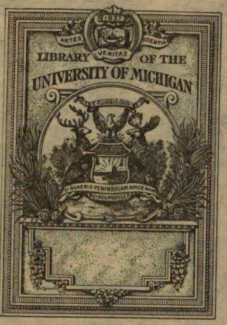

THE
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION

MARIE ANTOINETTE
ON THE WAY TO EXECUTION.
[*From the Sketch by David.*]

THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

COMPILED FROM THE

"ANNUAL REGISTER"

BY

F. BAYFORD HARRISON

"The tyranny of one
Was prelude to the tyranny of all.
. . . . The tyranny of all
backward to the tyranny of one"
TENNYSON'S *Tiresias*

RIVINGTONS
WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON
MDCCCLXXXIX

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE French Revolution may be described as the greatest storm which ever swept over France; its fury ravaged that country, and the fringe of its clouds, its occasional flashes, and its stray thunderbolts, alarmed, if they did not devastate, every nation of Europe.

The following chapters are copied from the *Annual Register*, a serial first projected and published in 1758 by Robert Dodsley, in conjunction with Edmund Burke, and still appearing every year. Many histories of the French Revolution have been written in French, English, and other languages; this stands perhaps alone, in that it was given to the world within a year or two of the events which it records, and often in the naïve language of contemporary chroniclers. The lapse of those two or three years has the great advantage of affording time for the historian to place himself at a point from whence the events are seen in their true perspective, which can hardly be when the writer is on the same level of time with his facts.

From this reprint of the History of the first French Revolution, as furnished by the *Annual Register*, nothing will be omitted which is essential, nothing altered except obvious errors, and nothing added but necessary and explanatory matter. The narrative of those extraordinary events which took place exactly one hundred years ago should have something of the same charm which we find now in newspaper reports, and in "letters from special correspondents"—the charm of the personal touch of writers telling of scenes among which they move, and of persons with whom they mingle.

Before entering on the story of the Revolution it is absolutely needful to glance, however cursorily, at its causes. These have been pointed out at length in Carlyle's "French Revolution," and vividly painted in Dickens's powerful and pathetic "Tale of Two Cities." The germs which afterwards increased so fearfully may be detected in any History of France during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. They may be briefly alluded to here.

Luxury and vice in the sovereign was a salient grievance, and led to many others. Louis XIV. reigned during seventy-two years, and was called the "Great." The history of France while he was on the throne was extremely brilliant; statesmen, generals, writers, poets, preachers, were numerous and famous. He firmly believed in the "divine right" of kings, and when quite young said, "The State—that is myself!" Except his determination to reign absolutely, he does not appear to have had any great

quality; his private life was far from exemplary, and to give up his own will or his own wish for the sake of benefiting his people would have seemed to him an act of Quixotic madness.

He was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV., son of the Duke of Burgundy. This monarch is remembered only for his selfishness and debauchery And yet, singularly enough, his surname is "the Beloved;" and that such a title was given to him by his people after his recovery from a severe attack of small-pox, shows how willingly the French would have revered a king who had done anything to merit affection. But nothing is recorded of Louis XV. except luxury and consequent extortion. His public life was feeble, his private life vicious. The brightest names of his reign are pale beside those of the reign of his predecessor; and the people, ground down, impoverished, treated as chattels created only for the amusement and advantage of the classes above them, began to question in ominous undertones whether a king was worth all that he cost, whether the nobles were worth anything at all.

Probably, if Louis XV. and his courtiers could have foreseen what was to befall the throne and the nobility of the next generation, they would still have held on their wicked way, too entirely selfish and hardened to care what should happen to their children so long as the present state of things should last out their own time. This must, of course, be taken in a general sense, for there were then, as in all other corrupt states of society, many

pure and holy hearts, though they were in such a minority as to render their good influence almost inappreciable. The queen, Marie Leczinska, was pious and amiable; she saw her husband desert her for one haughty and vicious woman after another; she saw the death of all her children, except four plain, homely, good daughters, who never married; and she died of weariness, and of want of wish to live.

There was much that was brilliant in France during the reign of Louis XV.; but such brilliancy resembled the phosphorescence of decay. Voltaire and Rousseau both died in 1778, the one in extreme old age, the other nearly twenty years his junior. Both exercised great influence over the minds of the eighteenth century; Rousseau's theories had a special fascination for his contemporaries. Indeed, some great living authorities attribute the Revolution mainly to Rousseau's theories, and to crude attempts to put them into practice. The want of a check on an absolute monarchy had long been felt; while kings were on the throne who existed only for pleasure, and who left government in such strong hands as those of Richelieu, Mazarin, Louvois, the universal discontent could not openly break out; but as soon as the sovereign showed himself amiable, considerate, anxious to conciliate, eager to ameliorate, desirous to rule constitutionally, then all the smothered disaffection burst forth, and the best and weakest of French kings paid the penalty of his forefathers' shortcomings and misdeeds.

Louis XVI. succeeded his grandfather in 1778. His father the Dauphin, and his mother, Mary Josephine of Saxony, both died while he was yet a child; and when but sixteen years of age he was married to Marie Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the great Maria Theresa, whose people called her their "king." The queen of France was one year younger than her husband, and as her beauty and character formed she became one of the most lovely and most noble women whom the world has ever seen. The king's appearance, on the contrary, was plain, even vulgar, and his character weak and irresolute.

He began his reign with certain measures of popular reform; Maurepas, Minister of State, re-established the *parlements*, which three years previously had been done away with. These *parlements* were courts of supreme law; the chief one sat in Paris, the lesser in provincial towns. That in Paris was the Court of Final Appeal, and gave judgment in the king's name; it registered laws and edicts. As soon as the *parlement* of Paris was re-established by Louis XVI. it began to show itself hostile to reform, and above all to the suppression of the *corvée*. The right of *corvée* had come down from feudal times, and at some period existed in almost every country of Europe. By it the nobles could demand from their serfs a certain amount of forced labour, and had certain rights, some of a most shameful nature, over the persons and goods of their dependents. The nobles in France had little

respected the legal limits of the *corvée*, and had exacted much more than was their due. Louis XIV. had fixed fresh limits; Turgot, Controller-General of Finance, abolished it altogether in 1776. The nobles were furious against the minister, and Louis was obliged to dismiss him; in doing so, he said, "No one cares for the people save M. Turgot and myself." To Malesherbes he said, "I wish that, like you, I could retire from my position;" and this at the moment when the man with the most enlightened ideas of liberty and order was, like Turgot, dismissed by Louis at the jealous instigation of the nobles.

At this time France was engaged in war with England, endeavouring to sustain and preserve her colonies in America. To do this, taxation was raised, and taxation is a fertile source of discontent. A deficit made itself felt in the Treasury. In 1787 an Assemblée des Notables met, and parted without doing any useful work; Necker, the great financier, a native of Geneva, took in hand the monetary resources of the country.

The position of France was at this moment almost desperate; that of the king, though he knew it not, equally so. He summoned the *parlement* to meet, as a "Bed of Justice," at Versailles, on August 6, 1787.

Louis was present, seated under a canopy, at the session of the *parlement*. In the previous year the Duke of Orleans and two other counsellors of the *parlement* had been arrested by order, or under sanction, of the king. The duke was a distant

cousin of the king. (The second son of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria was created Duke of Orleans; his son by Elizabeth Charlotte of Bavaria succeeded him, and was regent during the minority of Louis XV. The third member of this house who held this title was born in 1725 and died in 1785. His son Louis Philippe Joseph was born in 1747, and was one of the heroes of the Revolution, and known by the sobriquet of "Égalité." He voted for the death of the king, and was himself condemned and executed, as a Girondin, in 1793. His son Louis Philippe became king of the French in 1830.) The other two counsellors arrested were M. de Monsabert and M. d'Espréménil.

It is not necessary now to go further into the subject of quarrel, but some extracts from the address of the parliament to Louis XVI. will show the spirit which was beginning to prevail in France:—

"SIRE,

"Your parliament is confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which is aimed in the system of monarchy. At the moment even when your parliament was offering their suspicions and remonstrances at the foot of the throne, an act of absolute authority is exercised in your home against two magistrates whose conduct is irreproachable, and who should rather deserve your Majesty's protection for their support of the rights of monarchy. . . . Your Majesty, in summoning your parliament to the throne, was about to conciliate the love of

your people by a measure conformable to ancient practice. But, Sire, the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures which you are invited to, and whose effects alarm the most faithful of your magistrates. We shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances which afflict us ; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled on, and that your authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice."

The above translation of a portion of the address from his *parlement* to Louis XVI. is not an elegant one, but there can be no doubt as to its meaning ; it tells the king very plainly that acts of high-handed authority will be met by something like mutiny on the part of his magistrates. The next article in the volume before us[1] is the "Speech of his most Christian Majesty on opening the Bed of Justice, May the 8th":—

"There is no point in which my parliament has not, for this year past, deviated from its duty. Not satisfied with raising the opinion of each of your members to the level of my will, you have presumed to say that a registry,[2] to which you could not be forced, was necessary for confirming what I should determine, even at the request of the nation.

"The parliaments of the provinces have adopted the same pretensions, the same liberties.

. . . . . .

[1] *Annual Register*, 1788, p. 282, State Papers.
[2] Rather, "registration."

"I owe to my people, to myself, and to my successors, to put a stop to these extravagant proceedings.

. . . . . .

"My intention is not to destroy my parliaments; I mean only to bring them back to their duty. . . ."

These few extracts will have shown the mutual distrust between the king and his parliaments, and the strain to which their relations were now subjected.

As these pages profess to give the story of the Revolution, not an account of the complicated causes which led up to it, we will not go back into the history of France, even as far as Mr. Carlyle did; his first pages are dated from 1744 to 1774. It will be enough to know that Louis XVI., the heir of a dynasty of absolute sovereigns, had not perceived that the time was past in France for irresponsible governments; he tried to believe that the old state of things would continue; and being naturally indolent, he thought that a weak concession here, and a peremptory edict there, would keep the State in its ancient poise of balance. But the equilibrium once destroyed, the whole fabric toppled over with a crash.

The Assemblée des Notables will be constantly spoken of in the following pages; it will therefore be as well to give here a short account of its history and status. It resembled in many ways our English parliament, being composed of the three orders of nobles, clergy, and commons, and was summoned from time to time at the king's pleasure, when he desired advice.

In 1786 the embarrassed state of the national finances had caused the then minister, Calonne, to think that the Notables might suggest means for helping him out of his difficulties. On December 29 Louis XVI. issued summonses for their meeting; and they assembled on February 22, 1787. Calonne, a man of infamous moral character, was so much disliked that the Notables would not even consider his schemes for re-establishing the credit of the country; but his successor, Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, obtained all that was desired. Lamoignon, Keeper of the Seals, thanked them in the king's name for their docility, and used the curiously prophetic expression, "You have been your king's counsellors; you have prepared and facilitated a revolution much to be desired," etc. The Notables, having given the example of contesting the monarch's wishes, were followed by the parliament, who entered on a struggle with the minister, and that struggle was only terminated by Louis declaring that he would call together the States-General.

A second meeting of the Notables was convened to consider the constitution of the States, and met on October 5, 1788.

From this point the historian of the *Annual Register* shall use his own words, annotated as may seem advisable, and in accordance with later and more accurate knowledge of the events narrated. A few passages printed within brackets are not from the *Annual Register,* but are inserted by the Compiler in order to condense the narrative or to render it coherent.

FROM THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

1788—1794.

CHAPTER I.

THE KING'S REFORMS AND POPULARITY.

THE head-quarters of the parliament of Paris, what might be considered as their citadel, was at this time carried by a *coup de main.* For the governor of that city, properly attended, proceeded to the Palais Royal,[1] where, entering the different chambers, and opening the presses and bureaus, he took possession of all the papers and archives of every kind pertaining to the parliament; and this business being finished, after locking and placing the king's seal upon the doors, he carried away the keys.[2] All the other parliaments in the kingdom were about the same time suspended from their functions, and forbidden, under the severest penalties, from re-assembling, from holding any private meetings, and from issuing any resolutions or opinions whatever upon public affairs. 1788. May.

The Châtelet,[3] a court next in reputation, authority,

[1] Built by Richelieu for his own residence, and given by him to Louis XIII.; hence its name.

[2] The members deliberated at Versailles.

[3] *Châtelet* ("little castle"), a fortress of Paris, said to have been erected by Julius Cæsar, or by Julian. There was also a Petit Châtelet.

and dignity to the great chamber of parliament, was so far from being dismayed at these proceedings, that after a sitting of thirty-six hours they issued an instrument under the name of an *arrêt* (but which seems more properly a declaration or protest), in which, after declaring how deeply they are affected by seeing the various acts of authority exercised against the different seats of magistracy throughout the kingdom, they particularize the following instances: The seat of justice invested by armed troops; the liberty of suffrages wantonly violated, by arresting and confining magistrates; and other points enumerated.

1788. May 16.

A duke, three other peers, and two archbishops presented themselves in person to the king at Versailles, and delivered into his own hands a paper of so extraordinary a nature that neither the names of the presenters or subscribers were ever given. It was entitled, "The humble and dutiful address of the subscribers, in behalf of themselves and the public," and was signed by forty-seven peers and bishops "for themselves and the nation."

They declare the grief with which they find themselves obliged to approach his Majesty in the line of their duty; but it is a duty which they cannot resist. They declare, upon the same ground of showing their motives and duty, that, as princes pledged in the name of the whole nobility for the preservation of the laws, as peers born for the security of the throne, and as citizens bound for the public welfare, they cannot, consistently with their loyalty

to his Majesty, their duty to themselves, to the nation, and to posterity, let the present period pass unnoticed. That from these motives and causes they were bound to proceed against the dissolution of the national parliament, against all the late edicts, and in general against every act which militated against those established laws whose foundations had been laid on wisdom, moderation, and justice. That with the purest loyalty they lay their sentiments before the king, hoping that God may incline their sovereign to reconsider these measures, and to permit in future things to go on in that channel to which for ages they had been accustomed; and thereby prevent an alteration which could not but entail the most ruinous consequences, too easily to be foreseen, both on the sovereign and on the people.

It was at the time reported, and we can only give it as a report, that a council having been held on the evening after this remonstrance was received, *lettres de cachet*[1] were there absolutely signed and issued against all the subscribers; but that at midnight Monsieur (the king's eldest brother and the favourite of the people) went to the royal bedchamber, and prevailed on the king to have them recalled.

In the meantime nothing could be more alarming than the temper which now became prevalent among all orders and classes of the people, and the

[1] Letters sealed with the king's privy seal, by which persons could be imprisoned or banished without having had any form of trial. They were at first designed to spare noble families the scandal of public trials, but great abuses sprang up in regard to them.

aspect which almost every part of the kingdom exhibited. Paris presented each morning the new spectacle of seditious, inflammatory, or treasonable written or printed papers, posted upon the gates or corners of the streets. An incendiary libel of the most atrocious nature and dangerous tendency was detected at a private printing-house, where the press was destroyed, and the printed copies, to the amount of several hundreds, seized; but a number of others, it seems, had been already distributed, and several were most daringly put up on the city gates and other public places, although the king was openly branded in them with the appellation of tyrant, charged with having trampled with impunity upon the dearest rights of the people, and that he, who should be their father, was become their bitterest enemy and most implacable oppressor. In a similar strain of seditious invective, the people are reproached with want of spirit for not having already punished their oppressors; and every other instigation to immediate violence and rebellion is closed by that emphatic Scripture phrase, which had been used so many ages ago in similar ferments, "To your tents, O Israel!"

