'The Queen will tell you what that contains.' On returning to the Queen, I asked, supposing from the intimation of the King that it was necessary for me to know. 'They are papers,' replied the Queen, 'which would be most fatal to the King if they were to go so far as to bring him to trial. But what he certainly means me to tell you is, that in this portfolio there is the report of a council of State, in which the King gave his opinion against the war. He made all the ministers sign it, and in case of a trial he calculates that this paper would be extremely serviceable to him.' I asked the Queen to whose care she thought I ought to commit this portfolio? 'Put it in the care of any one you please,' replied she; 'you alone are responsible for it. Do not leave the palace, even in your months of rest: there are circumstances under which it may be of the utmost importance to be able to find it at the very moment when it is wanted.'" —*Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 222.

RRR.

[*Page* 214.]

Declaration of War against Austria.

Exposition of the Motives which determined the National Assembly to decree, on the formal proposal of the King, that there is reason to declare war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia. By M. Condorcet.

(Sitting of April 20, 1792.)

Forced by the most imperative necessity to consent to war, the National Assembly is well aware that it shall be accused of having wilfully accelerated or provoked it.

It knows that the insidious conduct of the Court of Vienna has had no other object than to give a shadow of plausibility to this imputation, which is needed by the foreign powers to conceal from their people the real motives of the unjust attack prepared against France; it knows that this reproach will be repeated by the domestic enemies of our constitution and our laws, in the criminal hope of robbing the representatives of the nation of the goodwill of the public.

A simple exposition of their conduct is their only reply, and they address it with equal confidence to foreigners and to Frenchmen, since Nature has placed the sentiments of the same justice in the hearts of all mankind.

Each nation has alone the power of giving laws to itself, and the inalienable right of changing them. This right either belongs to none, or it belongs to all in perfect equality: to attack it in one is to declare that it is not recognized in any other; to attempt to wrest it by force from a foreign nation is proclaiming that a person respects it only in that of which he is the citizen or the chief; it is betraying his country; it is proclaiming himself an enemy of the human race. The French nation could not but conceive that truths so simple would be felt by all princes, and that in the eighteenth century no one would dare to oppose to them the old maxims of tyranny. Its hope has been

disappointed; a league has been formed against its independence, and it has had no other choice left but to enlighten its enemies respecting the justice of its cause, or to oppose to them the force of arms.

Informed of this threatening league, but anxious to preserve peace, the National Assembly at first inquired what was the object of this concert between powers which had so long been rivals, and it received for answer that its motive was the maintenance of the general tranquillity, the safety and honour of crowns, the fear of witnessing the recurrence of the events which some of the epochs of the French Revolution have presented.

But how should France threaten the general tranquillity, since she has taken the solemn resolution not to attempt any conquest, not to attack the liberty of any nation; since, amidst that long and sanguinary struggle which has arisen in the territory of Liege, in the Netherlands, between the government and the citizens, it has maintained the strictest neutrality?

It is true that the French nation has loudly declared that the sovereignty belongs exclusively to the people, which, limited in the exercise of its supreme will by the rights of posterity, cannot delegate irrevocable power; it is true that it has loudly acknowledged that no usage, no express law, no consent, no convention, can subject a society of men to an authority which they would not have the right of resuming; but what idea would princes form of the legitimacy of their power, or of the justice with which they exercise it, if they were to consider the enunciation of these maxims as an enterprise against the tranquillity of their dominions?

Will they allege that this tranquillity might be disturbed by the writings, by the speeches of a few Frenchmen? This, then, would be requiring by main force a law against the liberty of the press; it would be declaring war against the progress of reason; and when it is known that the French nation has everywhere been insulted with impunity, that the presses of the neighbouring countries have never ceased inundating our departments with works designed to stir up treason, to excite rebellion; when it is recollected what marks of patronage and interest have been lavished on the authors, will any one believe that a sincere love of peace, and not hatred of liberty, has dictated these hypocritical reproaches?

Much has been said of attempts made by the French to rouse the neighbouring nations to break their fetters, to claim their rights. But the very ministers who have repeated these imputations, without daring to adduce a single fact in support of them, well knew how chimerical they were; and had even these attempts been real, the powers which have allowed assemblages of our emigrants, which have given them assistance, which have received their ambassadors, which have publicly admitted them into their conferences, which are not ashamed to incite Frenchmen to civil war, would have retained no right of complaining; otherwise it must be admitted that it is allowable to extend slavery, and criminal to propagate liberty; that everything is lawful against nations; that kings alone possess genuine rights. Never would the pride of the throne have more audaciously insulted the majesty of nations!

The French people, at liberty to fix the form of its constitution, could not, by making use of this power, endanger the safety or the honour of foreign crowns. Would then the chiefs of other countries class among their prerogatives the right of obliging the French nation

to confer on the head of its government a power equal to that which they themselves exercise in their dominions? Would they, because they have subjects, forbid the existence elsewhere of free men? Can they help perceiving that in permitting everything for what they term the safety of crowns, they declare legitimate whatever a nation can undertake in favour of the liberty of other nations?

If acts of violence, if crimes, have accompanied some of the epochs of the French Revolution, to the depositaries of the national will alone belonged the power of punishing or burying them in oblivion: every citizen, every magistrate, be his title what it may, ought not to demand justice but of the laws of his country—ought not to expect it but from them. Foreign powers, so long as their subjects have not suffered from these events, cannot have a just motive, either for complaining of them, or for taking hostile measures to prevent their recurrence. Kindred personal alliances between kings are nothing to the nations; whether enslaved or free, common interests unite them: Nature has placed their happiness in peace, in the mutual aids of a kindly fraternity; she would be indignant if one would dare to put in the same balance the fate of twenty millions of men, and the affections or the pride of a few individuals. Are we then doomed still to behold the voluntary servitude of nations encircling the altars of the false gods of the earth with human victims!

Thus these alleged motives of a league against France were but a fresh outrage against her independence. She had a right to require a renunciation of the injurious preparations, and to consider a refusal as an act of hostility; such have been the principles that have guided the conduct of the National Assembly. It has continued to desire peace; but it could not help preferring war to a patience dangerous for liberty; it could not help perceiving that changes in the constitution, that violations of the equality which is the basis of it, were the sole aim of the enemies of France; that they wished to punish her for having recognized in their full extent the rights common to all mankind; and then it took that oath, repeated by all Frenchmen, to perish rather than suffer the slightest attack either upon the liberty of the citizens, or upon the sovereignty of the people; or, above all, upon that equality without which there exists for societies neither justice nor happiness.

Would they reproach the French with not having sufficiently respected the rights of other nations, in offering only pecuniary indemnities either to the German princes holding possessions in Alsace, or to the Pope?

Treaties had acknowledged the sovereignty of France over Alsace, and it had been peaceably exercised there for upwards of a century. The rights which these treaties had reserved were but privileges; the meaning of this reserve therefore was, that the possessors of fiefs in Alsace should retain them, with their old prerogatives, so long as the general laws of France admitted of the different forms of feudalism; that reserve signified also, that if the feudal prerogatives were involved in one general ruin, the nation ought to indemnify the posssesors for the real advantages resulting from it; for this is all that the right of property can demand, when it happens to be in opposition to the law, in contradiction to the public interest. The citizens of Alsace are Frenchmen, and the nation cannot, without disgrace and without injustice, suffer them to be deprived of the smallest portion of the rights common to all those whom this name

ought alike to protect. Shall it be urged, that in order to indemnify these princes, we can relinquish to them a portion of our territory? No: a generous and free nation does not sell men; it does not doom to slavery, it does not give up to masters those whom it has once admitted to share its liberty.

The citizens of the Comtats had a right to give themselves a constitution; they might have declared themselves independent: they preferred being Frenchmen; and, after adopting, France will not forsake them. Had she refused to accede to their desire, their country is encompassed by her territory, and she could not have permitted their oppressors to pass through a land of liberty in order to punish men for having dared to make themselves independent and to resume their rights. What the Pope possessed in this country was the salary of the functions of the government: the people, in taking from him these functions, have exercised a power which long servitude had suspended, but of which it could not deprive them; and the indemnity offered by France was not even required by justice.

Thus it is again violations of the right of nature that they dare to demand in the name of the Pope and the possessors of fiefs in Alsace! It is again for the pretensions of a few individuals that they would spill the blood of nations! And if the ministers of the house of Austria had resolved to declare war against reason in the name of prejudices, against nations in the name of kings, they could not have held any other language.

It has been asserted that the vow of the French people for the maintenance of its equality and its independence was the vow of a faction. But the French nation has a constitution; that constitution has been recognized, adopted, by the generality of the citizens; it cannot be changed but by the desire of the people, and according to the forms which it has itself prescribed: whilst it subsists, the powers established by it have alone the right of manifesting the national will, and it is by them that this will has been declared to the foreign powers. It was the King who, on the application of the National Assembly, and exercising the functions which the constitution confers on him, complained of the protection granted to the emigrants, and insisted to no purpose that it should be withdrawn; it was he who solicited explanations concerning the league formed against France; it was he who required that this league should be dissolved; and assuredly we have a right to be surprised to hear the solemn wish of the people, publicly expressed by its lawful representatives, proclaimed as the cry of a few factious men. What title equally respectable could then those kings invoke who force misled nations to fight against the interests of their own liberty, and to take arms against rights which are also their own, to stifle beneath the ruins of the French constitution the germs of their own felicity and the general hopes of mankind!

And besides, what sort of a faction is it that could be accused of having conspired the universal liberty of mankind? It is then the entire human race that enslaved ministers dare to brand with this odious name.