In several of the provinces things seemed to wear a worse appearance even than in Paris. Bretagne had been for some time in a strange state of disorder; the flame became so violent and the commotions so alarming that the Bishop of Rennes found it necessary to set out himself express to Paris, and to use such expedition as to spend but

thirty-six hours on a journey of two hundred miles, in order to lay before the king a clear statement of the dangerous situation of affairs in that province.

In the provinces further south things were little better. The parliaments of Toulouse and Grenoble were both in exile, and some of the most refractory members had been committed to State prisons. This procedure irritated the inhabitants of these provincial capitals so highly that they were guilty of the greatest excesses and violences, in all which they were supported by their country neighbours. The Comte de Périgord, Governor of Languedoc, and hitherto one of the best-beloved noblemen in France, was, nothwithstanding his popularity and great natural influence in the country, obliged to fly precipitately from Toulouse. Two regiments who were quartered there under his command were likewise obliged to withdraw, whilst the inhabitants not only took possession of the gates, but are said to have taken up the pavements, as providing for a siege or bombardment.

At Grenoble, in Dauphiné, the excesses were carried to the highest point of exorbitance; and much blood was even reported to have been shed in the conflicts between the military and the inhabitants, who were joined by some thousands of the neighbouring mountaineers.

It seems tolerably ascertained that the life of the Duc de Tonnère, who governed that province, was in imminent danger; that he was obliged to surrender the keys of the palace to the insurgents,

for its preservation. It is said that although the troops did not, like their fellows at Toulouse, absolutely refuse to obey their officers, yet that they acted with such slackness and apparent reluctance as contributed more than the number or force of the malcontents to defeat the effect, and sufficiently convinced their commanders that they were no longer to be trusted.

The parliament of Brittany, which, as well as the province at large, had long been in a state of great
1788. June. and continual variance with the Court, in defiance of the king's positive orders, reassembled at Rennes (their capital) in the beginning of June, and after sitting from four o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening, among other violent resolutions, passed one in which they declared all persons who should in any degree attempt to carry the sovereign's new ordinances into execution to be guilty of high treason, and to be prosecuted and punished as such. They were afterwards surrounded, and their proceedings interrupted by a strong detachment of the troops in garrison; but the inhabitants flying in crowds to the rescue of the parliament, and being joined by a vast concourse of people from the adjacent country, the troops found themselves compelled, after a great riot and some mischief had taken place, to give way to the immense multitude of their antagonists and relinquish their design, while no person would venture to serve the *lettres de cachet* which had been sent down for the exile or imprisonment of the members.

We hear no more of the parliament, who perhaps did not think it safe to proceed to greater lengths. A great provincial meeting was, however, convened, in order to determine upon the most effectual methods for opposing the execution of the new ordinances. At this assembly a grand deputation, composed of several eminent persons, was appointed to proceed to Versailles, and to remonstrate strongly with the king, in the name of the province, against the Cour Plénière [1] in particular, as being deemed the greatest innovation and the most dangerous to the parliaments, and in general against all the other new tribunals and ordinances. The confidence and ardour with which the deputation set out on their commission was suddenly checked upon their arrival at Versailles, for they were not only refused an audience, but committed close prisoners to the Bastille.

During this season of fruitless hope, continual disappointment, constant turmoil, vexation, and alarm, the agitation of the king's mind was frequently so great and apparent as to excite the compassion of all who had an opportunity of being near his person. It was universally acknowledged on all sides that no man could mean better, or more fervently wish and fully intend the happiness of his subjects. For the king's wish to promote the ease, content, and happiness of the people was not a passive or inert disposition, indulged only in speculation; it was embodied

[1] The Cour Plénière was originally instituted to celebrate some joyful event, such as a marriage, and was held by the king at Christmas or at Easter. The last court of the kind was held by Charles VII., and Louis XVI. proposed to revive it, but was unable to do so.

and brought fully into act; he had done more in a few years for the gratification and benefit of his subjects than had been done by all his predecessors put together, from the foundation of the monarchy.

Unfortunately, the State was too deeply involved in debt and embarrassment to be extricated or relieved by anything within the immediate powers of the Crown; the same benevolent disposition which made the king ready to relinquish his personal interests rendered him averse to the execution of such vigorous and decisive measures as the exigencies of his affairs absolutely required. To which is to be added that, in consequence of the late reforms, dictated by the same love for his people, the monarchy had been dismantled of what formed an essential part of its strength and security.

It is well known that a considerable proportion of the numerous nobility of France have always been dependent on the Crown for the means of supporting their rank and preserving the dignity of their families. All these saw themselves now for ever cut off from that resource, the king having equally put it out of his power to bestow bounty and to reward merit or service. Above four hundred persons had already lost their offices in the royal household, and were turned adrift upon the world without means or resource; a much greater number were affected in the same manner by the reduction in the military departments. Upon the same principle of relieving the people, the Crown was further weakened by reducing the *gens d'armes* and other corps of the household troops.

The institution of provincial assemblies afforded a notable instance of the king's wishes to render government as easy as possible to the people, and even to admit them to something approaching to a republican share in the internal administration of their affairs. These assemblies were to be composed of a prescribed number of each of the three estates—the nobles, clergy, and commons, the members being freely elected by their respective orders; so that each assembly seemed in itself a circumscribed meeting of the States-General, who were, however, paramount over all. This measure, if not allowed to be a great advance towards a new constitution, was at least a wonderful and little-expected improvement of the old.

The Assembly of the Notables, whatever were its defects, had done great things towards ameliorating the government and bettering the condition of the lower orders of the people. The enormities which prevailed in the mode of levying the taxes, and the boundless peculation which attended the collection, besides being ruinous to the State, had, from the days of Sully, been a constant source of the most intolerable grievance and oppression to the people. This subject the Notables entered deeply into, traced various evils to their source, and recommended judicious remedies, which were immediately adopted.

The abolition of the *corvée*, in kind, which had for ages been a source of constant oppression to the country people through the partial and unjustifiable manner in which the compulsion to labour upon the roads had been frequently exercised, was an act scarcely of greater

utility than of mercy with respect to that most useful class of mankind. The commutation of money for personal service, at the option of the farmer, freeing him from the tyranny of petty officers, along with other regulations which went to guard against oppression in any shape or case, rendered the duty so comparatively light that it seemed scarcely to be any longer considered as a burden.

Other regulations, though lower in degree, were still of great public utility. Of these was the removal of the barriers between the different provinces, and the abolition of all internal taxes and duties. The decree for laying open and free the commerce of grain throughout the kingdom, may perhaps be considered of still greater importance. The relief afforded to Protestants, a measure which gave security and happiness to so considerable a portion of the people, should not be overlooked in an enumeration of public benefits.

To those benefits actually conferred may be fairly added that greatest of all, which was yet only in contemplation, it being at the present impossible to be carried into execution. This was no less than the total abolition of the *gabelles*[1] throughout the kingdom, which had ever been the opprobrium of the

[1] *Gabelle*, from the German, *gabe*, "gift," was an indirect form of taxation at first applied to wine, cloth, etc., afterwards chiefly levied on salt. A monopoly was created, by which certain persons were entitled to sell certain quantities of salt at a certain price to each family in their districts. It could not be retailed, and the methods of using it were restricted. Of all forms of taxation, the *gabelle* was the most vexatious and the most odious.

French Government, and the most odious and intolerable of all schemes of taxation to the people. This "sublime idea," as it was deservedly termed in the Assembly, was communicated to the Notables on the day of their rising by Monsieur, the king's brother, who declared that it was his Majesty's first wish and most earnest intention, and that he should ever consider the moment of its accomplishment as the happiest of his life. This declaration undoubtedly contributed to the extraordinary adulation which marked the speeches of that day, when the mayor, or chief magistrate of Paris, seeking not to be outdone in that figure of speech called the "hyperbole," made use of the following expressions :—"That Louis XVI. would have been the exemplar and model upon which Henry the Great would have formed himself if the partial destiny of the present generation of Frenchmen had not reserved him to complete their happiness."

It was at no very distant period that the king was to be taught experimentally the true value of adulation and compliments.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMS AND POPULARITY OF NECKER.

THE reforms and improvements spoken of, however excellent in their design, and however beneficial they might hereafter prove in their effect, could afford no present relief to government. The Notables, therefore, recommended to the king, after all the retrenchments which he had already made, a still further reduction in the royal and public expenses, to the extraordinary amount of forty millions of livres[1] annually. Though this proposal was complied with, that assembly was still sensible that this saving, great as it was, could in no degree supply the immediate exigencies of the State, by enabling government to fulfil its public engagements to its creditors, and at the same time to provide for the unavoidable civil and military establishments. For these purposes a tax or taxes were indisputably necessary, upon security of which such a loan could be raised as would be sufficient to extricate the State from its present difficulties, and thereby afford time for the system of reform and economy now adopted, as well

[1] £1,600,000.

as the unexampled presents made by the sovereign to the public, to operate in producing their proper effects.

The Notables approved, though with some difference of degree in respect to its parts, of that scheme of taxation proposed by the ministers for supplying the present emergencies by which the burden was to be laid upon those parts of the nation which were the best able to support its weight, upon the great commercial and landed interests. The intended tax upon stamps, which was afterwards described in such odious colours, not only received the most unqualified approbation from the Notables, but they seemed to step beyond the lines which they had prescribed to themselves, by recommending its extension with respect both to objects and duty further than either the original design or the adopted scheme reached.

But with respect to the act for the territorial revenue, or land-tax, which would have fallen upon the nobility or clergy, and thereby removed, so far as it went, those exemptions which had been so long considered as an intolerable grievance, here it would seem that the patriotism of the Assembly began to fail, or that they were awed by the potent bodies whose interests were concerned. Upon this subject the Notables were guarded, cautious, and indecisive; and though they could not consistently with their own avowed sentiment but approve the principle of the tax, they did it hesitatingly, and, to get entirely quit of the question, flew off suddenly to the old plea

of total incompetency with respect to taxation, a business, they said, which rested solely with the sovereign, to whose prudence and discretion it must be entirely referred. It was rather a curious circumstance of observation that a little before this display of extreme delicacy they had strongly recommended a tax upon the city of Paris, whose vast increase of population they represented as extremely injurious to the kingdom at large, and whose inhabitants should therefore be more heavily taxed than the laborious countrymen.

The territorial revenue act, upon the whole, received their tacit approbation; they owned the justice of the principle, made no objection to any of the parts, and only recommended, or hinted at, some doubtful improvements in the mode of regulation.

The people being now relieved from a number of their most crying grievances, and having full room to hope, and rational grounds for expectation, that what was already done was only introductory to a progressive course of measures for the amelioration of the constitution and the improvement of all the departments of government, it might seem that little more was wanting than an accommodating and conciliatory disposition in the parliament of Paris, by filling up the line already traced by the Notables, to have established the prosperity of the present reign upon the firmest basis—that of the happiness and consequent affection of the people.

The cabals of the innovators began about this time to be regularly formed and embodied, and to

spread through every part of France. Instead of looking, with other parties, to the changes of men, or to an alteration of measures in the administration of public affairs, they directed their attention to the utter subversion of government. If the parliament was not immediately under the influence of these cabals, they at least prepared the way for the confusion that followed, by their conduct and proceedings in the violent contests with the king since the rejection of the two money bills. For the paper war, as it may justly be termed, which they incessantly carried on, and took so much care to publish, and which was in a great measure directly and personally pointed against the king, could not but tend in a great degree to render the sovereign odious as well as contemptible. Indeed, many of their published documents, exclusive of their reproach and invective, bore rather the character of manifestoes than of resolutions and remonstrances, as they were called. Their effect went far beyond the original design; disorder, confusion, and anarchy spread through the kingdom; and they found, too late, that they had raised a spirit which they could never be able to lay.

On this day, Sunday, about nine in the morning, without any eclipse, a dreadful and almost total darkness suddenly overspread the face of the earth in several parts of France, and this awful gloom was the prelude to a tempest or hurricane supposed to be without example in the temperate climates of Europe. The whole face of nature was so totally changed in about an hour that no

1788. July 13.

person who had slept during the tempest could have believed himself in the same part of the world when he awoke. The soil was changed into a morass, the standing corn beaten into the quagmire, the vines broken to pieces, and their branches buried in the same manner, the fruit-trees of every kind demolished, and the hail lying unmelted in heaps, like rocks of solid ice. The disordered state of public affairs prevented both the course and extent of this hurricane from being defined as it would have been in a happier season. The thoughts of those who were qualified to observe and record so extraordinary a phenomenon were otherwise occupied; and the sufferers could only describe what they immediately felt, with little curiosity as to the fate of others. Several large districts were entirely desolated; one of sixty square leagues was totally ruined. Of the sixty-six parishes included in the district of Pontoise, forty-three were entirely desolated, while of the remaining twenty-three some lost two-thirds, and others not above half their harvest. The entire loss or damage was said to be moderately estimated at fourscore million of livres, or between three and four million pounds sterling.

The king, in the first instance, granted an immediate benevolence of 1,200,000 livres to the sufferers, and as a further relief established a lottery of forty thousand tickets in their favour; he likewise remitted all taxes to them for a year to come. All possible measures were immediately pursued for procuring such an importation of corn as might supply the domestic loss; but the wished-for supply fell far

short of the expectation. The Duke of Orleans was eminently distinguished by the extent of his benevolence upon this occasion, which his immense fortune, as the richest subject in Europe, rendered a matter of no difficulty. Several of the nobility and dignified clergy merited great praise upon the same account. But notwithstanding everything that was, and, perhaps, could be done, the distresses of the people throughout France were great, severe, and lasting.

An *arrêt* which had been issued by the Council of State a few days previous to this misfortune, although only remotely preparatory to the future assembling of the States-General, yet as it showed that the Court had not abandoned the design, and that measures were in train for the execution of that purpose, was so exceedingly popular that the funds rose three per cent. upon it, and a gleam of hope, satisfaction, and good-humour was spread through the country for the short intervening time. 1788. July 5.

The king found himself at length under a necessity of abandoning the new constitution which he held so much at heart, and from which he had formed the most sanguine hopes. The opposition to it was so great, so general, and so determined, that it was impossible to be surmounted.

The Dukes de la Rochefoucauld, de Noailles, de Luxemburg, and several others who stood among the highest of the kingdom in point of rank, weight, and public opinion, rejected the king's nomination, and absolutely refused to sit in the Cour Plénière. There was no alternative; the king was condemned to

submit to this public insult, and to retract all he had done. Thus was the Court sunk to the lowest ebb of degradation, while the parliaments were exalted to the pinnacle of triumph and power.

In the meantime the poverty of government was so extreme that it became incapable of discharging its functions or answering the public demands, so that a public bankruptcy seemed fast approaching. In this state the king issued an *arrêt*, in which he gave notice that in these circumstances only a certain proportion of the demands on the treasury could be paid in cash, and the remainder must be taken in bills payable in a year, and bearing five per cent. interest, the bills likewise to be received as money in the subscription to the first loan that was raised.