But, say they, the King of the French is not free. What! is to be dependent on the laws of one's country not to be free? The liberty of thwarting them, of withdrawing oneself from them, of opposing to them a foreign force, would not be a right, but a crime.

Thus, in rejecting all these insidious propositions, in despising these indecent declamations, the National Assembly had shown itself, in all

the foreign relations, equally friendly to peace, and jealous of the liberty of the people; thus the continuance of a hostile tolerance for the emigrants, the open violation of the promises to disperse their assemblages, the refusal to renounce a line evidently offensive, the injurious motives of this refusal which indicated a desire to destroy the French constitution, were sufficient to authorize hostilities, which would never have been any other than acts of lawful defence; for it is not attacking, not to give our enemy time to exhaust our resources in long preparations, to spread all his snares, to collect all his forces, to strengthen his first alliances, to seek fresh ones, to form connections in the midst of us, to multiply plots and conspiracies in our provinces. Does he deserve the name of aggressor, who, when threatened, provoked, by an unjust and perfidious foe, deprives him of the advantage of striking the first blows? Thus, so far from seeking war, the National Assembly has done everything to prevent it. In demanding new explanations respecting intentions which could not be doubtful, it has shown that it renounced with pain the hope of a return to justice, and that if the pride of kings is prodigal of the blood of their subjects, the humanity of the representatives of a free nation is sparing even of the blood of its enemies. Insensible to all provocations, to all insults, to the contempt of old engagements, to violations of new promises, to the shameful dissimulation of the plots hatched against France, to that perfidious condescension under which were disguised the succours, the encouragements, lavished on the French who have betrayed their country, it would still have accepted peace if that which was offered had been compatible with the maintenance of the constitution, with the independence of the national sovereignty, with the safety of the State.

But the veil which concealed the intentions of our enemy is at length torn. Citizens, which of you could, in fact, subscribe to these ignominious proposals? Feudal servitude, and an humiliating inequality, bankruptcy, and taxes which you alone would pay, tithes and the inquisition, your possessions bought upon the public faith restored to their former usurpers, the beasts of the chase re-established in the right of ravaging your fields, your blood profusely spilt for the ambitious projects of a hostile house—such are the conditions of the treaty between the King of Hungary and perfidious Frenchmen!

Such is the peace which is offered you! No; never will you accept it. The cowards are at Coblentz, and France no longer harbours in her bosom any but men worthy of liberty!

He proclaims in his own name, in the name of his allies, the plan of requiring of the French nation the relinquishment of its rights; he declares that he shall demand of it sacrifices which nothing but the fear of destruction could wring from it. Let him; but never will it submit to them. This insulting pride, so far from intimidating it, will only rouse its courage. It takes time to discipline the slaves of despotism, but every man is a soldier when he combats tyranny; money will start forth from its dark retreats at the cry of the country in danger; those ambitious wretches, those slaves of corruption and intrigue, those base calumniators of the people, from whom our foes dared promise themselves ignominious succours, will lose the support of the blind or pusillanimous citizens whom they had deluded by their hypocritical declamations; and the French empire throughout its wide extent will display to our enemies but one universal determination to conquer or utterly perish with the constitution and the laws.

SSS.

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An Austrian Committee.

"For several days past the journalists had been endeavouring to raise the people by violent declamations about plots asserted to be carried on by an Austrian committee. On the Sunday before, two orators had been taken up in the Palais Royal for haranguing against this committee, and on examination, they were found to carry the marks of the whip and branding iron on their shoulders: patents of their association with the Jacobin club were found at the same time in their pockets. Possessed of the above facts, I went to confer with M. de Montmorin, when I was informed that Carra had the day before denounced the Austrian committee in the Jacobin club, and that both Montmorin and myself were pointed out as its principal members. On learning this, I carried my complaint before Larivière, *juge de paix*—an intelligent, well-disposed man—who ordered the case to be brought before him, and witnesses to be heard, after which he issued a decree that Carra should appear before him. He presented himself accordingly, and declared in his own defence that he had been authorized by Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, members of the committee of public safety, to bring forward the accusation against MM. de Montmorin and Bertrand. In consequence of this, we jointly gave in our accusation against these three members, who were arrested by order of Larivière, a proceeding which drew down on him the wrath of the Assembly; the affair was then sifted to the bottom, and from that time forward no journalist or motion-maker ventured to mention the Austrian committee."—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

TTT.

[*Page* 220.]

Libels on the Queen.

Madame Campan explains in the following manner the secret of the paper burned at Sèvres:—

"In the beginning of 1792 a very worthy priest requested a private interview with me. He informed me that the arrival of the manuscript of a new libel by Madame Lamotte had come to his knowledge; that in the persons who had come from London to get it printed at Paris he perceived no other incentive but gain, and that they were ready to give up the manuscript to him for a thousand louis if he could find some friend of the Queen disposed to make that sacrifice to her tranquillity; that he had thought of me, and that if her Majesty would give him the twenty-four thousand francs, he would deliver the manuscript to me on receiving them.

"I communicated this proposal to the Queen, who rejected it, and ordered me to reply, that at the time when it was possible to punish

the publishers of these libels, she had deemed them so atrocious and so improbable that she had disdained the means of preventing their circulation; that if she were to be weak and imprudent enough to buy a single one, the active espionage of the Jacobins would be likely to discover it; that this libel, though bought up, would still be printed, and would prove infinitely more mischievous when they should acquaint the public with the means which she had employed to suppress it.

"Baron d'Aubier, gentleman-in-waiting on the King, and my particular friend, had an excellent memory, and a clear and precise manner for transmitting to me the substance of the deliberations, debates, and decrees of the National Assembly. I went every day to the Queen's apartments, to make my report on the subject to the King, who said, on seeing me, 'Ah! here comes the Calais postillion.'

"One day M. d'Aubier came and said to me, 'The Assembly has been much engaged with a denunciation made by the workmen in the manufactory of Sèvres. They brought and laid upon the president's desk a bundle of pamphlets, saying that they were the Life of Marie Antoinette. The director of the manufactory was summoned to the bar, and declared that he had received orders to burn these pamphlets in the ovens employed for baking the porcelain.'

"Whilst I was giving this account to the Queen, the King blushed and hung down his head over his plate. The Queen said, 'Do you know anything of this, Sir?' The King made no answer. Madame Elizabeth begged him to explain the meaning of this. Still he kept silence. I quickly withdrew. In a few minutes the Queen came to me, and told me that it was the King who, out of tenderness for her, had caused the whole edition printed from the manuscript which I had offered to her to be bought up, and that M. de Laporte could not devise any more secret way of annihilating the work than to cause it to be burnt at Sèvres among two hundred workmen, of whom at least one hundred and eighty were Jacobins. She told me that she had concealed her vexation from the King, who was exceedingly mortified, and that she could not say anything, as his kindness and affection for her had occasioned this accident."—*Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 196.

UUU.

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Mission of Mallet du Pan to Germany.

The mission given by the King to Mallet du Pan is one of the facts which it is of the greatest importance to confirm; and from the allusions of Bertrand de Molleville, no doubt can be entertained on the subject. A minister at this period, Bertrand de Molleville must have possessed accurate information; and as a counter-revolutionary minister, he would rather have concealed than avowed such a fact. This mission proves the moderation of Louis XVI., but likewise his communications with foreigners.

"So far from sharing this patriotic security, the King saw with the deepest grief France engaged in an unjust and sanguinary war, which the disorganization of her armies seemed to render it impossible for her

to maintain, and which more than ever exposed our frontier provinces to the dangers of invasion. Above all things, his Majesty dreaded civil war, and had no doubt that it would break forth on the intelligence of the first advantage over the French troops gained by the corps of emigrants forming part of the Austrian army. It was, in fact, but too much to be apprehended that the Jacobins and the enraged populace would exercise the most cruel reprisals against the priests and the nobles remaining in France. These fears, which the King expressed to me in the daily correspondence that I had with his Majesty, determined me to propose to him to send a confidential person to the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to endeavour to prevail on their Majesties not to act offensively but at the last extremity; and before the entrance of their armies into the kingdom, to issue a well-written manifesto, in which it should be declared that 'the Emperor and the King of Prussia, being forced to take up arms by the unjust aggression that had been made upon them, attributed neither to the King nor to the nation, but to the criminal faction which oppressed both, the declaration of war which had been notified to them; that in consequence, so far from renouncing the sentiments of friendship which united them to the King and to France, their Majesties would fight only to deliver them from the yoke of the most atrocious tyranny that had ever existed, and to assist them in re-establishing the legitimate authority forcibly usurped, order, and tranquillity, without at all intending to interfere in any way whatever in the form of government, but to ensure to the nation the liberty of choosing that which was best suited to it; that all idea of conquest was therefore far from the thoughts of their Majesties; that private property should be not less respected than national property; that their Majesties took under their special safeguard all the peaceable and faithful citizens; that their only enemies as well as those of France, were the factious and their adherents, and that their Majesties wished to find out and to fight those alone.' Mallet du Pan, whom the King esteemed for his abilities and integrity, was charged with this mission. He was the more fit for it, inasmuch as he had never been seen at the palace, had no connection with any of the persons belonging to the Court, and by taking the route of Geneva, to which he was in the habit of making frequent journeys, his departure could not give rise to any suspicion."