Though publicity was the great object of such a notice, and could alone give it any effect, yet such
1788. was the consequence of shame or apprehen-
August 18. sion that operated on the Court that the copies of the *arrêt* seemed to be distributed by stealth on Monday evening, August 18. But neither this precaution, the fairness of the proposals, nor the goodness of the security could prevent such a general alarm as was nearly without example from being spread through the city of Paris on the following morning. The immediate consequences were a great fall of the stocks and a violent run on the Caisse d'Escomptes,[1] or, as it was considered, the national bank. For two days the crowds who came to change

[1] An institution, sanctioned by Turgot, for discounting bills at four per cent.

their notes were so great and pressing that the guards were obliged to marshal and keep them in order, to prevent confusion, and that each might be brought forward in turn to the bank. By procuring all the cash that was possible, and using much address to make each payment take up as much time as was possible, the bank was enabled to weather the tempest, until an edict from the king relieved them on the third day, commanding all bankers and others to receive their bills in payment as cash—a measure which afforded little satisfaction to the public, although it saved the Caisse d'Escomptes.

In the meantime public discontents were heightened by private distress. Bread had already risen in Paris from two and a half to four sous per pound; and worse still being expected, prudent families began to discharge their servants, which necessarily increased the number of idlers who crowded the streets and were in a state of the most deplorable distress.

Under this alarming aspect of affairs, the Prime Minister, the Archbishop of Sens,[1] looking more to his own safety than to the duty or gratitude which he owed to his royal master, made no scruple of leaving him alone to weather the approaching tempest as he could, and departed with the utmost expedition for Italy. 1788. August 25.

[1] Etienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne, born in 1727, died in 1794, Controller-General of Finances in 1787, showed himself unfit for the post, and was succeeded by Necker. He accepted the civil constitution of the clergy in 1791, and relinquished the cardinal's hat which he had received in 1788.

The king's situation was sufficiently difficult and embarrassing; compelled lately to dismiss a favourite minister, forsaken now by his successor, who left him involved in all the troubles which the rashness or failure of his measures had occasioned, and destitute in himself of those great and commanding personal qualities which have often wrought such wonders in critical affairs, and which were never more necessary than in the present instance to enable him to stem that torrent of discontent and disorder which was spreading with such violence through his dominions.

Thus circumstanced, he perceived no other resource than that of throwing himself into the arms of the popular party, and, by coinciding with their proposals, to endeavour to restore concord and harmony in the kingdom, and to obtain that personal quiet which he sought beyond all things. Little disposed himself to any exertions of arbitrary power, and as little calculated by nature to their support, concessions offered no great violence to his feelings. He saw that the spirit which had been shown upon different occasions by persons the most nearly related to him, in their endeavours to support the prerogative or to inspire vigour into the general measures of administration, had rendered them universally odious, and that their party was become too weak to admit any further attempts with a probability of success.

The first step to be taken upon this change of system was in a great measure declaratory and decisive with respect to those that were to follow. This was the recall of the celebrated M. Necker, and

the placing him again at the head of the finances. This gentleman was become the idol of the people in a degree, perhaps, without example with respect to any man in any country under similar circumstances. Several causes concurred in procuring him this extraordinary popularity. His famous "Compte rendu au Roi," in which he laid open to all the world the expenditure, revenue, and resources of France, and disclosed all those arcana of the State and monarchy which had hitherto been deemed most sacred and unrevealable, although a measure, perhaps, not very justifiable, was highly captivating to the people. The circumstance of his being, by birth at least, a republican,[1] was so fortunately adapted to the spirit and disposition of the times that it was not only sufficient to remove all prejudices with respect to his being a foreigner and a Protestant, but would have rendered him popular if he had not been so otherwise.

Such was the state of things when M. Necker was again placed at the head of public affairs. The joy of the people was indescribable, and their expectations and hopes passed all bounds of reason and possibility. It seemed as if they conceived that he possessed a magical wand; that by waving it he could pay off an immense public debt without money; and that by another movement he could with the same ease supply twenty-five millions of people with corn and bread. Circumstances seemed for a moment to give a sanction to the delusion; the funds sud-

[1] He was Swiss.

denly rose, and the general good-humour seemed to dispel all those black clouds which hung so heavily over the political horizon.

The new minister neglected nothing which would tend to the support of that public opinion so essential to his fame and greatness. He soon discovered, or perhaps previously knew, that there were large sums of money lying in several public departments, destined to assigned purposes which were not yet in being. Secure of this support, he immediately issued public notice that all demands on the Treasury should in future be at once paid in ready money. Nothing could ever produce greater *éclat.* He was called the saviour of the country; the preservation of France from the ruin and disgrace of public bankruptcy was universally ascribed to him. He likewise used all possible means to draw corn from different parts to the relief of the metropolis, where the natural turbulence of the inhabitants was liable upon any accidental occasion to be stimulated to acts of outrage and violence.

The coming in of M. Necker was attended with the dismissal of all the principals of the archbishop's party. Everybody supposed that the restoration of the parliament of Paris to its functions would have been one of the effects of the change in the ministry. The parliament met about the middle of September,

1788. Sept. 14. and after some display of moderation in their first sittings, soon began a new squabble with the Crown, on the ground of prosecuting those members of the late ministry who were forthcoming,

especially MM. de Lamoignon and de Brienne,[1] for the evil advice they had given, and the mischiefs which they had thereby drawn upon the nation. But the king peremptorily refused to admit this prosecution, declaring that he alone was responsible for all the late measures, and that if any mischiefs took place they proceeded entirely from the refractory conduct and obstinacy of the parliament.

In the meantime the populace of Paris began to make a display of that ungoverned and riotous disposition which has since rendered them so conspicuous. It seems probable that the king's refusal to admit the prosecution against M. de Lamoignon, the late Keeper of the Seals, directed their fury against that gentleman, as the riot commenced immediately after. A multitude of people, seemingly for sport, assembled about the Pont Neuf, where they amused themselves for some time with throwing squibs and crackers, and obliging the passers-by to take off their hats and bow to the statue of Henry IV. But seeming to grow tired of this sport, they suddenly provided themselves with lighted torches, and proceeded in a body to burn and destroy the house of M. de Lamoignon. The timely interference of the guards saved the house, and probably the life, of that gentleman, to whom his country owed so much for his admirable reform of the code of criminal justice, and in whose humane regulations in the mode of prosecution the order of men who now sought his destruction were so nearly and particularly concerned. The

[1] Archbishop of Sens.

crowd dispersed upon the interference of the military, but reassembled in another part, and were proceeding to burn the late Keeper in effigy,[1] when, finding themselves pursued, and again interrupted by the guards, their indignation was raised so high that they stood a battle with them, but were soon routed, above thirty of their number being killed, and a much greater number undoubtedly wounded.

The parliament soon afforded an instance of the degree of moderation with which they were disposed to exercise power or to enjoy triumph, as well as of the terms upon which they intended to stand with the Court. That body caused all the king's decrees
1788. which related to their suspension, or which
Oct. 11. they considered as encroaching on their privileges, to be publicly burnt in Paris. In this act the heinousness of the example to a turbulent and inflamed populace equalled the wantonness of the insult.

The only public business of any consequence which was transacted during the remainder of the year was the summoning a new convention of the Notables, who met in the beginning of November.
Nov. 6. The object of assembling them was to receive their opinion and advice in answer to a number of written questions proposed to them, relative to the organization of the States-General, the mode of election to be pursued, the qualifications of the electors and of the elected, the numbers to be re-

[1] A wicker figure.

turned by the respective districts, etc. The meeting of the States was fixed for May 1, 1789.[1]

The unequalled severity of the winter could not but produce the most deplorable effects in a country where the people were already so much distressed for want of subsistence. It was in vain that bounties were offered for the importation of wheat, rye, and other grain. The countries of Europe were in no condition in any degree to supply the wants of so prodigious a number of people; the relief, however, thus furnished, although far from sufficient, undoubtedly preserved multitudes from perishing. Paris probably suffered more than the provinces, but the want in all was extreme. The people, instead of looking to the general effect of bad harvests, or to the particular ruin occasioned by the late hurricane, attributed the scarcity and dearness of bread to the nefarious schemes of the Court, which they charged with the impossible crime of exporting the corn by stealth to foreign countries.

Thus gloomily closed the year 1788.

[1] They had not met since 1614.

CHAPTER III.

CONVENTION OF THE STATES-GENERAL.

M. NECKER had at the beginning of winter summoned a new Convention of Notables in order to receive their opinion and advice on several subjects relative to the convocation of the States-General. Two great questions were at issue between the three orders or classes from which that body was to be drawn, namely, the nobles, the clergy, and the *tiers état*, or commons; and these necessarily agitated the whole nation. The first was, Whether the deputies of the three orders of the State should meet together in one assembly, in which all the concentrated powers of the States-General should reside; or whether they should be divided, as they had been at the last meeting, in 1614, into three chambers, through each of which a resolution must be carried (or, at least, through two of them) before it became the acknowledged Act of the States.

The next question was, Whether the number of deputies from each of the orders should be the same as in 1614, which was about three hundred of each; or whether, the clergy and nobles still adhering to

their former numbers, the third estate should be allowed to send six hundred members, which would equal both in number. This was called the Double Representation of the people.

The gaining of this point was the great and principal object in view with the third estate. It was generally taken for granted that the clergy and nobles, being privileged bodies, would coalesce, and act nearly, if not entirely, together; so that they would carry every question against the commons. But if the Double Representation took place the commons would then have six hundred votes to oppose the three hundred of each other order, and they were sure of desertions from each; particularly that many of the curates[1] would join them; while they had nothing less than a certainty that the members of their own order would hold well together. Also, the three orders, sitting together without any distinction in the same chamber, would vote by heads, and the majority of votes, without any regard to orders, be of course conclusive.

On these questions the king's absolute authority was equally appealed to by all the parties for a final decision, the plenitude of his power not being yet openly questioned by any. On the other hand, the sovereign resigned himself entirely to the advice of M. Necker in everything relative to this subject.

That minister found himself entirely out of his element when he became involved in the untried and difficult science of political legislation. Honest him-

[1] *i.e.* Curés, or parish clergy, few of whom belonged to the noble classes.

self, and moderate in all his views, he seems to have built too much upon the rectitude of others, and not to have been aware that the designs of men often extend far beyond their present avowal or action. With respect to the questions which now so much agitated the nation, Necker never gave any decided opinion upon the subjects either of the States voting by heads or by classes, of their sitting in one chamber or in three, nor of their amalgamation; but with respect to the Double Representation he took a most decided part in favour of that measure, and persevered in it with no small degree of pertinacity. The Notables were of a directly contrary opinion; they recommended the constitution of 1614 as the model by which the present convocation of the States should be regulated.

The Notables in giving this advice only trod in the steps of the parliament of Paris, whose conduct, which in other seasons would have been productive of all the applause which usually attended their proceedings, upon this occasion produced a very different effect. The minds of men were now too much heated, and the new-fangled notions of government too widely spread, to admit of their being at all satisfied with those securities or concessions which would before have occasioned the greatest joy and triumph.

The unexpected change in the public opinion was most sensibly felt by the parliament, who, in order to recover the affection of the people, assembled with more than usual formality, inviting at the same time (to give the greater *éclat* to their

1788. December.

proceedings) the attendance of the princes and peers. At this meeting they offered a piece, under the title of an *arrêt*, on the present state of the nation, containing a number of resolutions which seemed to include their ideas of the principal points of French liberty.

These provisions for establishing and preserving the rights and security of the people, and the attainment of which only a small time back would have been considered as presenting a glorious Magna Charta of French freedom, and as forming a new epoch in the history of that country, were now received not only with indifference but with the greatest contempt. They fell so far short of the ideas of liberty and equality now spread that they could not be listened to with patience; the parliament of Paris was totally disappointed in the hope of recovering that popularity which it so eagerly sought, and from this time continued to dwindle day after day into still lower degrees of insignificance, until it was at length totally laid aside, and all its past exertions and consequence forgotten.

In the meantime the greatest jealousy and dissension subsisted between the different orders which were to compose the States. The third estate, or commons, so far from being satisfied with the submission of the nobility to an equal taxation, would overthrow all privileges whatever. Many of the lords had, ages since, whether upon principles of kindness or common utility, released their peasants from that state of vassalage in which they were then held, and

received certain fixed rents from them as a compensation for their lands; but it was now taught to be an intolerable grievance and oppression to pay a price for the enjoyments of those rights and goods of nature to which every man was, as such, equally entitled. Several feudal rights and services were likewise still retained in most or all lordships and manors, some of which were commuted in money, and others, perhaps more, discharged in kind. The loss of these rents and services would be very severely felt by the smaller nobility, who were very numerous.

The nobility who, most fatally to themselves, had in the year 1787 held so tenacious a grasp of their pecuniary exemptions that they would not afford the smallest aid to extricate their sovereign or the public from the emergencies in which they were involved, were now become fully sensible of their error, and began to perceive and to feel some part of the growing danger of their situation. The dukes and peers of France had already presented a memorial to the king, offering to bear their due proportion of the public charges; and they were supported in this engagement by the nobles in different parts of the kingdom. But their repentance, or right sense of their condition, was too late; the season was now past, and the popular ferment was grown to such a height that all hope of conciliation seemed at an end.

The jealousy and dislike between the nobility and commons (with whom most of the parish clergy ranged themselves) was every day increasing. The Comte d'Artois (the king's second brother), with the

Princes of Condé and of Conti, who were at this time called the Triumvirate, declared themselves strongly in support of the rights of the nobility, and presented a memorial to the king consenting to an equalization of taxes; they, however, reserved the obnoxious provision, "that this was to be considered as a matter of condescension and favour, but not of right." The count, who had long been sufficiently unpopular, was now execrated throughout the nation.

The first prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, had, upon the change of ministry, been discharged by the king from the restrictions which confined him to his country seat; but instead of going to Court he proceeded to the Palais Royal in Paris, which was his own estate, and which for some time might have been considered as his citadel. There he laid himself out by all possible means to obtain a popularity in the acquisition of which he had hitherto through life been singularly unfortunate. His immense fortune (being reckoned the richest subject in Europe, and his yearly income estimated at something about half a million sterling) rendered this design, in the present state of things, a matter of no great difficulty. By excessive largesses in money and corn he soon became the idol of Paris. It was impossible that such a man in such a situation and such circumstances should be destitute of a considerable party. Mirabeau[1] and some other

[1] Gabriel Honoré de Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, was born March 9, 1749. His public life will explain itself in the following pages; his private life was immoral. He died in 1791.

of the most violent demagogues in the succeeding convulsion were closely connected with him, and were thought to be actuated in their proceedings by views very different from those which were avowed. The duke was supposed to guide the clouds, and to direct the course of the tempest.

The royal edict was published for convening the States-General, and the elections took place. The
1789. following short account of the different parties
Jan. 24. then in France is thus given by a person well-acquainted with them,[1] and who was himself an actor of consideration in the scenes then exhibited :—"The commons wished to conquer; the nobles wished to preserve what they already possessed; the clergy waited to see which side would be victorious, in order to join the conquerors; if any one sincerely wished for peace it was the king."