The King gave Mallet du Pan instructions in his own handwriting, which are quoted by Bertrand de Molleville:—

"1. The King joins his entreaties to his exhortations, to prevail on the princes and the emigrant French not to take from the present war, by a hostile and offensive concurrence on their part, the character of a foreign war waged by one power against another;

"2. He recommends to them to rely upon him and the interfering Courts for the discussion and securing of their interests when the moment for treating shall arrive;

"3 It is requisite that they appear only as parties and not arbiters in the quarrel, as that arbitration ought to be reserved for his Majesty when liberty shall be restored to him, and for the powers who shall demand it;

"4. Any other conduct would produce a civil war in the interior, endanger the lives of the King and of his family, overturn the throne, cause the royalists to be slaughtered, rally around the Jacobins all the Revolutionists who have seceded and are daily seceding from them, rekindle an enthusiasm which is tending towards extinction, and render

more obstinate a resistance which will give way before the first successes, when the fate of the Revolution shall not appear to be exclusively committed to those against whom it has been directed, and who have been its victims;

"5. To represent to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin the utility of a manifesto jointly with the other States which have formed the concert; the importance of so wording this manifesto as to separate the Jacobins from the rest of the nation, and to give confidence to all those who are capable of renouncing their errors, or who, without wishing for the present constitution, desire the suppression of abuses and the reign of moderate liberty under a monarch to whose authority the law sets limits;

"6. To obtain the insertion in that document of this fundamental truth, that war is made on an anti-social faction, and not on the French nation; that the allies take up the defence of legitimate governments and nations against a ferocious anarchy, which breaks all the bonds of sociability among men, all the conventions under the shelter of which liberty, peace, public safety at home and abroad repose; to dispel all apprehensions of dismemberment; not to impose any laws, but to declare energetically to the Assembly, to the administrative bodies, to the municipalities, to the ministers, that they shall be held personally and individually responsible, in their bodies and goods, for all outrages committed against the sacred person of the King, against that of the Queen and of the royal family, and against the persons or property of any citizens whatever;

"7. To express the wish of the King, that on entering the kingdom, the powers declare that they are ready to give peace, but that they neither will nor can treat unless with the King; that in consequence they require that the most complete liberty be restored to him, and that afterwards there be a congress assembled, in which the different interests shall be discussed on bases already laid down, to which the emigrants shall be admitted as complaining parties, and at which the general plan of claims shall be negotiated under the auspices and the guarantee of the powers."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome viii. p. 39.

VVV.

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Mission of Mallet du Pan to Germany.

Bertrand de Molleville, from whom I have borrowed the facts relative to Mallet du Pan, thus expresses himself respecting the reception and the dispositions which he met with:—

"On the 15th and 16th of July, Mallet du Pan had had long conferences with Comte de Cobentzel, Comte de Haugwitz, and M. Heymann, ministers of the Emperor and the King of Prussia. After examining the credentials of his mission, and listening with extreme attention to the reading of his instructions and of his memorial, those ministers acknowledged that the views which he proposed perfectly agreed with those which the King had previously expressed to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, which had respectively adopted them. They had in conse-

quence testified their entire confidence, and had approved in every point the plan of the manifesto which he had proposed to them. They had declared to him in the most positive terms that no views of ambition, no personal interest or design of dismemberment, entered into the plan of the war, and that the powers had no other view or interest than the re-establishment of order in France, because no peace could exist between her and her neighbours while she was a prey to the anarchy which prevailed, and which obliged them to keep cordons of troops on all the frontiers, and to take extraordinary and very expensive precautions of safety; but that so far from pretending to impose upon the French any form of government whatever, the King should be left at perfect liberty to concert with the nation on this subject. They had applied to him for the most circumstantial information relative to the dispositions of the interior, the public opinion concerning the old system, the parliaments, the nobility, &c. &c. They informed him in confidence that the emigrants were destined to form an army to be given to the King when he should be set at liberty. The French princes had been spoken of in an ill-natured and prejudiced manner: they were supposed to harbour intentions directly contrary to those of the King, and especially those of acting independently and creating a regent. [Mallet du Pan strongly combated this supposition, and observed, that the intentions of the princes ought not to be inferred from the silly or extravagant language of some of those around them.] Lastly, after having fully discussed the different demands and proposals on which Mallet du Pan was directed to insist, the three ministers had unanimously acknowledged their prudence and justice, had each desired to have a note or summary of them, and had given the most formal assurances that the views of the King, being perfectly accordant with those of the powers, should be strictly followed."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome viii. p. 320.

WWW.

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PLOT TO ASSASSINATE THE QUEEN.

"M. Grammont assured me he was positively informed that Santerre had entertained a project to have the Queen assassinated, and that a grenadier of his battalion had engaged to perpetrate the crime for a considerable sum of money, a small part of which he had already received. The grenadier in question, added M. Grammont, was sufficiently remarkable by a scar in his left cheek. The 14th of July, the day of the Federation, was the time fixed on for the execution of the project. On that day, accordingly, M. Grammont went himself to the palace. The grenadier appeared at eight o'clock at night, and though he was perceived by the sentinel, yet he had the address to make his escape. He returned, however, the same night in his uniform, and was taken up at the bottom of the stair leading to the Queen's apartment. He was recognized by the scar, and conducted to the guard-room. On searching him a cutlass was found concealed in the lining of his coat. The next morning, just as he was going to be brought before the justice of peace, he was carried off by a band of ruffians, who came to the palace on purpose to rescue him."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

XXX.

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LEGENDRE.

"L. Legendre was ten years a sailor, and afterwards a butcher in Paris. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was one of the earliest and most violent leaders of the mob. In 1791 he was deputed by the city of Paris to the Convention. In 1793 he voted for the King's death, and the day before his execution proposed to the Jacobins to cut him into eighty-four pieces, and send one to each of the eighty-four departments! He was one of the chief instigators of the atrocities at Lyons; and at Dieppe, when some persons complained of the want of bread, he answered, 'Well, eat the aristocrats!' Legendre died in Paris in 1797, aged forty-one, and bequeathed his body to the surgeons, 'in order to be useful to mankind after his death.'"—*Biographie Moderne.*

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DECLARATION OF M. LAREYNIE.

Among the depositions contained in the proceedings instituted against the authors of the 20th of June is one that is extremely curious, on account of the particulars which it furnishes—I mean that of Lareynie. It comprehends almost everything that is repeated by the other witnesses, and therefore we quote it in preference. These proceedings were printed in quarto.

"Before us appeared Sieur Jean Baptiste Marie Louis Lareynie, a volunteer soldier of the battalion of the Isle St. Louis, decorated with the military cross, dwelling in Paris, Quai Bourbon, No. 1;

"Who, deeply afflicted at the disturbances which have recently taken place in the capital, and conceiving it to be the duty of a good citizen to furnish justice with all the information that it can need in these circumstances, for the purpose of punishing the abettors and instigators of all manœuvres against the public tranquillity and the integrity of the French constitution, has declared that for a week past he has known, from acquaintance that he has in the Faubourg St. Antoine, that the citizens of that faubourg were worked up by the Sieur Santerre, commandant of the battalion of the Enfans-Trouvés, and by other persons, among whom were the Sieur Fournier, calling himself an American, and elector, in 1791, of the department of Paris; the Sieur Rotondo, who calls himself an Italian; the Sieur Legendre, butcher, living in the Rue des Boucheries, Faubourg St. Germain; the Sieur Cuirette Verrières, living over the coffee-house of Rendez-Vous, Rue du Théâtre-Français; who held by night secret meetings at the Sieur Santerre's, and sometimes in the committee-room of the section of the Enfans-Trouvés; that the deliberations were there carried on in the presence of a very small number of trusty persons of the faubourg,

such as the Sieur Rossignol, lately a journeyman goldsmith; the Sieur Nicolas, sapper of the said battalion of the Enfans-Trouvés; the Sieur Brierre, wine merchant; the Sieur Gonor, who calls himself the conqueror of the Bastille, and others whom he could name; that there they determined upon the motions which should be discussed by the groups at the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Place de Grêve, and especially at the Porte St. Antoine; that there were drawn up the incendiary placards posted from time to time in the faubourgs, and the petitions destined to be carried by deputations to the patriotic societies of Paris; and lastly, that there was framed the famous petition, and there hatched the plot of the 20th of this month. That on the preceding night there was held a secret committee at the Sieur Santerre's, which began almost at midnight, and at which witnesses, whom he can bring forward when they have returned from the errand on which they have been sent by the Sieur Santerre to the neighbouring country, declare they saw present MM. Petion, mayor of Paris; Robespierre; Manuel, solicitor of the commune; Alexandre, commandant of the battalion of St. Michel; and Sillery, ex-deputy of the National Assembly. That on the 20th, the Sieur Santerre, seeing that several of his people, and especially the leaders of his party, deterred by the resolution (*arrêté*) of the directory of the department, refused to go down armed, alleging that they should be fired upon, assured them that they had nothing to fear, that *the national guard would not have any orders, and that M. Petion would be there.* That about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the said day the concourse did not amount to more than about fifteen hundred persons, including those drawn together by curiosity, and that it was not till the Sieur Santerre, leaving his house, and putting himself at the head of a detachment of invalids, had arrived at the Place, and by the way excited the spectators to join him, that the multitude increased considerably till his arrival at the passage of the Feuillans; that there, not having dared to force the post, he turned into the court of the Capuchins, where he caused the May, which he had destined for the palace of the Tuileries, to be planted; that then he, this deponent, asked several persons in the train of the said Sieur Santerre why the May was not planted on the terrace of the palace, as had been agreed upon, and that these persons replied that *they should take good care not to do any such thing; that it was a snare into which the Feuillantins meant to lead them, because there were guns placed in the garden; but that they should not run into the trap.* The deponent observed that at this moment the mob was almost entirely dispersed, and that it was not till the drums and music were heard in the vicinity of the National Assembly that the people, then scattered here and there, rallied, and, joined by the other spectators, filed off quietly, three deep, before the Legislative Body; that he, deponent, remarked that these people in passing into the Tuileries were guilty of no misdemeanour, and did not attempt to enter the palace; that even when assembled at the Place du Carrousel, where they arrived after going round by the Quai du Louvre, they manifested no intention of penetrating into the courts till the arrival of the Sieur Santerre, who was at the National Assembly, and did not leave it before the sitting was over. That then the Sieur Santerre, accompanied by several persons, among whom he, deponent, remarked the Sieur Hurugue, addressed the mob, which was at that time very quiet, and asked *why they had not entered the palace; that they must go in, and that this was what they had come for.* That immediately he ordered the gunners of his battalion to follow him with one piece of cannon, and