The States had been summoned for April 27, and most of the deputies were on that day assembled
April 27. at Versailles; but the numerous deputation from Paris, as well as the multitude of the electors, occasioned so much delay in the elections of that city that the king thought it necessary to defer the opening of the Assembly until May 4. The

[1] Trophime Gérard, Marquis de Lally Tollendal, born in 1751. He went to the États Généraux as a deputy of the nobility, and supported the scheme of a monarchy limited by two chambers, with the absolute veto of the king. After October 5 and 6, 1789, he retired to Coppet, on the Lake of Geneva, returned to France in 1792, was imprisoned in the Abbaye, but escaped. He then lived in England, but once more returned to France under the Consulate, lived a private life until the Restoration, when he was made a peer of France, and died in 1830.

factions who were thus brought from all parts of the kingdom to clash together and show their animosity at Versailles were soon distinguished, and were arranged under their respective leaders before the formal opening of the Assembly.

They were classed under three great divisions, and these subdivided into smaller parties. The first was the aristocratic party; the second was the middle or moderate party; the last, but the great and triumphant division, was that overwhelming democratic party which was destined to swallow up all others, and to level all distinctions, from the sceptre to the plain Cross of St. Louis,[1] in the dust. This party contained the most violent and turbulent spirits of the nation in the third estate, among whom Mirabeau, finding himself rejected with contempt by his own order, obtained a seat, and soon became the most conspicuous of their leaders. Nor were democratic principles confined entirely to the third estate; they were adopted with no less violence by the Bishop of Autun[2] and the Abbé Grégoire,[3] who headed a party among the clergy. The Duke of Orleans, having been chosen a member of the States for his own *bailliage* of Cressy, in Valois, took care to provide a sanction for his future conduct by employing

[1] The Order of St. Louis was instituted in 1693 by Louis XIV., as a reward for military service. Louis XVI. increased the number of members. The Order was suppressed at the Revolution, revived in 1815, but has not been conferred since 1830.

[2] Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, the famous diplomatist.

[3] The Abbé Henri Grégoire was born in 1750, became known in the literary world, supported the civil constitution of the clergy, voted for the death of the king, and died in 1831.

the Abbé Siéyès,[1] who was particularly attached to him, and whose name stood high among the modern speculative philosophers and politicians, to draw up his *cahier*, or instructions, in the name of that bailiwick, which the abbé accomplished in a manner that could not but afford content to the most eager wishes of democracy.

The primary elections had for some days been carried on quietly enough; but M. Réveillon, a citizen of respectability, who conducted a large paper manufactory, presided, with others, at the primary assembly held for the district of St. Antoine. Astonished at the violence of the harangues of some of his own workmen, Réveillon could not help showing some marks of disapprobation at their conduct. This enraged them so much that they got up false reports concerning him; and in the tumultuous suburb, or Faubourg de St. Antoine, it was like the application of a match to gunpowder. The rabble amused themselves the first day by burning M. Réveillon and some others in effigy. A detachment of guards, who were sent to suppress the tumult, being too weak for the purpose, their failure served to increase the audacity of the mob.

They proceeded next day to demolish the house of M. Réveillon, which they did with great despatch.

1789. April 28. A strong body of the guards having arrived before they could proceed any further in the

[1] Emmanuel Joseph, Abbé, afterwards Comte, Siéyès, born 1748, died 1836; a "metaphysical politician," whose views greatly influenced the thought of his times.

accomplishment of their designs, were saluted with a violent shower of stones and tiles, which they bore for some time with great temper; but perceiving that their forbearance only served to render the mob more daring and violent in their attack, the guards at length threw in a close and heavy fire, which made a miserable slaughter among the people. A great number were killed,[1] the hospitals crowded with the wounded, and, terror immediately succeeding to insolence, the rest dispersed as fast as they could.

Though peace was thus apparently restored to the capital, yet the fermentation among the mob was so great that it was easily seen to be of a very doubtful and precarious nature; a stronger proof of which need not be given than that the whole body of French guards[2] in Paris were obliged to be drawn out, with loaded arms, bayonets fixed, and artillery planted in different places, in order to ensure the execution of two ruffians who had been taken in the very act of plunder. It was in this insurrection that women were first seen to forget all the timidity natural to their sex, with all the restraints fixed by habit and opinion, and to mix with more than masculine fury in scenes of blood and destruction.

Such were the sad auspices under which the first assembly of the States-General of France, after a lapse of 175 years, was destined to commence its proceedings.

[1] It is said, from four to five hundred.

[2] The Gardes Françaises, an infantry regiment raised by Charles IX. in 1563. They formed part of the king's household troops, and possessed various privileges.

CHAPTER IV.

THE "SÉANCE OF THE JEU DE PAUME," AND THE BEGINNING OF HORRORS.

NOTHING could be more solemn or august than the opening of the States-General of France at Versailles.

1789. May 4. The king delivered a short speech from the throne, concluding with these words: "May a happy union reign in this assembly, and this epoch become for ever memorable from the happiness and prosperity of my subjects!"

The expectation of all parties was raised to the highest pitch to hear the long oration of M. Necker; but all parties were disappointed; the speech kept wide of the great points which seemed to be its only proper objects.

Immediately arose a contest between the nobles and clergy on the one hand and the commons on the other. It became every hour more evident that

May 11. the great object of the third estate was to deprive these brethren in legislation of all weight and power. Some feelings of alarm began now to break through that stupor in which the ministers had

apparently been involved. Everything was tending fast to that consummation in which one branch of the legislature was to swallow up all the other powers of the State. A number of pamphlets were circulated through every part of the kingdom, proposing to the people a doctrine always highly captivating to the multitude—that of total abolition of distinctions of blood and rank. The most celebrated of these pamphlets was one written by Mirabeau.

The commons were so sensible of their own strength that they determined to constitute themselves into what may be called an "active assembly." Great debates arose upon the new and comprehensive title which it would be proper for them to assume. At length the lucky hit of "Assemblée Nationale" was made by M. Le Grand, and received with great applause; was formally put to the vote, and carried by a vast majority. A profound silence reigned all the time the votes were collecting; but as soon as the majority was declared the air resounded with a universal shout of "Long live the king! Long live the National Assembly!"[1] 1789. June 7.

The democratic party within the Assembly were now unceasing in their zeal to infuse that tumultuous spirit which operated with great violence upon themselves into the public mind at large. The nobles were in agonies of despair, and yet could not bring themselves to descend from their inflexible haughtiness. The clergy were in a very different temper.

[1] The first president of the National Assembly was Jean Sylvain Bailly, astronomer and man of letters.

The party who sided with the commons had nearly attained a majority ; and that final decision was only retarded by the influence of the Archbishop of Paris, who, when it at length took place, joined in a strong protest against it. The consequence was that though he was a prelate of respectable character, and his charities to the poor were so extensive as to pass beyond all customary limits, he was, some days after, pursued with all the violence of popular fury, attacked, insulted, and his life endangered. He was rescued with some difficulty ; and it was on this occasion that the troops first refused to act, as they termed it, against their " fellow-citizens." Such was the first fruit of that terrible power assumed by the French troops of judging for themselves on all public questions as well as on all cases of military subordination.

The king, who had hitherto trusted to M. Necker's promises of an easy and happy reign, finding himself disappointed in all his hopes, began to hesitate in his proceedings, and perhaps to call in question the wisdom and propriety of his past conduct. Council after council was held in the king's palace, but the natural effects of weakness, disorder, and faction were so predominant that they could not agree in anything. M. Necker at length thought it advisable that the king should recur to the ancient method of holding what they call a *séance royale*, or "royal session." The plan was fixed, and the day appointed. Nothing could have been more innocent in itself than this measure, but the folly, rashness, and violence with which it was conducted rendered it an immediate

instrument in the ruin of the monarchy and the subversion of the government.

The hall in which the third estate held their assembly being far larger than either of the other chambers, it had from the beginning been the place where the king met and harangued the States. Without the smallest preparatory address or management, a party of guards took possession in the morning of this hall. Workmen were sent in to erect a throne for the king, the royal session was formally proclaimed by the heralds, and M. Bailly, the president, and other members of the commons, were repulsed, without ceremony or explanation, from their own door. 1789. June 20.

The commons, apprehending nothing less than an immediate dissolution, were naturally inflamed with resentment, and in that passion hurried on foot, through a violent storm of rain, to an old tennis-court,[1] where, with equal spirit and firmness, they bound themselves by a solemn oath "never to part until the constitution was completed." The affecting spectacle of six hundred representatives of the nation being driven to the extremity of encountering such weather in such a manner, and of standing bareheaded under all its inclemency while they were taking this awful oath, could not but excite the greatest and, indeed, the most universal, indignation against the Court. Had the united talents of all the ministers

[1] The game of tennis is called in French, *jeu de paume*, *paume* being the palm of the hand. This court was in the Rue St. François, Old Versailles. The *séance* of the *jeu de paume* is one of the earliest and most salient landmarks of the Revolution.

been combined in contriving a scheme to render the king incurably odious, and to bind the people indissolubly to the commons, they could not have found one more effectual. M. Mounier was the proposer and framer of the oath. The following day produced a scene of a different nature. The majority of the clergy flew off from the Court at this most critical moment and joined the commons. The clergy met in the choir, the commons in the body, of the church of St. Louis. After some messages to adjust ceremonials the separating doors flew open; the clergy, with their president, the Archbishop of Vienne, at their head, advanced, while the commons rose to receive them and yielded the upper hand. The two presidents embraced, and sat down by each other; the loudest shouts of applause celebrated the happy reconciliation of two of the discordant orders of citizens.

The commons, emboldened by the junction of these new allies, waited with confidence for the opening of the royal session. On the day appointed, the king ascended that throne which he never was again to ascend in any equal degree of greatness and power. His plan of a new constitution was read to the assembled orders. It was of great length, and its chief fault was its being too dictatorial and the "king's will" being too frequently brought forward. It declared that there should be no distinctions of the different orders in the payment of taxes; but it declared too openly for the temper of the times that all property should be sacred, and that tithes and

1789. June 23.

feudal rents should be considered property. There were a great number of provisions, to which the commons listened in sullen silence; and as soon as the king departed they absolutely refused to break up their session. Mirabeau told the king's attendants that nothing but the points of bayonets should force them out of their chamber.

The ferment at Versailles was nothing compared with that which prevailed at Paris, which had been increasing ever since the beginning of May. The fish-women of Paris (called *les poissardes*, and sometimes *les dames de la halle*) had from time immemorial assumed the leadership of all political mobs; they could not pass by so glorious an opening to mischief as was now presented. The garden of the Palais Royal, belonging to the Duke of Orleans, was now become the grand theatre of popular politics.

On June 24 the Count de Clermont Tonnère moved that the nobles should unite with the commons, and was ably seconded by M. de Lally Tollendal. This they performed on the succeeding day. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th the commons were informed that the nobles were coming into their hall. They were accompanied by the remaining dissidents of the clergy, headed by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld.[1] The commons used their victory with moderation. Public rejoicings and illuminations took place upon

1789. June 27.

[1] Dominique de la Rochefoucauld, born in 1743, died in 1800; Cardinal, and Archbishop of Rouen; he refused to accept the civil constitution of the clergy, and emigrated after August 10, 1792.

this union of the orders, and the people fondly thought that the happiness of the nation was now complete.

The French guards had been so long stationed to preserve order in Paris, that by degrees their intimacy with the inhabitants became so close that it led them to imbibe all their political opinions. The streets and gardens resounded with popular ballads made on purpose to encourage and inflame the soldiery. It was no wonder that they should join the crowd in huzzaing for the third estate. For these and similar acts of disobedience and contempt of order, eleven of the most daring and refractory soldiers were committed to the prison of the Abbaye de St. Germains, preparatory to their trial by a court-martial. The people flew in crowds to the prison, forced the gates, removed the prisoners to the Hôtel de Genève. The next day a deputation of young Parisians waited on the National Assembly, requiring from them the free discharge of the prisoners. The Assembly felt their embarrassed position, and entreated the king's clemency towards the delinquents. He could do nothing but comply; and thus was an end put to military discipline as well as to civil government in Paris.

But there were other matters at this time which reached more immediately both to his sovereignty and to his personal safety than even the commotions in Paris. It is charged upon Mirabeau by two members of the Assembly, whose characters stood high, that he talked without reserve with them about their having "a Louis the Seventeenth in the place of a Louis the Sixteenth" as king, or, at least, as lieutenant-general

of the kingdom; thereby alluding by name to the first prince of the blood (Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orleans), with whom, he said, he had conversed upon the subject. Mounier[1] has likewise recorded that Mirabeau said to him, "What signifies whether we have Louis the Seventeenth or Louis the Sixteenth, and why need we have a *bambin*[2] to govern us?"

Astonishment and terror must have struck the king when expressions of this nature were communicated to him. An entire change of measures was determined on by the Court. Necker received the king's orders to give up his place and to quit the kingdom as soon as possible; the other ministers were either turned out, or resigned, the next day. M. de Breteuil[3] was placed at the head of the ministry, and Marshal Broglie[4] became Commander-in-Chief. When this news reached Paris on the morning of Sunday the mixed conflict of fury and despair exceeded all powers of description. Busts of Necker and of the Duke of

1789. July 11.

July 12.

[1] Jean Joseph Mounier, born in 1758, died in 1806; distinguished at the bar and as a political writer. He was a man of high character and of moderate views; he left France in 1790, resigning his seat as deputy, but afterwards returned and became Counsellor of State in 1805.

[2] *Bambin* is a contemptuous word for "a baby," or "an idiot."

[3] Louis Auguste le Tonnelier, Baron de Breteuil, born 1733, died in 1807; ambassador and statesman. After the taking of the Bastille he served the cause of Louis XVI. at foreign courts, and returned to France in 1802. He was then in poverty, and Josephine obtained a pension for him.

[4] Victor Claude, Prince de Broglie, born in 1727, executed by order of the revolutionary tribunal in 1794. He was a consistent loyalist, though he approved the principles of the Revolution at its beginning. His son married Necker's granddaughter, Madame de Staël's daughter.

Orleans were carried about in triumph; but the sober and independent part of the citizens had no wish to see that prince on the throne or in any public situation.

On the same day the Prince de Lambesc, who commanded a regiment of horse, made a most ill-judged attempt to disperse the populace, who were very riotous and numerous in the gardens of the Tuileries, as they were in all other open parts of the city. Two or three persons were wounded; three troopers were killed. The ministers were totally innocent of any share in this unlucky transaction. Weakness and inanity were the characteristics at that time of the French government. All regal, all judicial, all municipal government being now at an end in the city of Paris, an universal panic was on the Sunday night spread throughout all its quarters.

The day which succeeded to this night of terror and confusion produced a very different and a very extraordinary scene. Thirty thousand citizens, totally unaccustomed to arms, were soon seen armed at all points. A new peculiar cockade[1] was formed for the new army. Some plunder and mischief took place, particularly at the house of the congregation of St. Lazarus, who were suspected of having corn concealed in their granaries.[2] Small groups of thieves committing robberies on their

1789. July 13.

[1] Red and blue, instead of the old green one.

[2] This house was originally a hospital for lepers. The brothers to whom it belonged established themselves in France in the reign of Louis VII. They became Chevaliers de St. Lazare, were one hundred in number, and could marry. After this year, 1789, we hear no more of them.

own account were instantly dragged to the Place de Grêve, the common place of execution, and hanged by the ropes which were used to fasten the lanterns.[1] Hence originated the horrid practice of the mob's constituting themselves judges and executioners in the same moment; and hence that horrid cry, "À la lanterne!"—the last sound that vibrated in the ears of so many unhappy victims who have thus cruelly perished.