said that if he was refused admittance he must break open the gate with cannon-balls; that afterwards he proceeded in this manner to the gate of the palace, where he met with a faint resistance from the horse gendarmerie, but a firm opposition on the part of the national guard; that this occasioned great noise and agitation, and they would probably have come to blows had not two men, in scarfs of the national colours, one of whom he, deponent, knew to be the Sieur Boucher-René, and the other was said by the spectators to be the Sieur Sergent, come by way of the courts, and *ordered*, he must say, in a very imperious, not to say insolent tone, at the same time prostituting the sacred name of the law, *the gates to be opened*, adding, *that nobody had a right to close them, but every citizen had a right to enter;* that the gates were accordingly opened by the national guard, and that then Santerre and his band rushed confusedly into the courts; that the Sieur Santerre, who had cannon drawn forward to break open the doors of the King's apartments if he found them fastened, and to fire upon the national guard in case it should oppose his incursion, was stopped in his progress in the last court on the left, at the foot of the staircase of the Pavilion, by a group of citizens, who addressed him in the most reasonable language with a view to appease his fury, and threatened to make him responsible for all the mischief that should be done on that fatal day, because, said they to him, *you are the sole cause of this unconstitutional assemblage, you alone have misled these good people, and you are the only villain among them.* That the tone in which these honest citizens spoke to the Sieur Santerre caused him to turn pale; but that encouraged by a look from the Sieur Legendre, butcher, above named, he had recourse to a hypocritical subterfuge, addressing his band, and saying, '*Gentlemen, draw up a report of my refusal to march at your head into the King's apartments;*' that the mob, accustomed to guess the Sieur Santerre's meaning by way of answer, fell upon the group of honest citizens, entered with its cannon and its commandant, the Sieur Santerre, and penetrated into the apartments by all the passages, after having broken in pieces the doors and windows."

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Precautions against Poisoning.

On the subject of the apprehensions of the royal family, Madame Campan relates as follows:—

"The police of M. de Laporte, intendant of the civil list, apprized him, about the end of 1791, that one of the King's household who had set up as a pastrycook in the Palais Royal had lately taken upon him the duties of an office which reverted to him on the death of the late holder; that he was so outrageous a Jacobin as to have dared to assert that it would be doing a great benefit to France to put an end to the life of the King. His functions were confined merely to articles of pastry. He was closely watched by the principal officers of the kitchen, who were attached to his Majesty; but a subtile poison may be so easily introduced into articles of food that it was decided that the King and Queen should eat nothing but what was roasted; that their bread should

be supplied by M. Thierry, of Ville d'Avray, intendant of the *petits appartemens*, and that he should also furnish the wine. The King was fond of pastry; I was directed to order some, as if for myself, sometimes of one pastrycook, sometimes of another. The grated sugar was likewise kept in my room. The King, the Queen, and Madame Elizabeth dined together without any attendants. Each of them had a dumb-waiter of mahogany, and a bell to ring when they wanted anything. M. Thierry himself brought me the bread and wine for their Majesties, and I locked up all these things in a particular closet in the King's cabinet on the ground floor. As soon as the King was at table I brought the pastry and the bread. Everything was hid under the table lest there might be occasion to call in the attendants. The King thought that it was not less dangerous than mortifying to show this apprehension of attempts against his person, and this distrust of the servants of his household. As he never drank a whole bottle of wine at dinner—the Princesses drank nothing but water—he half filled that from which he had been drinking out of the bottle supplied by the officers of his establishment. I carried it away after dinner. Though no pastry but that which I brought was ever eaten, care was taken to make it appear as if some of that which had been set on the table had been used. The lady who succeeded me found this secret service ready organized, and she executed it in the same manner. The public was never acquainted with these precautions or the apprehensions which had given rise to them. At the end of three or four months the same police gave intimation that there was no longer any reason to fear a plot of this kind against the King's life; that the plan was completely changed; that the blows intended to be struck would be directed as much against the throne as against the person of the sovereign."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii. p. 188.

Lafayette's Plan for the Flight of the Royal Family.

"The plan of flight was as follows:—The King, accompanied by Lafayette, was to have gone to the National Assembly at mid-day, and announced his intention of spending some days at Compiègne. On his arrival there with a small escort of Parisian national guards, he could calculate on the national guard of Compiègne, and on two regiments of chasseurs belonging to Lafayette's army, of whom the latter was perfectly sure. The officers of this chosen body were to offer every kind of guarantee by their well-known patriotism and honour; and Brigadier-general Latour Maubourg was to have taken the command. Thus surrounded, the King, sheltered from all violence, and in a situation of his own choice, would, of his own accord, have issued a proclamation, forbidding his brothers and the emigrants to advance a step further; announcing himself ready to go in person, if the Assembly approved of it, against the enemy; and declaring for the constitution in such terms as to leave not a shadow of doubt as to his real intentions. Such a step might probably have enabled Louis to return to Paris amid the universal acclamations of the people; but such a triumph would have been the triumph of liberty, and therefore the Court rejected it. Some of the King's personal friends left nothing untried to inspire him with confidence in Lafayette. With tears in their eyes they conjured him to comply with the counsels of the only man who could snatch him from destruction. But his most influential advisers saw no chance for

absolute royalty, save in anarchy and foreign invasion. Lafayette was thanked for his plan, which was rejected; and when his aide-de-camp, Colombe, afterwards asked the Queen by what strange infatuation she and the King had come to so fatal a decision, 'We are very grateful to your general,' was her reply, 'but the best thing that could happen to us would be to be confined for two months in a tower!' Lafayette knew well that at the very moment when he was offering the only chance of safety that remained to the royal family, memorials full of asperity were, by the Queen's orders, composed against him; and that a part of the libels daily devoted to his defamation were paid for out of the civil list."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

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Letters of Lally-Tollendal and Lafayette.

When M. de Lafayette was confined at Olmütz, M. de Lally-Tollendal wrote in his behalf a very eloquent letter to the King of Prussia. He there recapitulated all that the general had done to save Louis XVI., and adduced proofs in confirmation. Among these documents were the following letters, which afford an insight into the plans and the efforts of the constitutionalists at this period:—

Copy of a Letter from M. de Lally-Tollendal to the King.

Paris, *Monday, July* 9, 1792.

I am charged by M. Lafayette to propose directly to his Majesty, for the 15th of this month, the same plan which he had proposed for the 12th, and which cannot now be carried into execution on that day, on account of the promise given by his Majesty to attend the ceremony of the 14th.

His Majesty must have seen the plan sent by M. Lafayette, for M. Duport was to carry it to M. Montciel, that he might show it to his Majesty.

M. Lafayette means to be here on the 15th; he will have with him old General Luckner. They have just had a meeting; both have promised, and both have one and the same feeling and one and the same design.

They propose that his Majesty shall publicly leave the city between them, having written to the National Assembly, to assure it that he shall not pass the constitutional line, and that he is going to Compiègne.

His Majesty and all the royal family are to be in one carriage. It is easy to find a hundred good horse to escort them. The Swiss in case of need, and part of the national guard, will protect the departure. The two generals will keep close to his Majesty. On arriving at Compiègne he shall have for his guard a detachment belonging to the place, which is very good; one from the capital, which shall be picked; and one from the army.

M. Lafayette, after providing for all his fortresses and his reserve camp, has at his disposal for this purpose in his army ten squadrons of

horse artillery. Two forced marches may bring this whole division to Compiègne.

If, contrary to all probability, his Majesty should be prevented from leaving the city, the laws being most manifestly violated, the two generals would march upon the capital with an army.

The consequences of this plan are sufficiently obvious:—

Peace with all Europe, through the mediation of the King;

The King reinstated in all his legal power;

A great and necessary extension of his sacred prerogatives;

A real monarchy, a real monarch, real liberty;

A real national representation, of which the King shall be the head and an integral part;

A real executive power;

A real national representation, elected from among persons of property;

The constitution revised, partly abolished, partly improved, and founded on a better basis;

The new Legislative Body sitting for three months only in the year;

The old nobility restored to its former privileges, not political but civil, depending on opinion, such as titles, arms, liveries, &c.

I execute my commission without presuming to add either advice or reflection. My imagination is too full of the rage which will seize all those perverse heads at the loss of the first town that shall be taken from us, not to have my misgivings; and these are so strong that the scene of Saturday, which appears to have quieted many people, has doubled my uneasiness. All those kisses reminded me of that of Judas.

I merely solicit permission to be one of the eighty or one hundred horse who shall escort his Majesty, if he approves the plan; and I flatter myself that I have no occasion to assure him that his enemies should not get at him or at any member of his royal family before they had passed over my corpse.

I will add one word: I was a friend of M. Lafayette's before the Revolution. I broke off all intercourse with him since the 22nd of March in the second year. At this period I wished him to be what he is at this day; I wrote to him that his duty, his honour, his interest, all prescribed to him this line of conduct; I detailed the plan to him at length, such as my conscience suggested it. He gave me a promise; I saw no effect from that promise. I shall not examine whether this was owing to inability or insincerity; I renounced all further connection with him, telling him so, and nobody had yet told him more severe truths than myself and my friends, who were also his. These same friends have now renewed my correspondence with him. His Majesty knows what has been the aim and the nature of this correspondence. I have seen his letters; I had a conference of two hours with him in the night before he left Paris. He acknowledges his errors; he is ready to devote himself for liberty, but at the same time for the monarchy; he is willing to sacrifice himself, if need be, for his country and for his King, whom he no longer separates; he is attached, in short, to the principles which I have expounded in this note; he is attached to them completely, with candour, conviction, sensibility, fidelity to the King, disregard of himself—I answer for him on my integrity.

I forgot to say that he begs that nothing may be said on this subject to such of the officers as may be in the capital at this moment. All may suspect that some plans are in agitation; but none of them is apprized of that which he proposes. It is sufficient for them to know

it on the morning for acting; he is afraid of indiscretion if it should be mentioned to them beforehand, and none of them is excepted from this observation.

P.S.—May I venture to say that in my opinion this note should be perused by him only who on an ever-memorable day vanquished by his heroic courage a whole host of assassins; by him who the day after that unexampled triumph himself dictated a proclamation as sublime as his actions had been on the preceding day, and not by the counsels which drew up the letter written in his name to the Legislative Body, intimating that he should attend the ceremony of the 14th; not by the counsels which obtained the sanction of the decree respecting feudal rights, a decree equivalent to a robbery committed upon the highway?

M. Lafayette does not admit the idea that the King, when once out of the capital, has any other direction to follow but that of his conscience and his free will. He conceives that the first operation of his Majesty ought to be to create a guard for himself; he conceives also that his plan is capable of being modified in twenty different ways; he prefers a retreat to the North to a retreat to the South, as being nearer at hand to render assistance on that side, and dreading the southern faction. In these words, *the liberty of the King*, and *the destruction of the factions*, is comprehended his aim in all the sincerity of his heart. What is to follow will follow.

Copy of a Letter from Lafayette.

July 8, 1792.

I had disposed my army in such a manner that the best squadrons, the grenadiers, and the horse artillery were under the command of M——, in the fourth division; and had my proposal been accepted, I should have brought in two days to Compiègne fifteen squadrons and eight pieces of cannon, the rest of the army being placed in échelons, at the distance of one march; and any regiment which would not have taken the first step would have come to my assistance if my comrades and myself had been engaged.

I had overcome Luckner so far as to obtain a promise from him to march with me to the capital if the safety of the King had required it, and he had issued orders to that effect; and I have five squadrons of that army at my absolute disposal, Languedoc and ——; the commandant of the horse artillery is also exclusively devoted to me. I reckoned that these would also march to Compiègne.

The King has given a promise to attend the federal festival. I am sorry that my plan has not been adopted; but the most must be made of that which has been preferred.

The steps which I have taken, the adhesion of many departments and communes, that of M. Luckner, my influence with my army and even with the other troops, my popularity in the kingdom, which has rather increased than diminished, though very limited in the capital—all these circumstances, added to several others, have, by awakening honest men, furnished a subject of reflection for the factious; and I hope that the physical dangers of the 14th of July are greatly diminished. I think myself that they are nothing if the King is accompanied by Luckner and me, and surrounded by the picked battalions which I am getting ready for him.

But if the King and his family remain in the capital, are they not still in the hands of the factions? We shall lose the first battle; it is impossible to doubt that. The recoil will be felt in the capital. I will go

further and assert that the supposition of a correspondence between the Queen and the enemy will be sufficient to occasion the greatest excesses. At least they will be for carrying off the King to the South; and this idea, which is now revolting, will appear simple when the leagued kings are approaching. I see, therefore, a series of dangers commencing immediately after the 14th.

I again repeat it, the King must leave Paris. I know that were he not sincere this course would be attended with inconveniences; but when the question is about trusting the King, who is an honest man, can one hesitate a moment? I am impressed with the necessity of seeing the King at Compiègne.

Here then are the two objects to which my present plan relates:—

1. If the King has not yet sent for Luckner and myself, he should do so immediately. *We have Luckner.* He ought to be secured more and more. He will say that we are together; I will say the rest. Luckner can come to fetch me, so that we may be in the capital on the evening of the 12th. The 13th and 14th may furnish offensive chances, at any rate the defensive shall be ensured by your presence; and who knows what may be the effect of mine upon the national guard?

We will accompany the King to the altar of the country. The two generals, representing two armies, which are known to be strongly attached to them, will prevent any insults that there may be a disposition to offer to the dignity of the King. As for me, I may find again the habit which some have so long had of obeying my voice; the terror which I have always struck into others as soon as they became factious, and perhaps some personal means of turning a crisis to advantage may render me serviceable, at least for obviating dangers. My application is the more disinterested, since my situation will be disagreeable in comparison with the grand Federation; but I consider it as a sacred duty to be near the King on this occasion, and my mind is so bent on this point that *I absolutely require* the minister at war to send for me, and that this first part of my proposal be adopted; and I beg you to communicate it through mutual friends to the King, to his family, and to his council.

2. As for my second proposition, I deem it equally indispensable, and this is the way in which I understand it. The King's oath and ours will have tranquillized those persons who are only weak; consequently the scoundrels will be for some days deprived of that support. I would have the King write secretly to M. Luckner and myself one letter jointly to us both, which should find us on the road on the evening of the 11th or the morning of the 12th. The King should there say, 'that after taking our oath it was expedient to think of proving his sincerity to foreigners; that the best way would be for him to pass some days at Compiègne; that he directed us to have in readiness there some squadrons to join the national guard of that place, and a detachment from the capital; that we shall accompany him to Compiègne, whence we shall proceed to rejoin our respective armies; that he desires us to select such squadrons the chiefs of which are known for their attachment to the constitution, and a general officer who cannot leave any doubt on that head."

Agreeably to this letter, Luckner and I will appoint M—— to the command of this expedition; he shall take with him four pieces of horse artillery; eight, if preferred; but the King ought not to allude to this subject, because the odium of cannon ought to fall upon us. On the 15th, at ten in the morning, the King should go to the Assembly, accompanied by Luckner and myself; and whether we had a battalion, or

whether we had but fifty horse, consisting of men devoted to the King, or friends of mine, we should see if the King, the royal family, Luckner, and myself should be stopped.

Let us suppose that we were. Luckner and I would return to the Assembly, to complain and to threaten it with our armies. When the King should have returned, his situation would not be worse, for he would not have transgressed the constitution; he would have against him none but the enemies of that constitution, and Luckner and I should easily bring forward detachments from Compiègne. Take notice that this does not compromise the King so much as he must necessarily be compromized by the events which are preparing.

The funds which the King has at his disposal have been so squandered in aristocratic fooleries that he cannot have much money left. There is no doubt that he can borrow, if necessary, to make himself master of the three days of the Federation.

There is still one case to be provided against: the Assembly may decree that the generals shall not come to the capital. It will be sufficient for the King to refuse his sanction immediately.

If, by an inconceivable fatality, the King should have already given his sanction, let him appoint to meet us at Compiègne, even though he should be stopped at setting out. We will open to him the means of coming thither *free and triumphant*. It is superfluous to observe that in any case on his arrival at Compiègne he will there form his personal guard on the footing allowed him by the constitution.

In truth, when I find myself surrounded by inhabitants of the country, who come ten leagues and more to see me, and to swear that they have confidence in none but me, and that my enemies are theirs; when I find myself beloved by my army, on which the Jacobin efforts have no influence; when I see testimonies of adherence to my opinions arriving from all parts of the kingdom—I cannot believe that all is lost, and that I have no means of being serviceable.

Reply of Louis XVI. to Lafayette.

The following is the answer of Louis XVI. to the letter of Lafayette.

[*In the handwriting of the King.*]

You must answer him that I am infinitely sensible to the attachment which would induce him to put himself thus in the front, but that the manner appears to me impracticable. It is not out of personal fear; but everything would be staked at once, and whatever he may say of it, the failure of this plan would plunge all into a worse state than ever, and reduce it more and more under the sway of the factions. Fontainebleau is but a cul-de-sac, it would be a bad retreat, and towards the South; towards the North, it would have the appearance of going to meet the Austrians. Respecting the summons for him, an answer will be returned from another quarter, so I have nothing to say here on that subject. The presence of the generals at the Federation might be useful; it might, besides, have for its motive to see the new minister and to confer with him on the wants of the army. The best advice which can be given to M. Lafayette is to continue to serve as a bugbear to the factions by the able performance of his duty as a general. He will thereby secure more and more the confidence of his army, and be enabled to employ it as he pleases in case of emergency.

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THE 10TH OF AUGUST 1792.

Particulars of the Events of the 10th of August.—These particulars are extracted from a paper inserted in the *Annales Politiques*, signed Carra, and entitled, *Historical Sketch of the Origin and real Authors of the celebrated Insurrection of the 10th of August, which has saved the Republic.* The author asserts that the mayor had no hand whatever in the success, but that he happened to be in place, on this occasion, like a real Providence for the patriots.