The next day, the famous Tuesday, July 14, will long be remembered in the history of mankind. On that morning the newly-formed army completed their means for offensive and defensive operations, by stripping the Garde Meuble and the Hôtel des Invalides[2] of their weapons, and by seizing the arms and ammunition which were lodged in the latter. Thus provided, the idea of attacking the Bastille[3] was instantly adopted, and De Launay,[4] the

1789. July 14.

[1] In a volume entitled "La Démagogie en 1793, par C. A. Dauban: Paris, 1868," are reproductions of curious prints published during the Revolution. In one is a view of a *lanterne*, an iron column about twenty-five feet in height, from which is suspended a lantern for lighting a courtyard. Below are two carts full of intended victims, and an excited crowd of executioners.

[2] Louis XIII. founded this military asylum in 1633; but it was Louis XIV. who began to carry out the idea in 1670. It is a home for infirm soldiers who have lost a limb or have been thirty years on active service. The Invalides in Paris is not unlike Chelsea College in London as regards plan and scope, and is a very fine building. Within an open circular vault stands the sarcophagus of Napoleon.

[3] This name, which means "a building," was given to several mediæval fortresses. That of Paris was composed of eight lofty, round towers, united by ramparts, the whole surrounded by a walled moat.

[4] Bernard René Jourdan, Marquis de Launay, was born in 1740. His father also had been governor of the Bastille.

governor, summoned to lay down his arms and surrender the fortress. The general report was that De Launay held out deceitful hopes of compliance; that a number of Parisians came to the gates to demand arms and ammunition; that they were received within an outer court, then treacherously fired upon, and a cruel slaughter made. It seems very probable that the story might have been invented at the time to increase the animosity of the crowds which were pressing from all quarters upon the Bastille. However that was, the enthusiasm and fury of the people was so great that the Bastille, the citadel of Paris, with its seemingly impassable ditches, its towers and ramparts covered with a powerful artillery, was, after an attack of two hours, carried by storm.

De Launay was immediately dragged to the Place dc Grêve, and De Losme, the Major of the Bastille, met with an equal fate and equal cruelty, though he was a man of great humanity, whose tenderness to the prisoners deserved far different treatment.

On this day it was that the savage custom of insulting and mutilating the remains of the dead, and of exhibiting their heads to public view upon pikes, was first introduced into the polished city of Paris.

In the midst of these disorders, M. de Flesselles, the Prevôt des Marchands, or Mayor of Paris, had been detected in a correspondence with the Court. He was accordingly turned out of his office by the committee of electors, and ordered to be conveyed to prison until his trial; but he had scarcely reached the bottom of the steps of the Hôtel de Ville when the new executors

of summary justice forced him from the guard, shot him instantly without trial or inquiry, dismembered his body, and carried his bleeding head about the streets on a pike in triumph, like the others they had cut off.

After more than two hours had passed speedily away under the double intoxication of joy and revenge, some humane persons reminded the populace that the prisoners in the Bastille ought to be delivered. Their cells were accordingly broken open; but how great was the surprise, if not disappointment, when it was found that these dreary dungeons, which were supposed to be crowded with the victims of despotism, contained only seven prisoners! that of these the greater number were confined on accusations of forgery; and that either two or three, who had continued there since the reign of Louis XV., were the only objects of compassion among them; for these unhappy persons having lost the use of their reason before the commencement of the present reign, or at least before there was leisure to inquire into the state of the prisons, they had since been detained because the officers did not know in what manner otherwise to dispose of them. A few days later they were sent to the public madhouse at Charenton.

The National Assembly, who upon the disgrace of Necker thought their own ruin determined, met on Monday, July 13, and with all the terrors of dissolution and imprisonment before their eyes, resolved not to give up a single point which they had been predetermined to maintain. They passed a famous

resolution by which they declared "that the actual counsellors of the king were personally responsible for the present misfortunes, and for all that might ensue." They likewise solicited the king to recall his troops, and to entrust Paris to the guard of its own citizens. Louis returned a general answer, and invited the Assembly to go on with its labours.

But when on the Tuesday night the news arrived of the taking of the Bastille, and of the deplorable fate of De Launay, Flesselles, and De Losme, the ministers seemed as if stricken by a thunderbolt. In the course of that day the National Assembly passed the resolution not to break up their session, but to spend the night in their hall. The ministers still adhered to their only refuge of concealment by keeping the king in the dark as to his situation. It is said that about midnight the Duke de Liancourt[1] forced his way into Louis's apartment, and, though the latter was in bed, told him the whole truth. The most unconditional submission was, accordingly, resolved upon, and the king went early on Wednesday

1789. July 15. morning, without guards, to resign himself entirely into the hands and power of the Assembly. The members accompanied the king back to the palace. From that instant he had, in effect, resigned the sovereignty into their hands.

The terror of sieges and blockades had got such

[1] François Alexandre Frédéric, Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, born in 1747, died in 1827, Grand-Maître de la Garde-Robe to Louis XV. and Louis XVI. He was devoted to his unfortunate sovereign, as will appear later on. After August 10 he emigrated to England and to the United States, but afterwards returned to France.

possession of the minds of the Parisians that they could think of nothing else. M. de la Fayette,[1] with whom the English people were acquainted during the American War, when he served under Washington, was now elected to the command of the new army, with the title of "general." The old office or title of Prevôt des Marchands was either suppressed or changed, and M. Bailly, formerly known by his astronomical writings, was appointed chief magistrate, under the name of Mayor of Paris. That capital was now to be considered as a republic. The king was advised, in the hope of reducing it to a state of good order and temper, to visit the city of Paris. This desperate measure he carried into execution 1789. on the Friday, in full expectation of being July 17. assassinated. He was received at Sèvres by a body of 25,000 National Guards (the term now assigned to the new army), and was thus led in melancholy procession to Paris, his ears being stunned the whole way by the loud and continual acclamations of "Vive la Nation!" while the ancient cry of "Vive le Roi!" was not once heard. He was conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where, after submitting to the disgrace of accepting and wearing the new Parisian cockade, and

[1] Marie Paul Joseph Roch Ives Gilbert de Motier, Marquis de la Fayette, born in 1757, died in Paris, 1834. At the age of sixteen he married Mdlle. de Noailles; he equipped a frigate at his own expense when he joined the American army. He afterwards fought in the French army against the English. He supported the cause of Louis; was imprisoned at Olmütz; returned to France, opposed the Consulate, retired from public life during the Empire. He then opposed the Bourbons, but gave his adhesion to Louis-Philippe, whom he afterwards deserted.

after he had made a speech declaring his invariable affection for the people, he was condemned to listen to a M. de St. Méry, who insinuated the charge against the king of those cruel designs against the city which had been imputed, groundlessly, to the Court. A denial, involuntary as positive, burst from his lips. The king's behaviour at the Hôtel de Ville recalled the old cry of "Vive la Roi!" to the mouths of the populace, though it was generally coupled with the new and fashionable one. He returned safely in the evening to Versailles, and was received with transport by his family and friends, who had hardly hoped to see him again.

Four days later occurred the horrible deaths of Foulon and Berthier. The former of these was an old rich financier, a man of bad character,[1] and suspected of having accepted a place, though he had not time to occupy it, under the late administration. Berthier was Intendant de Paris, a man of a totally different character, who seems to have been neither accused nor suspected of any crime, unless his being married to Foulon's daughter could have constituted one. These unhappy men, having

1789. July 21.

[1] Joseph François Foulon, born in 1715. He was in turn Commissaire de Guerre, Intendant de l'Armée, in 1756, Counsellor of State in 1771, and it was thought that he would be Controller-General of Finances after Necker's dismissal on July 12, 1789. He had said that "bankruptcy alone would restore the credit of France;" and when accused of withholding corn from the people of Paris, he replied, "Let the *canaille* eat grass." He was hanged to the lamp-iron at the corner of the Rue de la Vannerie, near the Place de Grêve; two ropes broke, but the third killed him. His head was carried on a pike, the mouth being stuffed full of grass.

had some warning of their danger, had attempted to escape, but were pursued, seized, and dragged back to Paris, where they were murdered with every circumstance of refined insult and cruelty which could have been exhibited by a tribe of cannibals.[1]

Bailly, the mayor, endeavoured unsuccessfully to preserve these miserable victims. La Fayette threatened to resign the command of the Parisian army, but was persuaded to retain it, the more sober part of the citizens hoping that he might be the means of preventing still worse mischief. In the course of a few days Marshal Broglie, the Polignacs, the Luxembourgs, the Princes of Condé and Conti, the Count d'Artois and his two sons, and numbers of others, emigrated to England, Germany, or Italy, and the king and queen were almost literally left alone.

Necker had been recalled by the king's letters, and made his triumphal entry into Paris, amid universal shouts of "Vive M. Necker!" 1789. July 30.

[1] Berthier was also hanged *à la lanterne*.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROYAL FAMILY MADE CAPTIVES AND BROUGHT TO PARIS.

AMONG the novelties for which the election of deputies to the States-General had given occasion, was the division of Paris into sixty districts, affording easy means of summoning the people of each district to conference or action upon the shortest notice. In each district general assemblies were held, at which every inhabitant was permitted to speak and vote. In this state of things Paris was rather to be considered as a confederacy between sixty distinct democratical republics than as one commonwealth, or as acting under one simple form of government. In process of time a few of the most turbulent demagogues became the leaders in every assembly, and all power in every department came by degrees to be virtually lodged in their hands. Now arose the Jacobin Club,[1] whose sanction of any measure was the sure passport to success.

[1] The deputies from Brittany to the States-General had formed a club at Versailles, which they called the Club Breton. They afterwards installed themselves in the premises of the Jacobin convent in the Rue St. Honoré, in Paris; hence the name.

The unbounded licentiousness of the press was a most potent instrument of the Revolution. But the great promoter, cause, and it might perhaps be said, author of the Revolution, was the first prince of the blood, the man next in succession to the crown in the case of the failure of issue male in the reigning family—Philippe, Duke of Orleans. His immense wealth was devoted to the ruin of his country and the extermination of the royal family, to whom he was so nearly related. Hence it was that the gardens of the Palais Royal and the open places of Paris were stocked with hungry, ignorant, and abandoned orators; thus, likewise, was the ferocity of the *dames de la halle* and of the other female furies of the capital called into action; and thus a numerous army of ragged *sans-culottes*, of ruffians from the galleys and from every part of the kingdom, was maintained and kept in readiness for the purposes of rebellion, anarchy, and murder. Nor was the National Assembly by any means free from the operation of the same cause, nor was the effect it produced on many of its members less known.

Outrages, conflagrations, and massacres were spreading desolation through the kingdom. In consequence of forged orders and false intelligence conveyed to the peasantry, the whole nation was constantly in arms. The nobility were in many places hunted down like wild beasts, their family seats demolished, their patents and title-deeds destroyed by fire. In too many instances such atrocious acts were committed that nature recoils at the recital.

Nor were these cruelties in any degree confined to such persons as had previously rendered themselves odious by their pride or oppression. Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Franche-Comté, and part of Burgundy seemed particularly marked as scenes of desolation. In a few places the gentlemen and other land proprietors had the spirit and sense to unite and stand successfully on their defence. All the landed pro-

1789. August 4. prietors in the Assembly were involved in these calamities; conflagrations, murders, and massacres were the only subjects which could be talked or thought of. Under these impressions the Viscount de Noailles and the Duke d'Aiguillon proposed that all imposts should be equitably and equally laid on; that the feudal services should be redeemable at an equitable price; that personal servitude should be abolished; with some other articles, all tending to the ease and relief of the peasantry.

The contagion of generosity spread instantaneously through the two orders of the nobles and clergy; the commons perceived all the advantages which were to be drawn from the present fervour, and determined not to miss any of them. The deputies of the Pays d'États[1] offered up the sacrifice of their antique rights and charters, covering the steps of the bureau of the Assembly with their parchments and pendant seals.

The Assembly considered all this as a complete regeneration of France, and decreed that a medal should be struck in order to immortalize the acts of

[1] The Pays d'États were certain provinces which governed and taxed themselves. Their assemblies were called États Provinciaux.

that glorious night; and they conferred upon the king the flattering but short-lived title of "Restorer of the Liberty of France," and ordered a deputation to present him with the decrees, with the homage of his regenerated kingdom, and to address him by his new title. When Le Chapelier,[1] the president, and the deputation had addressed the king, he concluded his answer to them with the following words: "Let us go and return thanks to God for the generous sentiments which prevail in your Assembly." A solemn *Te Deum* was accordingly celebrated, and attended by the whole Assembly, Le Chapelier (the leader and founder of the Breton Club, so determinedly inimical to monarchy) walking as president, though a commoner, by the side of the king, and thus, it was observed, properly supporting the majesty of the people.

It is remarkable that the concessions made by the clergy did not procure them the smallest mark of favour; on the contrary, the good-humour of August 4 was soon wound up by a motion for the suppression of their tithes. This debate was resumed on the next day. The celebrated Abbé Siéyès[2] concluded

[1] Isaac René Guy Le Chapelier, born 1754, died 1794. He was one of the foremost orators of the États Généraux in 1789. Later on he withdrew into England, but returned to France when the decree was passed confiscating the property of the absent. He was arrested during the Terror, and executed together with Thouret and d'Eprémesnil.

[2] Emmanuel Joseph Siéyès, Abbé, afterwards Count, born in 1748, died in 1836, was one of the most remarkable figures of the Revolution. He uttered theories of a new constitution for France; he had great influence, though he was of irritable temper and indulged in long periods of silence. In June, 1790, he was elected President of the

a very forcible speech by boldly telling the Assembly that "if they wished to be *free*, they should begin by being *just*." Though the Abbé had been no small favourite with the Assembly, yet his arguments now were heard with the utmost impatience, even to interruption, both by the nobility and commons.

In the night of August 4 sixteen resolutions of the greatest importance were passed in a few hours. The debate, if it can be so called, was continued through the whole day. At the commencement of the sitting on August 6 the Archbishop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, surrendered all the tithes of the Church into the hands of the nation. This sacrifice was received with an affected acclamation of applause, as if any one could be persuaded that it was a free and voluntary gift!

1789. August 6.

As an appearance of some tranquillity and good temper now prevailed in the Court and Assembly, the king ventured upon the appointment of a new ministry. The Assembly expressed great satisfaction at his choice of ministers. Necker, as Minister of

Assembly. At the moment of the establishment of the civil constitution of the clergy he refused the bishopric of Paris. After August 10, 1792, he was a deputy to the Convention. He voted for the king's death. As Minister of War he was a failure, and then devoted himself to public instruction. When the Girondins fell Siéyès contrived to escape the scaffold. Later on he adopted a moderate policy, refused the presidency of the Committee of Public Welfare, and, elected member of the Directory, declined to take his seat. In 1798, he became envoy to the Court of Berlin. When Bonaparte was First Provisional Consul Siéyès was Second Provisional Consul. Under the Empire he received the title of Count. Estranged from Napoleon, and exiled under Louis XVIII., he returned to France after the Revolution of 1830.

Finance, demanded that the Assembly should give its sanction to a loan of thirty millions of livres, as a measure indispensably necessary. The Assembly declared now their total want of confidence in him, altering his plan and narrowing his terms. The consequence was natural; the monied men would not part with their cash, and nobody subscribed. In the meantime a scheme of promoting and receiving patriotic contributions was adopted, and, like other novelties, raged for its time as an epidemic. Silver buckles and gold rings were the most common contributions to the Assembly; so that in a few days not a silver buckle was to be seen, nor probably many wedding-rings to be found anywhere in or near Paris.

In the pinching scarcity of money which now prevailed, the king and queen sent their gold and silver plate to the mint for coinage. This was originally understood as a patriotic donation; but it appears that it proceeded from absolute poverty in the royal personages, who were obliged to convert the plate into current coin for the relief of their immediate necessities.

The patriotic offerings being totally incapable of relieving the public necessities, Necker ventured to lay before the Assembly the scheme for a supply which the boldest minister that ever lived, and in the most despotic government, would have hesitated at adopting. This was the extraordinary contribution of the fourth part of every man's revenue, to be paid at different assigned periods during the course of three years, the estimate of each man's income being

left to his own honour. Mirabeau's eloquence was necessary to make the decree pass glibly through the Assembly.

The National Assembly was now busily occupied in forming different parts of the new constitution, and particularly in framing their celebrated declaration of the rights of men and of citizens. In thus settling the constitution a question necessarily arose which served more to divide the opinions and to agitate the minds of men than any other. This was the grand question, What share of authority it was fitting the king should possess in the new legislature? This operated like a touchstone. The king's veto was the present ostensible cause of tumult. It was at length agreed that the king should have the power to suspend a law during two legislatures, but that if the third assembly persisted in it he should then be obliged to give his sanction.

Another business of not less importance underwent at the same time a course of long and great discussion. This was, Whether the National Assembly should be composed of one or two chambers? The question was finally put to the vote, when only eighty-nine members voted for two chambers against a majority of above nine hundred.

1789. Sept. 10.

In the meantime things were tending fast to a crisis. The violent republicans were determined that by some means or other the residence both of the Court and of the National Assembly should be transferred from Versailles to Paris. The Court, and particularly the queen, were struck with horror at

the idea of being compelled to reside among so tumultuous a people. It is not to be doubted that the queen listened eagerly to any proposal for removing the Court to some reasonable distance from the jealous and dangerous custody of the Parisians. The only protection the king could rely on rested in his Gardes du Corps;[1] he was likewise attended by the National Guards of Versailles, under the command of d'Estaing,[2] but not the smallest confidence could be placed in their protection. The municipal committee of Versailles demanded an additional regiment, in order to protect the town from any sudden violence. The arrival of the Regiment of Flanders caused as great a ferment in Paris and Versailles as that of a foreign invading army could have done. The orators of the Palais Royal were set to work to assure the people that the king intended to make his escape under the escort of this regiment. The officers of the King's Life Guards at Versailles gave an entertainment to those of the Regiment of Flanders. 1789. Oct. 1. The king and queen were most injudiciously advised to visit these bacchanals after dinner, and to bring the dauphin with them. The extravagance of the joy that prevailed upon their appearance was beyond all description, and the whole company seemed to be men mad with loyalty. A loyal air which, with a song appropriated to it, had till very lately been

[1] Instituted by Louis XI., in 1475.

[2] Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing, born in 1729, died in 1792. He was named Admiral and Lieutenant-General of the Naval Forces, in 1792, though he had never served in the navy. Soon afterwards he was arrested as a noble and a rich man, and died on the scaffold.

highly popular, being now played by the music, excited the general fever to the highest pitch. The dauphin was carried by his royal mother completely round the table; the enthusiasm then taking possession of the guests, they, sword in hand, drank the august healths of all the family, while the Court, bowing and curtsying, retired. The banquet was continued through the greater part of the night, and ended in the most complete drunkenness; and the rashest things were said and done. The officers of Flanders, in one of the freaks of their festivity, stripped the national cockade out of their hats, and were supplied by the Court ladies with white ones as fast as they could make them, or procure them to be made.

Nothing could exceed the rage which the exaggerated account of this ill-fated banquet produced upon the populace of Paris. They charged the queen with being at the head of a conspiracy for carrying off the king and exciting a civil war, and they represented this affair at Versailles as the opening of the plot, and declared that, as some were desirous of carrying off the king to place him at the head of a party, they had no other course to take than to be beforehand with them by securing his person in the capital. At the same time the starving multitude were taught to believe that the famine proceeded from the Court, and were loud in their outcries for proceeding to Versailles in order to demand bread from him, and to bring him to Paris and keep him there.

Nothing seemed more unlucky than that the king

should at this critical moment involve himself in a dispute with the National Assembly. Being pressed for his sanction to some articles of their declaration of rights, he entered into a written discussion with them, in which the following words were particularly marked as affording great cause of offence: "I grant, according to your desire, my accession to these articles, but on the positive condition, which I will never depart from, that by the general result of your deliberations the executive power shall have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch."

This message immediately produced the most violent debates; in the course of these, Pétion[1] having inveighed against the late imprudent feast of the Life Guards, and asserting that it had been attended with both criminal words and actions, a member on the other side asked whether he would venture to denounce (that is, to impeach) any particular person, and seemed to dare him to it. 1789. Oct. 5.

With that Mirabeau started up, and, with the utmost fury in his looks and manner, cried out, "Declare that the king's person alone is sacred, and I will bring forward the impeachment myself!" When he sat down he informed the people near him that the queen and the Duke de Guiche, Colonel of the

[1] Jérome Pétion de Villeneuve, born 1753, died 1793, was a lawyer of Chartres, and one of the most prominent members of the Assembly. In 1791, he was elected Mayor of Paris. He became the first President of the Convention, joined the Girondins, and voted for the death of the king. He lost his popularity when he shrank from the horrors which he had evoked, and in 1793 he was proscribed. He fled to Caen, and afterwards to the south of France, where it is supposed that he committed suicide, his body being discovered half devoured by wolves.

Life Guards, were the objects he had in view. Mounier happened to be president, and valued himself highly for those last but powerful exertions of his official authority, by which he prevented the agitation of a question which most probably would have led to the massacre of the unfortunate queen.

The debate on the king's answer was resumed; and in the course of the tumults of the succeeding day and night he was obliged to find time for retracting, as usual, his own positions, and for giving a full acceptance to all the decrees of the Assembly.

The ferment in Paris had risen to its highest pitch on that very day. A universal cry was raised in the morning to go to Versailles to demand bread of the king and the Assembly, and to take vengeance on the Gardes du Corps. It was deemed fitting that the women should take the lead in this insurrection. The *dames de la halle* and other female votaries of liberty pressed every woman they met with into the service. It is said that a great number of men, disguised in women's clothes, swelled the ranks of this supposed female army.

"Bread!" was at first their watchword and universal cry; arms were, however, thought necessary The crowd, accordingly, went to the Hôtel de Ville, which they broke open and plundered, passing through several battalions of Parisian guards. Meeting on the stairs of the Hôtel de Ville an unfortunate ecclesiastic (Abbé Lefévre),[1] they, as an essay in the busi-

[1] His crime had been that of handing powder to the defenders of the Bastille.

ness of death, immediately hung him up by the neck. Some of their male followers, whether it was through mercy or by way of varying the pastime, cut the priest down before he was quite dead, and then so effectually kicked and tossed his carcase about that in a short time he fully recovered his sensibility, and was most unexpectedly permitted to get home as he could. After plundering the Hôtel de Ville, seizing a magazine of arms, gathering the artillery together, and forcing open the prisons, this hermaphrodite army set out about noon for Versailles, the cannon being dragged behind as a rearguard. The cries for bread were now changed into loud threats against the queen, the Life Guards, and the clergy. One Maillard,[1] in the proper garb and character of a man, appeared now as their leader. Notwithstanding the boasted discipline and order which Maillard was said to have established in his Amazon army, their march to Versailles was marked by circumstances of outrage, brutality, and gross obscenity of language. It was currently reported at the time, and we have never heard it contradicted, that having hung up to death two unfortunate passengers whom they met on the way, they had the audacity to boast to the National Assembly of these wanton and horrid murders, which, it seems, no member would venture to reprove them for.[2] Maillard prevailed on the women to permit

[1] Stanislas Marie Maillard was originally an usher at the Châtelet. His name appears in the accounts of most of the revolutionary saturnalia. The date of his death is not known; but he was alive about 1804, and had changed his name.

[2] This incident is not mentioned in any other history.

him to be their spokesman to the Assembly. The Assembly sent a deputation of the most decent of the women, with their orator, Maillard, accompanied by their own president, Mounier, to wait upon the king, the subject of the deputation being confined to the scarcity of provisions only. The king, who was just returned from the chase, received them kindly, and issued the strongest orders in his power to give for the immediate supply of Paris with provisions.

In the meantime no words could describe the extravagances which the women exhibited at the National Assembly. Upon the absence of the president with the king, in procuring the royal sanction to the decrees, they mounted into, and took possession of his chair.

It is reported that Mounier advised the king to submit so far to the necessity of the time as to give his pure and simple acceptation to the constitutional articles, faulty as they were, but, at the same time, to resist to the utmost the insolent and violent attempts of the Parisians. But the danger to which the queen was exposed clogged his measures and designs. To remedy this evil, he sent for the royal carriages, that she might be removed to some place of greater safety; but the carriages were stopped and seized by the rabble. As soon as she heard of the design, the queen declared "that she would stay and die at the king's feet."

It was about midnight when La Fayette, with thirty thousand troops, arrived at Versailles; between

two and three in the morning he persuaded Mounier to break up the Assembly and allow every one to retire to rest,[1] an advice which opened the way to all the ruin which ensued.

Notwithstanding the horrors of the situation—the hearing her life repeatedly threatened, and her blood howled for—the queen possessed such a stock of intrepidity that she retired at two o'clock, and slept soundly. At six o'clock a body of the ruffians arrived from Paris, broke into the courts of the palace, where they seized two of the Life Guards, dragged them from their posts, and murdered them, their heads being, with many blows, severed from their bodies by the bungling hands and blunt axe of one Nicholas, a self-constituted executioner. Another party rushed into the queen's apartments, with loud threats too horrid to be related. The sentinel, M. de Miomandre, after bravely resisting for a few minutes, finding himself overpowered, opened the queen's door, and called out with a loud voice, "Save the queen; her life is aimed at! I stand alone against two thousand tigers!" He soon after sank down, covered with wounds, and was left for dead; but, coming again to the use of his senses, he had the fortune to creep away unobserved through the crowd. He was afterwards cured of his wounds.

The unhappy queen flew almost naked through the apartments, calling eagerly to such guards as she met, "Oh, my friends, save my life—save my chil-

[1] La Fayette has always been severely blamed for yielding to sleep, however weary he may have been.

dren!" The attendants, concluding that the life of the poor young prince, the heir to the crown, was particularly aimed at, ran instantly to the children's apartments, and brought them away, half-clothed, to place them under the protection of their royal father; they still thought that Frenchmen could not but pay some reverence to the person of their king.

The king, awakened by the noise, flew through a private passage to the queen's apartment, in order to save her life, or to perish along with her. He was met by some of his guards, who escorted him back to his own apartment, where the queen was already arrived, and the children speedily after. A party of the guards had only time to barricade themselves in some of the rooms adjoining to the royal apartments; and, being there completely enclosed, the pursuing murderers were in the act of forcing open the doors. At this critical moment La Fayette and his officers appeared, and, with much entreaty, induced them to desist. The king, with La Fayette, went through the palace, anxious for the safety of the guards. He then went out on a balcony; but the mob roared with the utmost violence for the queen. La Fayette accordingly went for her. She hesitated a moment, and asked if her presence was necessary to appease the people. He assured her that it was. "Then," said she, "I will go, even if I were sure that I went to execution." She appeared in the balcony with the dauphin in her arms, and the popular fury seemed in some degree to subside. Some sort of calm took place for a few minutes,

which was suddenly interrupted by a universal cry, directed to the royal pair, "To Paris!" There was no refusing or remonstrating; the whole royal family were at the mercy of the rabble, nor could La Fayette have insured their lives for a moment if they had appeared only to hesitate.

And now one of the most degrading and melancholy processions commenced of which there is any record in history. The sovereign of one of the most splendid monarchies in the universe is, with his queen and family, dragged from their palace, and they are led captives in savage triumph. A party of the Life Guards, without arms, were appointed, under the name of an escort, to attend their sovereigns. The mangled and bloody heads of the two guards who had been murdered in the morning were carried along on pikes to grace the spectacle! [M. Thiers contradicts this horrid story.]

1789. October 6.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CLERGY DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.

THE extraordinary measure was now taken of sending the Duke of Orleans out of the kingdom. In a short and sudden conference with the duke, La Fayette informed him that his presence in France was at this juncture incompatible with the good of the nation. England was deemed the country most fitting for him to retire to; a passport from the king was ready for him, and, to cover the matter, he should be apparently sent to execute a private commission from his Majesty. The duke was thus despatched to England. Mirabeau's rage was unbounded at this cowardly submission, as he called it, of the duke. He concluded a torrent of the grossest abuse by exclaiming, "He does not deserve the trouble that has been taken for his sake!"

The Assembly, now sitting in Paris, to destroy all vestiges of whatever had passed before their own reign, succeeded in expunging the term "province" from the French vocabulary, and in dividing the kingdom into eighty-three departments.

At this time a decree was passed by which the ecclesiastical estates were all declared to be at the disposal of the nation, subjected, however, to charges for providing in a proper manner for the expense of celebrating public worship, for the maintenance of the ministers, and for the relief of the poor. This decree received the sanction of the captive king. 1789. Nov. 2.

The palace of the Tuileries had been so long uninhabited that it was not fit for the reception of any person whatever. But there is no doubt that the apartments necessary to the convenience of the royal family were soon furnished, and rendered otherwise habitable. The Assembly displayed an unexpected act of liberality, requesting the king himself to name a sum that would be sufficient for his expenses, or what is usually called the "Civil List." Nov. 4.

We must here mention the case of the Marquis de Favras, who was charged with being concerned in a plot for overthrowing the new constitution, and for bringing about a counter-revolution. The evidence against him was weak and defective, but he was condemned and executed. [He was hanged on February 19, 1790. Hitherto only criminals of the lower classes had been hanged, nobles being decapitated; this execution marked the *equality of penalties.*]

Whatever were his motives, the king appeared suddenly at the National Assembly, and declared it to be his desire that it should be universally known that the monarch and the representatives of the nation were entirely united, and their wishes the same. As soon as the king was with- 1790. Feb. 4.

drawn the Assembly voted an address of thanks to him. Soon after the exhibition of this State farce, this strange coalition, the National Assembly resumed
1790. the business of the affairs of the clergy. All
Feb. 13. monastic establishments were suppressed for ever, and all their lands confiscated; some special favours were granted to the present friars and nuns.

By this time the Assembly had placed France on bad terms with every other European country, and the tactics of the revolutionary party at home had been copied by the mulattos of Haiti, who rose against the white population, and involved the little colony in atrocities and bloodshed. An unexpected dispute arose between Spain and England, sudden and insignificant as to cause. The Court of Madrid claiming the assistance which France was bound by the Family Compact to afford in case of a war, the king sent a message to the Assembly informing them of the dispute, the claim, and the great naval preparations made by England. This brought up the grand question, In whose hands the power of making
May 13. peace and war should at the present and in future be lodged? A decree was promulgated that war should not be made but by a decree of the National Assembly, after the king's formal notification of his opinion of the necessity for war; and that the king should make peace if the Assembly required. In this decree was included that celebrated clause which in the name of the French nation renounced for ever all conquests, and consequently all wars leading to that object.