"Those men, says Jerome Petion in his excellent speech on the proceedings instituted against Maximilien Robespierre, who have attributed to themselves the glory of that day, are those to whom it least belongs. It is due to those who prepared it; it is due to the imperative nature of things; it is due to the brave federalists and *to their secret directory which had long concerted the plan of the insurrection;* it is due, in short, to the guardian genius which has constantly governed the destinies of France ever since the first meeting of its representatives.

"It is of this secret directory which Jerome Petion speaks, and of which I shall speak in my turn, both as a member of that directory and as an actor in all its operations. This secret directory was formed by the central committee of federalists, which met in the correspondence room at the Jacobins, St. Honoré. It was out of the forty-three members, who daily assembled since the commencement of July in that room, that five were selected for the insurrectional directory. These five members were Vaugeois, grand-vicar of the Bishop of Blois; Debessé, of the department of La Drôme; Guillaume, professor at Caen; Simon, journalist of Strasburg; and Galisot, of Langres. I was added to these five members at the very moment of the formation of the directory; and a few days afterwards, Fournier the American; Westermann; Kienlin, of Strasburg; Santerre; Alexandre, commandant of the Faubourg St. Marceau; Antoine, of Metz, the ex-constituent; Legrey; and Garin, elector in 1789, were invited to join it.

"The first meeting of this directory was held in a small public-house, the Soleil d'Or, Rue St. Antoine, near the Bastille, in the night between Thursday and Friday the 26th of July, after the civic entertainment given to the federalists on the site of the Bastille. Gorsas, the patriot, attended at the public-house, which we left at two in the morning, when we repaired to the column of liberty, on the site of the Bastille, to die there, in case of need, for the country. It was to this public-house, the Soleil d'Or, that Fournier the American brought us the red flag, the invention of which I had proposed, and upon which I had got inscribed these words: *Martial Law of the Sovereign People against the Rebellion of the Executive Power.* It was also to the same house that I took five hundred copies of a posting-bill containing these words: *Those who fire on the columns of the people shall instantly be put to death.* This bill, printed in the office of Buisson, the publisher, had been carried to Santerre's, whither I went at midnight to fetch it. Our plan failed this time through the prudence of the mayor, who pro-

bably conceived that we were not sufficiently guarded at the moment; and the second active meeting of the directory was adjourned to the 4th of August following.

"Nearly the same persons attended this meeting, and in addition to them, Camille Desmoulins. It was held at the Cadran Bleu, on the boulevard; and about eight in the evening it removed to the lodgings of Antoine, ex-constituent, Rue St. Honoré, opposite to the Assumption, in the very same house where Robespierre lives. His landlady was so alarmed at this meeting that she came, about eleven o'clock at night, to ask Antoine if he was going to get Robespierre murdered. 'If any one is to be murdered,' replied Antoine, 'no doubt it will be ourselves; Robespierre has nothing to fear from us; let him but conceal himself.'

"It was in this second active meeting that I wrote with my own hand the whole plan of the insurrection, of the march of the columns, and of the attack of the palace. Simon made a copy of this plan, and we sent it to Santerre and Alexandre about midnight; but a second time our scheme miscarried, because Alexandre and Santerre were not yet sufficiently prepared, and several wished to wait for the discussion fixed for the 10th of August on the suspension of the King.

"At length, the third active meeting of this directory was held in the night between the 9th and 10th of August last, at the moment when the tocsin rang, and in three different places at the same time; namely, Fournier the American, with some others, at the Faubourg St. Marceau; Westermann, Santerre, and two others, at the Faubourg St. Antoine; Garin, journalist of Strasburg, and myself, in the barracks of the Marseillais, and in the very chamber of the commandant, where we were seen by the whole battalion.

"In this sketch, which contains nothing but what is strictly true, and the minutest details of which I defy any person whatever to contradict, it is seen that nothing is said of Marat or of Robespierre, or of so many others who desire to pass for actors in that affair; and that those who may directly ascribe to themselves the glory of the famous day of the 10th are the persons whom I have named, and who formed the secret directory of the federalists."

CCCC.

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F. Chabot.

"F. Chabot, a Capuchin, born in the department of Aveyron, eagerly profited by the opportunity of breaking his vows, which the decrees of the Constituent Assembly offered him. In 1792 he was appointed deputy of Loire et Cher to the Legislature. In the same year he went so far as to cause himself to be slightly wounded by six confidential men, in order that he might accuse the King of being the author of this assassination. It is asserted that he even pressed Merlin and Bazire to murder him, and then to carry his bloody corpse into the faubourg, to hasten the insurrection of the people, and the destruction

of the monarch. Chabot was one of the chief instigators of the events of the 10th of August, and voted afterwards for the death of the King. He was condemned to death by Robespierre as a partisan of the Dantonist faction. When he knew what his fate was to be, he poisoned himself with corrosive sublimate of mercury; but the dreadful pain he suffered having extorted shrieks from him, he was conveyed to the infirmary, and his life prolonged till April 1794, when he was guillotined. Chabot died with firmness at the age of thirty-five."—*Biographie Moderne.*

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ROBESPIERRE.

"Robespierre felt rebuked and humiliated among the first chiefs of the Revolution; he vowed within himself to be one day without a rival, and started for the goal with an undeviating, passionless, pitiless fixedness of purpose, which seems more than human. He is a proof what mediocre talents suffice to make a tyrant. His views were ordinary—his thoughts were low—his oratory was wretched. But he was a man of a single ruling idea, and of indefatigable perseverance. His devouring ambition was not to be confounded with that of a common usurper aspiring at political tyranny. It was rather that of the founder of a sect, and even a fanatic in his way. He seems to have formed for himself a system out of the boldest and wildest visions of Rousseau, domestic, social, and political. But he had not a particle of the fervour, eloquence, or enthusiasm of that philosopher. To propagate the new creed by persuasion was therefore not thought of by him; but he had craft, hypocrisy, impenetrable reserve, singleness of purpose, and apathetic cruelty; and accordingly he resolved to effect his vast scheme of reform by immolating a whole generation. Robespierre was severe, frugal and insensible to the pomps, vanities, seductions, and allurements which corrupt or influence the great mass of the world."—*British and Foreign Review.*

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BRISSOT.

The following is the opinion entertained of Brissot by Lafayette, who knew him well: "It is impossible not to be struck with various contrasts in the life of Brissot; a clever man, undoubtedly, and a skilful journalist, but whose talents and influence have been greatly overrated both by friends and enemies. In other times, before he became a republican, he had made the whole régime a subject of eulogy. It seems pretty well proved that a few days before the 10th of August

he and some agitators of his party had been intriguing with the valets-de-chambre of the Tuileries; even after this insurrection their only desire was to govern in the name of the Prince-Royal. Brissot, on the very eve of denouncing Lafayette, told the Abbé Duvernet, then member of the society of Jacobins, that the person he was going to accuse was the man of all others whom he esteemed and revered the most. Even while continuing to calumniate Lafayette, he testified in private for him the same esteem to various persons—Lord Lauderdale, among others—a witness whose evidence will hardly be refused, and who often spoke of it in London."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.*

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Character of Louis XVI.

"The errors of Louis XVI. may truly be said to have originated in a virtuous principle. As to his weaknesses, I shall not endeavour to conceal them. I have more than once had occasion to lament the indecision of this unfortunate Prince; his repugnance to adopt the bold measures which might have saved him; and his want of that energy of character and self-confidence which impose on the multitude, who are ever prone to believe that he who commands with firmness and an air of authority possesses the means of enforcing obedience. But I will venture to say, that the very faults above enumerated did not belong to his natural character, but were engrafted on it by the selfish indolence of M. de Maurepas."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

"Louis XVI. was the grandson of Louis XV., and the second son of the Dauphin by his second wife, Marie Josephine, daughter of Frederick Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. Louis was born in 1754, and in 1770 married Marie Antoinette of Austria. With the best intentions, but utterly inexperienced in government, he ascended the throne in 1774, when he was hardly twenty years of age. In his countenance, which was not destitute of dignity, were delineated the prominent features of his character—integrity, indecision, and weakness. He was somewhat stiff in demeanour; and his manners had none of the grace possessed by almost all the princes of the blood. He was fond of reading, and endowed with a most retentive memory. He translated some parts of Gibbon's History. It was the fault of this unfortunate monarch to yield too easily to the extravagant tastes of the Queen and the Court. The latter years of his reign were one continued scene of tumult and confusion; and he was guillotined in 1793, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in the Magdalen churchyard, Paris, between the graves of those who were crushed to death in the crowd at the Louvre, on the anniversary of his marriage in 1774, and of the Swiss who fell on the 10th of August 1792."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

"The Revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to Louis by his ancestors. He was more fitted than any of those who preceded him to

prevent or terminate it; for he was capable of being a reformer before it broke out, or of being a constitutional monarch after it. He is perhaps the only prince who, destitute of passions, had not even that of power. With a little more strength of mind Louis would have been a model of a king."—*Mignet.*

GGGG.

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Copy of the Letter written to Citizen Boze, by Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné.

You ask us, Sir, what is our opinion respecting the present situation of France, and the choice of the measures that are capable of protecting the public weal from the urgent dangers with which it is threatened: this is a subject of uneasiness to good citizens, and the object of their profoundest meditations.

Since you question us upon such important interests, we shall not hesitate to explain our sentiments with frankness.