The message from the king threw the whole of Paris into a state of violent agitation, on the supposition that the entire business was a concocted plot of the king and the aristocrats to find a pretence for uniting the naval and military forces of the two nations, and so accomplishing a counter-revolution. The dispute in the Assembly and the mutinous spirit among the sailors caused delay; and, in the end, Spain suddenly concluded a convention with England, which settled the matter without a war.

We must now bring forward a strange character, Anacharsis Clootz,[1] a malcontent Prussian, who wanted to teach to the French those ideas of liberty which he dared not talk about at home. 1790. June 19. Having procured a number of those vagabonds who infested the streets of Paris, and disguised them in foreign, ancient, and grotesque dresses, furnished by the opera and play-houses, he masqueraded with this motley crew to the National Assembly, where he introduced them as strangers of all the nations of the globe, virtual ambassadors of all who wished to be free; he delivered an absurd and bombastic oration. To heighten the ridiculousness of the scene, it was affirmed that several of the Asiatic ambassadors,

[1] This extraordinary person was Jean Baptiste du Val de Grace, Baron de Clootz, born at Clèves in 1755. He called himself after the Greek sage, Anacharsis, proclaimed himself the "Orator of the Human Race," was elected deputy in 1792, and voted for the death of Louis XVI. "and of all kings." He went so far in the fanaticism of atheism and democracy that Robespierre even mistrusted "a *sans-culotte* with 100,000 francs a year," and denounced Clootz as being in the pay of foreigners. He went to the scaffold with Hébert in 1794.

stripped of their hired robes and plumes, were seen at the door of the Assembly in their proper characters, soliciting the payment of their wages.

When the ambassadors had acted their part and withdrawn, it seemed as if the Assembly must needs act theirs. The resolution for abolishing hereditary nobility for ever was in this same evening's sitting introduced, debated in a certain manner, and passed into an irrevocable law before their rising. All titles and marks of respect were abolished. This decree was passed on June 19, and received the king's sanction two days later. Of all his ministers, Necker alone, a plebeian and republican, earnestly desired Louis to refuse his sanction.

1790. June 21.

A grand confederation had for some time been announced by the National Assembly to take place on July 14, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. The Duke of Orleans applied for leave to return from England, and this was granted. The preparations for this new and extraordinary spectacle were attended with immense labour. No less than twelve thousand hired workmen were employed, and the work would not have been finished anything nearly within the time if it had not been for the exertions of the Parisians, who, with their wives and children, were to be seen from morning to night in the hottest weather, with spades, shovels, pickaxes, and barrows, labouring in digging and removing the mould from the great field of the Champ-de-Mars, which was destined evermore to be distinguished by the name of the Field of Confederation. It was

necessary to remove several feet of earth from the surface of this field, which was about half an English mile in length, and in wide proportion, in order to surround it with seats rising in the form of an amphitheatre, for the purpose of accommodating something approaching half a million of people, who were expected to behold the spectacle. A vast scaffold was erected in the centre, where the king and the National Assembly were to be placed, and where, the national altar being also erected, they were to take the prescribed oath in the sight of all the people; who, in their several classes, were all to go through the same rite. Music, incense, flags, military pomp—all that could dazzle or captivate the people, were here exhibited.

The king, the Assembly, the army, and the people, were all reciprocally sworn; the purport of the oath was the maintenance of the constitution, to which was added, "to continue free or to perish." The same oath was taken on the same day throughout the whole kingdom, and all the troops were personally sworn at their respective stations. The troops, however, were not to be secured or restrained by oaths; they were as zealous partisans in all the business of reform and government as the civilians among whom they lived. At Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, the excesses of the soldiers and of the ruling party of the townsmen were carried to such a pitch that they were deemed, if not declared, to be in a state of rebellion. The Marquis de Bouillé,[1] then commanding at Metz, received an

1790. July 14.

[1] François Claude Amour, Marquis de Bouillé, born in 1739, a brilliant and successful general in Europe and in the colonies. After

order to suppress the insurgents at Nancy by force of arms. This command was repented as soon as issued. But Bouillé had lost no time in the execution of his orders. A bloody contest took place, in which the insurgents were reduced with considerable slaughter, and with no small loss to the assailants. The embarrassment of the Assembly on Bouillé's success seemed rather ridiculous. They could not but apparently approve his conduct; yet the rage of the Parisians at the shedding of so much patriotic blood was beyond all description. All the insurgents who were slain were regarded as martyrs to the cause of liberty, and Bouillé with his troops as murdering aristocrats.

The ferment thus produced hastened the resignation of M. Necker and his final departure from France. He sent a letter with his resignation to the National Assembly, who, having read it, called for the order of the day without taking the smallest notice of it. He set out directly for Switzerland, but was stopped at a little town called Arcis-sur-Aube by the National Guard. He now had to undergo the mortification of a second application to the Assembly, who returned a dry answer, but ordered his release; and he at length arrived safely in his own country.

New contests with the clergy occupied the remainder of the year; the Assembly ended by imposing a new oath on them, by which they were bound to

the king's attempted flight to Varennes Bouillé left the kingdom. He afterwards joined the Duke of York's army, and died in England in 1800.

observe and submit to the constitution as decreed by the Assembly, in all cases whatever. Vast numbers of the clergy refused to take the oath; many offered to take it with reservations; all who refused it were immediately ejected from their benefices. Of one hundred and thirty-one bishops only three[1] were found servile enough to take an oath which was a direct breach of that taken at ordination. This measure occasioned a schism among the people as well as the clergy, the more devout and scrupulous refusing to acknowledge the new pastors.

The time allowed to the ecclesiastical members of the Assembly for taking the new oath was to expire on January 4. The day being now come 1791. January 4. which was to try the faith and fortitude of the Gallican Church, the gardens of the Tuileries, the avenues of the Assembly, and the galleries, were occupied at an early hour by hired ruffians. Nothing was heard but cries of "To the lamp-post with all non-juring bishops and priests!" But their constancy was not shaken. The Abbé Grégoire mounted the tribune and endeavoured to explain away the whole force of the oath, saying, among other things, that "the Assembly did not judge consciences, nor even exact an interior consent." The scandal of thus unblushingly recommending hypocrisy was felt by all, even by Mirabeau. At last the president summoned the ecclesiastics to answer. The venerable M. Bonnac, Bishop of Agen, advanced; "I demand to speak,"

[1] These three were Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, and the Bishops of Babylon and Lydia, whose titles were merely honorary.

said he, but instantly on the left arose a cry of "No talking! Take the oath, aye or no!" And deafening clamours from without drowned every voice. In the end the bishop declared that he was not able to take the oath. A M. Fournet, of the same diocese, was next on the list; he professed himself ready to follow his bishop, even to martyrdom. Much confusion ensued; and after some delay three ecclesiastics came forward and offered to take the oath with reservations, but they were directed to take it pure and simple. The president demanded if any other person would take the oath agreeably to the order of the Assembly. Silence ensued. It continued without interruption for a quarter of an hour. M. Beaupoil St. Aulaire, Bishop of Poitiers, made a short but noble speech; and instantly all the clerical members on the right arose from their seats and declared their unanimous adherence to his sentiments. At the close of the affair Mirabeau said, "We have their money, but they have all the honour of the day."

All artifices being found to be lost on the great body of the clergy, compulsion was now more generally attempted. M. Bailly having asked M. Marduel, a respectable clergyman who had the benefice of St. Roch, "whether it was true that the late decrees were contrary to the Catholic religion," and being told that "they certainly were," "Then," replied he, "did it depend upon myself, the Catholic religion should this day be annihilated in France." The general mode of proceeding was that having fixed a day for the ceremony, a party of municipal officers

came to the church, surrounded by muskets, bayonets, and pikes, and the ministers of the altar, if they refused to swear what was required of them, were insulted, outraged, and wounded in the very temples of God! In some of the provinces their fate was even more severe; many who declined taking the oath were killed at the doors of the churches; and in Brittany, even thus early, several priests are said to have been hunted through the forests, where, after enduring every extremity of hunger and fatigue, they perished miserably. The bishop of St. Pol-de-Léon escaped in an open boat to Cornwall.

These ecclesiastical troubles led to serious conflicts between the Catholics and Protestants of Nîmes, in which the violence and cruelty appear to have been almost entirely on the side of the Protestants. Another result of the assaults on religion was that the king's aunts signified an intention of going to end their days at Rome. The princesses were delayed upon various pretexts, and were detained at Arnay-le-Duc, near the frontier, on the plea that their passports were not *en règle*. When the Assembly met to discuss the matter, the galleries were filled by the populace; and on the motion of M. Mirabeau being carried "that there was no room to deliberate, and that the whole affair should be referred to the Executive Power,"[1] the multitude, led by the famous Mademoiselle Théroigne,[2] rushed

1791. Feb. 24.

[1] One of the names by which the king was known.

[2] A woman of the vilest character and most cruel violence, Anne Joseph Théroigne de Méricourt played an Amazon's part in the revo-

towards the palace. The king's life was thought to be in danger. It was not till late in the evening, and on the arrival of three detachments of National Guards with their artillery, that the crowd was dispersed.[1] M. Chapelier now proposed a law to regulate and enforce the obedience and respect due to courts of justice and their officers. Instantly the preamble was attacked by Pétion and Robespierre,[2] as contrary to the rights of man; the law was passed with various amendments and alterations. The expected law against emigration followed. The galleries were violent, and the bill was read in the midst of confusion and uproar.

1791. Feb. 28.

While one detachment of the populace was employed in overawing the Assembly, another had marched to Vincennes,[3] and was hard at work demolishing the castle. La Fayette succeeded in dispersing the multitude and seizing sixty-four of the ringleaders. Scarcely had he executed this service

lution; until in May, 1793, the women of Paris turned upon her, and hooted and flogged her. She ended her life in the prison of La Salpêtrière.

[1] By an order of the Assembly the princesses were permitted to continue their journey, and to save themselves.

[2] François Joseph Maximilien Isidore Robespierre, born in 1759, died on the scaffold in 1794. He was a lawyer, the son of a lawyer at Arras, but on the outbreak of revolutionary ideas became one of their most energetic exponents. His character will be seen in the following pages.

[3] Vincennes is within four miles of Paris, and is a fortress. The castle was begun by Philip Augustus (1165–1219), the chapel built by Charles V. (1337–1380). The dungeon became a State prison under Louis IX.; under Louis XIII. the castle became a hunting-lodge. The Duc d'Enghien was shot in its trenches by order of Napoleon Bonaparte.

when an alarm arose of a different kind. Some cried that there was a plot to assassinate the king; others that the design was to carry him away. The pretended plot was probably believed by very few.

The gentlemen of the king's guard again assembled; but their presence gave umbrage to the National Guard. The king, to avoid more mischievous consequences, commanded his nobility to deposit their arms in his charge; they were then driven with blows and every other indignity out of the palace. At this moment M. de la Fayette arrived from Vincennes. He treated the king and his officers as without authority in the palace, and as actually under military custody. This disgrace suffered by the nobility and gentry of France caused them to prepare to fly from a country where they found no support from their prince, and only hostility from the people. About the same time the faction which afterwards overturned the monarchy first began to take form. M. Roland,[1] who had long enjoyed a place under government at Lyons, now arrived in Paris, and at his house assembled a knot of politicians, of whom M. Brissot[2] soon became the most eminent. There

1791. Feb. 28.

[1] Jean Marie Roland de la Platière, born in 1732, Inspector-General of Manufactures at Rouen and Amiens; he joined the Girondins, and became Minister of the Interior in 1792, and resigned his post in January, 1793. When he heard that his wife had been executed, his mind gave way, and he was found dead by his own hand, on the road-side, a few miles distant from Rouen.

[2] Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville, born in 1754, son of an innkeeper near Chartres. He studied law, visited England, and on his return was sent to the Bastille, and soon after liberated by the influence of the Duke of Orleans. He at first was the leader of the Girondins, but

could be no question as to the form of future government, till Louis XVI. was destroyed or forced into banishment; and to that point, therefore, they zealously co-operated.

was denounced by Robespierre as an agent of England, and guillotined in 1793.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES, AND THE RETURN.

THE serious illness of Mirabeau was, for a time, the subject most in the thoughts of Frenchmen. He complained of being ill; and as the warm bath commonly relieved him, he had recourse to it, with some success, on the present occasion. All the entreaties of his friends could not prevent him from returning to a debate relative to the property of mines; in the course of it he spoke no less than five times. His arguments prevailed, but his success was fatal to him. The hand of death was upon him.

1791. March 22.

March 27.

The Sunday night he spent in the country; returning to Paris on Monday, he went to a theatre. From that evening he never again quitted his house; he grew worse and worse till the morning of the following Saturday, when, feeling the approach of death, he affected to meet it with the gaiety of an ancient Epicurean. "Nothing remains," said he, "but to sprinkle myself with essences, to crown myself with flowers, and to lap my senses in soft music, that I may enter agreeably into that sleep

April 2.

from which I shall never more awake." But it needs the support of religion to bear with resignation the pangs and horrors of a death-bed. After he had lost his speech he made signs for pen, ink, and paper, and demanded opium. While a messenger was gone for the medicine, his impatience even restored to him the use of his tongue, and he died with reproaches to his friend and physician Cabanis,[1] from whom he had previously exacted a secret promise that he should not be suffered to linger in unnecessary pain.

In the last months of his life Mirabeau had become more decided and fixed in the support of order. During his illness the opposite parties showed a common concern in his welfare. He was snatched away, therefore, in a moment of fortunate ambiguity for his glory, and, after a life of private and public crimes, died generally lamented. It was decreed that the new church of Ste. Geneviève should be finished, and instead of the dedication to God and the saint, be inscribed to the memory of the great men of the Revolution from the gratitude of their country ;[2] that Mirabeau's remains should be there entombed, and till the completion of the edifice be deposited in the old church, next to the ashes of Descartes. His funeral was conducted with great pomp, and attended by the Assembly, the king's ministers, the officers of

[1] Pierre Jean George Cabanis, a celebrated physician and physiologist, born in 1757, died in 1808, best known as the friend of Mirabeau, and afterwards of Bonaparte.

[2] This building was called the Pantheon, and on it was placed the inscription, "Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante." In saner times it was restored to the worship of God.

departments and municipalities, as well as the members of the different popular clubs, and a mourning of eight days was decreed.

On Palm Sunday, the king was at his devotions in the chapel of the Tuileries; the Grand Almoner, it was said, who was celebrating Mass, and all the chaplains who were assisting, were refractory priests. Louis's intended departure the next day, to take the benefit of air and exercise at St. Cloud, was represented as a mere colour to have the opportunity of keeping the holy season of Easter with non-juring priests. No sooner did the royal coaches appear next morning at the gate of the palace than the alarm-bell in the church of St. Roch was rung, and the multitude came flocking from every part of Paris. La Fayette arrived with a party of National Guards, but the soldiers gave strong signs of mutiny. When the royal family got into their carriages the tumult thickened. The soldiers presented their bayonets at the postilions, while the rioters cut the traces. After having endured for an hour and three-quarters every manner of outrage, the king was constrained to return to his prison—for what other appellation could be given to his palace?

1791. April 17.

Decrees respecting the regency and the guardianship of a minor king had been some time settled and voted, but still remained to be presented for the king's acceptance. The last of them introduced a case of deposition, under the gentler name of a "constructive abdication," if the king should quit the realm and not return on the summons of the Assembly.

In no quarter did any prospect open to the king which could afford him a hope of happiness, tranquillity, or safety.