It can no longer be denied that the conduct of the executive power is the immediate cause of all the evils that afflict France, and of the dangers that surround the throne. They only deceive the King who strive to persuade him that exaggerated opinions, the effervescence of the clubs, the manœuvres of certain agitators and powerful factions, have occasioned and keep up those commotions, the violence of which each day is liable to increase, and the consequences of which it will perhaps be no longer possible to calculate; this is placing the cause of the disorder in its symptoms.

If the people were easy respecting the success of a Revolution so dearly bought, if the public liberty were no longer in danger, if the conduct of the King excited no distrust, opinions would find their level of themselves; the great mass of the citizens would only think of enjoying the benefits ensured to them by the constitution: and if in this state of things factions should still exist, they would cease to be dangerous—they would no longer have either pretext or object.

But so long as the public liberty shall be in danger, so long as the alarms of the citizens shall be kept up by the conduct of the executive power, and conspiracies hatched within and without the realm shall appear to be more or less openly encouraged by the King, this state of things necessarily produces disturbances, disorder, and factions. In the best constituted States, States that have been constituted for ages, revolutions have no other principle; and with us the effect must be the more prompt, inasmuch as there has been no interval between the movements which led to the first and those which seem at this day to indicate a second revolution.

It is therefore but too evident that the present state of things must lead to a crisis, almost all the chances of which will be against royalty. In fact the interests of the King are separated from those of the nation: the first public functionary of a free nation is made a party-leader, and

by this horrible policy the odium of all the evils that afflict France is thrown upon him.

Ah! what can be the success of the foreign powers, even though, by means of their intervention, the authority of the King should be enlarged, and a new form given to the government! Is it not evident that those who have entertained the idea of this congress have sacrificed to their prejudices, to their private interest, the very interest of the monarch; that the success of these manœuvres would impart a character of usurpation to powers which the nation alone delegates, and which nothing but its confidence can uphold? Why have they not perceived that the force which should bring about this change would long be necessary for its conservation; and that there would thus be sown in the bosom of the kingdom the seed of dissensions and discord, which the lapse of several ages could alone stifle?

Alike sincerely and invariably attached to the interests of the nation, from which we never shall separate those of the King so long as he does not separate them himself, we think that the only way of preventing the evils with which the empire is threatened, and to restore tranquillity, would be for the King by his conduct to put an end to all cause for alarm, to speak out by facts in the most frank and unequivocal manner, and to surround himself, in short, with the confidence of the people, which alone constitutes his strength, and can alone constitute his happiness.

It is not at this time of day that he can accomplish this by new protestations; they would be derisory, and in the present circumstances they would assume a character of irony, which, so far from dispelling alarm, would only increase the danger.

There is only one from which any effect could be expected, namely, a most solemn declaration that in no case would the King accept any augmentation of power that was not voluntarily granted by the French people, without the concurrence and intervention of any foreign power, and freely discussed according to the constitutional forms.

On this head it is even remarked that several members of the National Assembly know that such a declaration was proposed to the King when he submitted the proposition for war against the King of Hungary, and that he did not think fit to make it.

But it might perhaps suffice to re-establish confidence, if the King were to prevail on the coalesced powers to acknowledge the independence of the French nation, to put an end to all hostilities, and to withdraw the cordons of troops which threaten the frontiers.

It is impossible for a very great part of the nation to help feeling convinced that the King has it in his power to dissolve this coalition; and so long as it shall endanger the public liberty, we must not flatter ourselves that confidence can revive.

If the efforts of the King for this purpose were unavailing, he ought at least to assist the nation, by all the means in his power, to repel the external attack, and not neglect anything to remove from himself the suspicion of encouraging it.

In this supposition it is easy to conceive that suspicion and distrust originate in unfortunate circumstances, which it is impossible to change.

To make a crime of these when the danger is real and cannot be mistaken, is the readiest way to increase suspicion: to complain of exaggeration, to attack the clubs, to inveigh against agitators, when the

effervescence and agitation are the natural effect of circumstances, is to give them new strength, to augment the perturbation of the people by the very means that are employed to calm it.

Whilst there shall be a subsisting and known action against liberty, reaction is inevitable, and the development of both will be equally progressive.

In so arduous a situation, tranquillity can be restored only by the absence of all danger; and until this happy period shall arrive, it is of the utmost importance to the nation and to the King that these unhappy circumstances be not embittered by conduct, at least equivocal, on the part of the agents of the executive power.

1. Why does not the King choose his ministers from among those who are most decided in favour of the Revolution? Why in the most critical moments is he surrounded only by men who are unknown or suspected? If it could be advantageous to the King to increase the distrust, and to excite the people to commotions, could he pursue a more likely course to foment them?

The selection of ministers has been at all times one of the most important prerogatives of the power with which the King is invested; it is the thermometer according to which the public opinion has always judged of the dispositions of the Court; and it is easy to conceive what might be at this day the effect of that choice, which in very different times would have excited the most violent murmurs.

A thoroughly patriotic ministry would therefore be one of the best means that the King could employ to restore confidence. But he would egregiously deceive himself who should suppose that by a single step of this kind it could be easily recovered. It is only in the course of time, and by continued efforts, that one can flatter oneself with the prospect of erasing impressions too deeply engraven to be removed at the instant to the very slightest vestige.

2. At a moment when all the means of defence ought to be employed, when France cannot arm all her defenders, why has not the King offered the muskets and the horses of his guard?

3. Why does not the King himself solicit a law for subjecting the civil list to a form of accountability, which can assure the nation that it is not diverted from its legitimate purpose and applied to other uses?

4. One of the best means of making the people easy respecting the personal dispositions of the King would be for him to solicit himself a law relative to the education of the Prince-Royal, and thus hasten the moment when the care of that young Prince shall be consigned to a governor possessing the confidence of the nation.

5. Complaints are still made that the decree for disbanding the staff of the national guard is not sanctioned. These numerous refusals of sanction to legislative measures which public opinion earnestly demands, and the urgency of which cannot be mistaken, provoke the examination of the constitutional question respecting the application of the veto to laws of circumstance, and are not of such a nature as to dispel alarm and discontent.

6. It is of great importance that the King should withdraw the command of the army from M. Lafayette. It is at least evident that he cannot usefully serve the public cause there any longer.

We shall conclude this slight sketch with a general observation: it is this, that whatever can remove suspicion and revive confidence cannot

and ought not to be neglected. The constitution is saved if the King takes this resolution with courage, and if he persists in it with firmness.

We are, &c.

HHHH.

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Meeting in the Garden of M. de Montmorin.

The following paper is one of those quoted by M. de Lally-Tollendal in his letter to the King of Prussia:—

Copy of the Minute of a Sitting held on the 4th of August 1792, *in the handwriting of Lally-Tollendal.*

August 4.

M. de Montmorin, late minister of foreign affairs—M. Bertrand, late minister of the marine—M. de Clermont-Tonnerre—M. de Lally-Tollendal—M. Malouet—M. de Gouvernet—M. de Gilliers.

Three hours' deliberation in a sequestered spot in M. de Montmorin's garden. Each reported what he had discovered. I had received an anonymous letter, in which the writer informed me of a conversation at Santerre's, announcing the plan of marching to the Tuileries, killing the King in the fray, and seizing the Prince-Royal, to do with him whatever circumstances should require; or, if the King was not killed, to make all the royal family prisoners. We all resolved that the King should leave Paris, at whatever risk, escorted by the Swiss, and by ourselves and our friends, who were pretty numerous. We reckoned upon M. de Liancourt, who had offered to come to Rouen to meet the King, and also upon M. de Lafayette. As we were finishing our deliberations M. de Malesherbes arrived; he came to urge Madame de Montmorin and her daughter, Madame de Beaumont, to depart, saying that the crisis was at hand, and that Paris was no longer a fit place for women. In consequence of the news brought us by M. de Malesherbes, we agreed that M. de Montmorin should go immediately to the palace to inform the King of what we had learned and resolved. The King seemed to assent in the evening, and told M. de Montmorin to confer with M. de Sainte-Croix, who, with M. de Montciel, was also engaged in devising a plan for the King's departure. We went next day to the palace; I had a long conversation with the Duc de Choiseul, who was entirely of our opinion, and anxious that the King should depart at any risk whatever, as he would rather *expose himself to every danger than commence a civil war.* We were informed that the deposition would be pronounced on the Thursday following. I knew of no other resource than the army of M. de Lafayette. I sent off on the 8th the rough draft of a letter, which I advised him to write to the Duke of Brunswick as soon as he should receive the first news of the deposition, &c.

IIII.

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BEHAVIOUR OF THE KING AND QUEEN ON THE 10TH OF AUGUST 1792.

"The behaviour of Marie Antoinette was magnanimous in the highest degree. Her majestic air, her Austrian lip, and aquiline nose, gave her an air of dignity which can only be conceived by those who beheld her in that trying hour."—*Peltier.*

"The King ought then to have put himself at the head of his troops, and opposed his enemies. The Queen was of this opinion, and the courageous counsel she gave on this occasion does honour to her memory."—*Madame de Staël.*

"This invasion of the 10th of August was another of those striking occasions on which the King, by suddenly changing his character and assuming firmness, might have recovered his throne. Had he ordered the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers to be shut up, dissolved the Assembly, and seized on the factions, that day had restored his authority. But this weak Prince chose rather to expose himself to certain death than give orders for his defence."—*Dumont.*

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MARIE ANTOINETTE.

"Marie Antoinette Josephine Jeanne Antoinette, of Lorraine, Archduchess of Austria, and Queen of France, born at Vienna, in the year 1755, was daughter of the Emperor Francis I. and Maria Theresa. She received a careful education, and nature had bestowed on her an uncommon share of grace and beauty. Her marriage with the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) at Versailles, in 1770, had all the appearance of a triumph. It was subsequently remarked that immediately after the ceremony a fearful thunder-storm, such as had scarcely ever before been witnessed, took place at Versailles. Anxious minds indulged in yet more fearful forebodings when at the festivity which the city of Paris prepared in celebration of the royal nuptials, through the want of judicious arrangements, a great number of people in the Rue Royale were trodden down in the crowd. Fifty-three persons were found dead, and about three hundred dangerously wounded. In 1788, Marie Antoinette drew upon herself the hatred of the Court party, who used every means to make her odious to the nation. Her lively imagination often gave her the appearance of levity, and sometimes of intrigue and dissimulation. A natural restlessness, too, led her on a constant search after novelty, which involved her in heavy expenses. It was still more to her disadvantage that she injured her dignity by neglecting the strict formality of Court manners. About this time her enemies spread a report about that she was still an Austrian at heart, and an extraordinary occurrence added fuel to the flame of calumny, and subjected

the Queen to a disgraceful lawsuit. Two jewellers demanded the payment of an immense price for a necklace which had been purchased in the name of the Queen. In the examination, which she demanded, it was proved that she never authorized the purchase. A lady of her size and complexion had impudently passed herself off for the Queen, and at midnight had a meeting with a cardinal in the park of Versailles. Notwithstanding, her enemies succeeded in throwing a dark shade over her conduct. When Louis XVI. informed her of his condemnation to death, she congratulated him on the approaching termination of an existence so painful. After his execution she asked nothing of the Convention but a mourning dress, which she wore for the remainder of her days. Her behaviour during the whole term of her imprisonment was exemplary in the highest degree. On the 3rd of October 1793 she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and replied to all the questions of her judges satisfactorily and with decision. When Hebert accused her of having seduced her own son, she answered, with a noble burst of indignation, 'I appeal to every mother here whether such a crime be possible!' She heard her sentence with perfect calmness, and the next day ascended the scaffold. The beauty for which she was once so celebrated was gone; grief had distorted her features, and in the damp, unhealthy prison she had almost lost one of her eyes. When she reached the place of execution she cast back one fond, lingering look at the Tuileries, and then mounted the scaffold. When she came to the top she flung herself on her knees, and exclaimed, 'Farewell, my dear children, for ever—I go to your father!' Thus died the Queen of France, October 16, 1793, towards the close of the thirty-eighth year of her age."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

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The Massacre in the Palace.

"The populace had no sooner become masters of the palace than they exerted their fury against every soul in it without distinction. The gentlemen ushers of the chambers, the pages of the back-stairs, the doorkeepers, even persons in the lowest and most servile employments, were all alike butchered. Streams of blood flowed everywhere from the roofs to the cellars. It was impossible to set foot on a single spot without treading upon a dead body. Stripped, many of them, as soon as they were murdered, their lifeless bodies presented, in addition to the ghastliness of death, the shocking spectacle of a mutilation which the mind may conceive, but which modesty forbids me to describe. And among the perpetrators of these atrocious deeds were found women! Seven hundred and fifty Swiss perished on that dreadful day! Nine officers survived, only to be butchered a few days after in a more cruel manner. The instant the mob rushed into the palace they forced their way into, and plundered every corner. Bureaus were burst open; furniture was broken to pieces, and flung out of window; even the cellars were ransacked; in short, the whole presented nothing but scenes of devastation and death. The mob spared only the paintings in the

State-room. The butchery did not cease for hours; but the aristocrats were no longer the only victims. Some of the rioters were massacred by other rioters. Rapine, drunkenness, and impunity increased the numbers of the populace; the day seemed to be made the revel of carnage; and the mangled bodies of the Swiss were covered with fresh heaps of the self-destroyed rabble!"—*Peltier.*

"In about half an hour after the royal family had gone to the Assembly I saw four heads carried on pikes along the terrace of Feuillans towards the building where the Legislative Body was sitting; which was, I believe, thé signal for attacking the palace; for at the same instant there began a dreadful fire of cannon and musketry. The palace was everywhere pierced with balls and bullets. I ran from place to place, and finding the apartments and staircases already strewed with dead bodies, I took the resolution of leaping from one of the windows in the Queen's room down upon the terrace. I continued my road till I came to the Dauphin's garden-gate, where some Marseillais, who had just butchered several of the Swiss, were stripping them. One of them came up to me with a bloody sword in his hand, saying, 'How, citizen, without arms! Here, take this sword, and help us to kill!' However, luckily another Marseillais seized it, and being dressed in a plain frock, I succeeded in making my escape. Some of the Swiss who were pursued took refuge in an adjoining stable. I concealed myself in the same place. They were soon cut to pieces close to me. On hearing their cries the master of the house ran up, and I seized that opportunity of going in, where, without knowing me, M. le Dreux and his wife invited me to stay till the danger was over. Presently a body of armed men came in to see if any of the Swiss were concealed there. After a fruitless search, these fellows, their hands dyed with blood, stopped and coolly related the murders of which they had been guilty. I remained in this asylum from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, having before my eyes a view of all the horrors that were perpetrated at the Place de Louis Quinze. Of the men, some were still continuing the slaughter, and others cutting off the heads of those who were already slain; while the women, lost to all sense of shame, were committing the most indecent mutilations on the dead bodies, from which they tore pieces of flesh, and carried them off in triumph. Towards evening I took the road to Versailles, and crossed the Pont Louis Seize, which was covered with the naked carcasses of men already in a state of putrefaction from the great heat of the weather."—*Clery.*

"The 10th of August was a day I shall never forget. It was the day of my fête, and hitherto I had always spent it happily. It was now a day of mourning. In the streets the cries of the people mingled with the thundering of artillery and the groans of the wounded. About noon my brother entered with one of his companions in arms, who was wrapped in a great-coat. The young royalist had tasted nothing for forty hours, and he had just escaped from the pursuit of those who would have massacred him if they could have found him. The young gentleman was carefully concealed in my little apartment. My father was out, and my brother went frequently to the gate to look for him. The storm seemed to be subsiding, but the firing of musketry was still heard at intervals. Night was drawing on, and my father had not yet returned. My brother again went to the gate to look for him, and he saw a man quickly turn the corner of our hotel. He immediately recognized my father, who desired him to leave the door open, observing that he was merely going round the corner to fetch a person who was

in the arcade of the mint. He returned, bringing with him a gentleman who was scarcely able to walk. He was leaning on the arm of my father, who conducted him silently to a bedchamber. It was M. de Bevy. He was pale and faint, and the blood was flowing copiously from his wounds. The horrors of that awful day are never to be forgotten!" —*Duchesse d'Abrantès.*

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Imprisonment of the Royal Family.

"For fifteen hours the royal family were shut up in the shorthand-writers' box. At length at one in the morning they were transferred to the Feuillans. When left alone, Louis prostrated himself in prayer." —*Lacretelle.*

"The royal family remained three days at the Feuillans. They occupied a small suite of apartments consisting of four cells. In the first were the gentlemen who had accompanied the King. In the second we found the King; he was having his hair dressed; he took two locks of it, and gave one to my sister, and one to me. In the third was the Queen, in bed, and in an indescribable state of affliction. We found her attended only by a bulky woman, who seemed tolerably civil; she waited upon the Queen, who as yet had none of her own people about her. I asked her Majesty what the ambassadors of foreign powers had done under existing circumstances. She told me they could do nothing, but that the lady of the English ambassador had just given her a proof of the private interest she took in her welfare by sending her linen for her son."—*Madame Campan.*

"At this frightful period Lady Sutherland (afterwards Duchess of Sutherland), then English ambassadress at Paris, showed the most devoted attention to the royal family."—*Madame de Staël.*

"It was in this prison (the reporters' box), six feet square and eight feet high, the white walls of which reflected the rays of the sun, and increased their ardour, that the King and his family spent fourteen hours together in the course of a day that was burning hot. As the mob kept tumultuously crowding round the hall, it was found advisable to destroy an iron railing that separated this lodge from the National Assembly, that the King might be able to get into the Assembly in case the lodge should be attacked. Four of the ministers and the King himself were obliged to pull down this iron railing without any instrument but the strength of their hands and arms. The King then sat down and remained in his chair, with his hat off, during the debate that followed, keeping his eyes constantly fixed on the Assembly, and taking no refreshment for the whole time but a peach and a glass of water."—*Peltier.*

"One circumstance may serve as a proof of the illusion in which the Queen was, with respect to her situation, even when she was in the reporters' box. When the cannons were firing upon the palace, and in the midst of the violent petitions for dethroning the King, her Majesty, relying upon the president's speech to the King at his entrance, turned to Comte d'Hervilly, who was standing behind her, and said, 'Well,

M. d'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away?' 'I wish, with all my heart, madam,' answered the Comte, 'that your Majesty may be of the same opinion six months hence!'"—*Bertrand de Molleville.*

"For many long hours the King and his family were shut up in the reporters' box. Exhausted by fatigue, the infant Dauphin at length dropped off into a profound sleep in his mother's arms; the Princess-Royal and Madame Elizabeth, with their eyes streaming with tears, sat on each side of her. At last they were transferred to the building of the Feuillans. Already the august captives felt the pangs of indigence; all their dresses and effects had been pillaged or destroyed; the Dauphin was indebted for a change of linen to the wife of the English ambassador; and the Queen was obliged to borrow twenty-five louis from Madame Anguie, one of the ladies of the bedchamber."—*Alison.*

END OF VOL. I.

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