The patience of Louis, meek as was his nature, was at length exhausted. About this period, therefore, he seems to have taken his final resolution.

Various plans, in all which the Marquis de Bouillé was to have been the principal actor, had been formed at different times for the purpose of extricating Louis XVI. out of his difficulties. He chose one of these in which he was to throw himself wholly on the affections of his people.

When the king had once resolved he sought the means of execution. Ten days before his flight he
1791. June 11. and the queen went in person to make some arrangement in the apartments of the palace, so as to get access to a private staircase by which they afterwards descended; and they ordered a new key to the door of communication with that staircase. Intelligence was carried the same day from one of the queen's women to an officer of the National Guards, and by his means to M. Gouvion, second in command to M. de la Fayette; but he was taught to believe that it was the queen only who meditated an attempt to escape with the dauphin and the princess royal. The guards on duty at the palace were doubled.

The duplicate of a passport granted to the Baroness Korff[1] and her family on June 5 was

[1] Madame de Tourzel, governess to the royal children, was to pass under this name.

procured through the Russian Ambassador, on a pretence that a former one had been accidentally destroyed. M. Dumoustier, who had formerly belonged to the Life Guards, received orders in the name of the king that himself and two comrades should provide themselves with the dresses of couriers, as they would be wanted to go with some important despatches. The king himself did not see either of those three gentlemen till the evening of his departure. He then told one of them that they were to accompany him and his family from Paris, but he did not mention his ultimate destination. Their several parts were assigned them, and a particular injunction was laid upon them that on no account should they carry any arms. 1791. June 17. June 20.

About eleven o'clock at night fresh intelligence was brought to M. Gouvion of the queen's intention to fly, and by him was communicated to the mayor, who, after informing the Council-General, sent orders to all the post-houses to let no horses without acquainting him, and to all the barriers to suffer none to depart without a passport from the municipality. He then, with M. de la Fayette, repaired to the Tuileries, where they found everything quiet and apparently safe, and gave orders to have all the gates shut, except those of the Court of Princes, leaving several of the superior officers of the National Guards to watch the whole night. It is said that as they entered the palace they actually passed, without knowing, the queen and the Princess Elizabeth (the king's sister) on their way to the coach which was

waiting for them on the Quai Voltaire, and to which Madame Tourzel and the two royal children had already been conducted. The king soon after came, attended by M. Malleden. Immediately they all drove to the Porte St. Martin, and there got into a travelling carriage with four horses, which had been procured for them by M. Dumoustier; and being joined on the road by a chaise in which were two female attendants who had been sent separately out of Paris, found M. Valory at Bondy with post-horses ready to proceed to the next stage.

All night they continued their journey, without encountering any obstacle, and the morning saw them at such a distance from Paris as seemed to put them out of reach of danger.

1791. June 21.

The departure of the royal family was announced the next morning to M. Gouvion by the same person who had given him all his former intelligence. He acquainted the mayor, by whom the president of the Assembly was informed that "some enemies of the public weal had carried off the king and his family." When this was declared in the Assembly a deep silence reigned for a long time. A number of decrees seemingly necessitated by this circumstance were passed, and M. La Porte, Intendant of the Civil List, delivered a memoir written in the king's own hand, which he had found in a sealed packet addressed to him. It was read, and appeared to be a declaration of the king to France and the whole world on the subject of his own conduct and that of the government which had established itself in the realm.

When this paper had been read a committee was appointed to draw up an answer. Such other measures, demanded by the exigency of the moment, as were proposed, were either decreed or rejected; and the president, looking round with a composed air, observed that "if no member had anything more to offer, they might pass to the order of the day."

The event was not any surprise to the greater part of the members; it gave rise, however, to serious reflections in the minds of many. M. Barnave,[1] in particular, showed this by a change of conduct highly honourable to him. From that day his influence was employed in bringing the minds of all around him to a better temper. The general impression made on the people was similar. On the other hand, the Orleanists, the republicans, and the anarchists, could not dissemble their joy.

The king and his family, continuing their journey without stopping, had now safely arrived within the limits of M. Bouillé's command, when the very precautions taken by that officer for their security became

[1] Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave, born in 1761, died by the guillotine in 1793, was one of the finest characters of the Revolution. He was always at heart a loyalist, though he once forgot himself so far as to say, when discussing the murder of Foulon, "The blood then shed was not so very pure!"—a terrible phrase, which he ever afterwards regretted. Love of novelty and popularity carried him further than he intended. His eloquence and influence were second only to those of Mirabeau. Sent by the Assembly to bring back the royal family from Varennes, he was so touched by the goodness of the king and the sorrows of the queen that he returned entirely to his views as to a limited monarchy. In 1792, he was denounced on account of some papers found in the king's desk, arrested, imprisoned, and executed in the following year.

the source of danger. The appearance of his troops alarmed the inhabitants of the little town of St. Menehould. In the evening, between the hours of seven and eight, two carriages changed horses, and passed on without exciting any suspicion of the personages who were in them; but they were scarcely gone when some circumstances in the conduct of the commanding officer, who spoke familiarly to one of the couriers attending the carriages, made the postmaster, M. Drouet, suspect some mystery; and he thought it his duty to inform the municipality. An express from Marne increased their fears, and they finally ordered M. Drouet and another of the inhabitants named Guillaume to follow and stop the carriages. At Clermont the horses were ordered for Verdun; but the travellers turned off to Varennes,[1] which was the more private way to Montmedy. Varennes not being a post-town, a relay had there been provided for the king, but, unluckily, at the farther end of the town, and the postilions did not choose to pass the house at the entrance without baiting their horses. The king being eager to proceed, his three attendants, and even himself, offered the men a purse of a hundred louis d'or to go on; but the magnitude of the sum only gave an alarm. A dispute ensued, in the midst of which arrived M. Drouet and his companion. Their first care was to prevent the further progress of the carriages; and, opportunely for their purpose,

1791. June 21.

[1] Varennes-en-Argonne, the capital of the department of the Meuse, is only noticeable for this melancholy incident.

they found near the town bridge, over which the track lay, a cart loaded with furniture; this they overturned, so as completely to obstruct the way. They then called up all the persons in civil and military authority, who here, as at St. Menehould, had their suspicions excited by the mysterious movements of the troops during the two preceding days, the king having been, in truth, expected by M. Bouillé one day sooner. The passport of the travellers was then demanded and produced. Till it could be regularly examined at the town hall, M. Sausse, a tallow-chandler by trade, invited the travellers into his house. To avoid observation they accepted the offer. The loaf, the cheese, a bottle of Burgundy, were placed before them. Whether the king's palate was easy to be pleased from long abstinence (for since his departure from Paris he had only taken a morsel of bread and two or three glasses of champagne, which they had brought with them in the carriage), or whether he wished to ingratiate himself with his host, he pronounced the wine to be some of the best he had ever tasted.

He then entered into familiar conversation on public affairs with M. Sausse. Upon hearing that the mayor was gone to the National Assembly he is said for the first time to have betrayed some emotion. He asked if there was any club in Varennes, and being told there was not, "So much the better," rejoined he; "those villainous clubs have ruined France." During the whole discourse the queen said very little. The king showed much restless ex-

pectation, and after some time inquired with impatience about the different ways of pursuing the journey. M. Sausse occasionally, under various pretexts, left the room, and sent most pressing messages to the neighbouring districts for assistance.

M. Goglas arrived with a detachment of troops intended for the assistance of the royal party, and, addressing himself to M. Sausse, who still affected not to know the rank of his guests, desired admittance, which was granted. The king told him to remain quiet, refusing to owe his deliverance to force. M. Goglas then went out, and, to try whether the men had been corrupted in his absence, asked whether they were for the king or the nation, upon which they cried out unanimously, "For the nation; for that we are, and ever will be!" Immediately one of the National Guards put himself at their head, and was received as their commander.

At length, when M. Sausse perceived that a sufficient force was collected to secure his guests against a rescue, he resolved to inform them that they must return to Paris. He suddenly pointed to a picture and said, "Sire, that is your portrait!" "Yes," cried Louis, finding all further concealment vain, "I am your king!" He then spoke in plain and affecting terms, while the queen, taking the dauphin in her arms, abjured M. Sausse in the most pathetic manner to save his king and the future hope of the nation.

Having endured many insults, Louis at length assumed a firm tone, and asserted his right of pass-

ing wherever he pleased within the kingdom, declaring that he meant only to go to Montmedy. In answer, the decree fixing his residence within twenty leagues of the National Assembly was shown to him. "No," said he, with indignation, "that decree I never sanctioned."

Being twice asked for his orders, he replied that he was a prisoner, and could give no orders. It was then resolved to hasten his departure; he was informed about eight o'clock that the carriages were ready to convey him and his family back towards the capital.

The Assembly, meanwhile, were hastily passing decrees for securing all power to themselves, and, after a long pause, a cry resounded through the hall, "He is taken! he is taken!" The Assembly immediately named three commissioners—M. La Tour-Maubourg,[1] M. Barnave, and M. Pétion—one from each of the principal parties that formed the majority; their charge was to protect the royal family. By another decree M. Bouillé was suspended, and ordered to be arrested, but he was already out of their power.[2]

Four days were the king and his family on the road, exposed perpetually to all manner of insults. They were doomed to witness a scene more afflict-

[1] Marie Charles Fay, Comte de la Tour-Maubourg, born in 1756, died in 1831. He emigrated in 1792, returned in 1798, served with distinction under Bonaparte, was made a peer of France in 1814, Minister of War in 1820, and Governor of the Invalides from 1821 to 1830.

[2] He had escaped over the frontier into Luxemburg.

ing than any words to their senses. The Marquis Dampierre, learning that they were passing near his estate, mounted his horse, pierced through the crowd, approached the carriage, alighted, bowed, and respectfully kissed the hand of his captive sovereign; in which attitude he received in his body three musket balls, discharged at him from behind. He fell, and the king in vain stretched out to him the hand which he had just kissed; the wheels of the carriage went over him, and his last breath was uttered in a cry of loyalty.

The three commissioners met the royal family near Epernay; at Bondy the Parisian guards took charge of their royal prisoners; all arrived at Paris in safety. It was about seven in the evening when they entered the capital. The streets were lined with an immense concourse of spectators, forbidden by La Fayette, on pain of corporal punishment, to show any marks of respect. La Fayette himself rode before the king, commanding all to be covered. Behind the two carriages was seen an open chariot adorned with laurels, in which the National Guard who first seized the royal family at Varennes was drawn in triumph. Shouts of "The law! the law!" arose, and cries for blood. The royal family entered their prison, and the gates were closed upon them.

1791. June 25.

Whatever could lead to any discovery was taken from the king; he was denied all communication with his wife, sister, children, or servants; fifteen officers constantly watched in his apartment, and the door of his bed-chamber was left open during the

night. The rest of the royal family were guarded in the same manner. All night long a sentinel took post in the arm-chair by the bedside of the queen, who dared not undress herself; and at frequent intervals the commanding officer undrew the curtains to see that she was there.

But the most afflicting circumstance in the captivity of this unhappy family was the malignant art used to poison the mind of the dauphin against his royal parents. He was taught by his guards, in ridicule of his father's misfortunes, to play at the arrest of the king.

The whole constitution of the kingdom was changed by these measures; from a monarchy it became in effect a republic. The republicans were zealously supported by the anarchists and the Orleanists. This ensured the co-operation of the Cordeliers and other clubs of the same stamp. But it was of more importance to regain, if possible, the ascendency among the Jacobins. With this view, on July 10, M. Brissot addressed the society 1791. July 10. in a long, laboured, and able harangue, urging the necessity of deposing Louis XVI. In it he answered, much at large, the objection of the more moderate party, that such a measure would alarm all neighbouring sovereigns and draw down their united resentment.

Seven committees had been ordered to report on the whole question respecting the king, and at length their report was produced. To the surprise and consternation of the more violent faction, it was in favour

of the king. That very night a deputation from the
1791. Market-house Club went to the Jacobin Club
July 13. for the purpose of requesting that society to concur in a petition to the National Assembly, that they would come to no vote on the subject of the
July 14. report without having collected the will of the nation. The next day the former presented their petition, couched in very indecent terms, and signed by a hundred persons in the name of the whole people; and the latter were debating what petition they should present, when it was announced that four thousand persons were at the door, and demanded admittance. The hall was filled in an instant with boys, mechanics and women of the lowest kind, and rioters of every description. The society deliberated with that mob, who also voted. Their petition to the Assembly went forth with the concluding declaration that till the majority of the nation should have expressed a will contrary to that of the petition, the society would not acknowledge Louis XVI. for their king. Brissot had written further, "nor any other king," but these words were omitted from the printed paper. The object was evidently to open the way for the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the regency, if not to the throne.

After a debate of three days the National Assembly passed a decree agreeable to the report of the seven committees. The club then voted that the petition must be now suppressed. The populace, however, was not so tractable. They were inflamed by some words which Robespierre let fall as he came

out of the Assembly. "My friends," said he, "all is lost; the king is saved!"

On the Sunday, another popular meeting being expected in the Champ-de-Mars, an old invalid and a hairdresser's apprentice concealed themselves under the national altar from motives of curiosity; but they were soon detected, accused of a gunpowder plot, and instantly hanged at the first lamp-post; the cord broke; they were beheaded alive, and their heads stuck on pikes to be carried in triumph through the streets of the city to the Palais Royal. Then arrived La Fayette and an armed force to proclaim martial law. The rioters fled at their approach. Hardly was La Fayette gone when the crowd gathered again, with pikes, flags, harangues, and a remonstrance to the Assembly.

These transactions being denounced to the Assembly, the president, C. Lameth,[1] wrote a strong

[1] Of the three brothers, Comtes de Lameth, the eldest, Théodore, was born in 1756, served with the army in America, was deputy in 1791, sat with the constitutional party, retired to Switzerland in 1793, and afterwards came little before the public. He died in 1854. The second brother, Charles Malo François, was born in 1757, was wounded in the war in America, in 1789 was deputy to the States-General, arrested as a noble after August 10, 1792, and fled to Hamburg. He returned to France in quieter times, rejoined the army, and was sent to the Chamber of Deputies. In the Assembly he had voted for the abolition of the nobility, and warmly supported the Constitution. In 1830, as a deputy, he voted for hereditary peerages. Alexander was the younger brother of the preceding, and was born in 1760. Like them he served in the army, and like them clamoured for the abolition of all privileges. He took refuge in London and Hamburg, but under Napoleon was prefect, baron, and peer. At the Restoration he was deprived of his peerage. He died in 1829.

letter to the Common Council of Paris. Martial law was proclaimed; the red flag was displayed[1] from the town hall; and, after a delay of two hours, finding that signal not regarded, M. de la Fayette, with M. Bailly, the mayor, marched to the Champ-de-Mars at the head of some National Guards. On his appearance there was a tumultuous cry of "Down with the red flag! down with the bayonets!" As he continued his march, a shower of sticks and stones was poured upon him and his men, and a pistol was fired, which, narrowly missing the mayor, wounded a soldier who was near him. In return, the National Guards fired in the air, which only increased the audacity of the assailants; the insults and outrages were redoubled, and several other pistols discharged. The troops then levelled their pieces at the place whence the shots came. About eleven or twelve of the rioters are said to have been killed, and as many more wounded, on this occasion. Of the soldiers, one was beaten off his horse, and one grenadier was left dead on the field.

[1] As a sign that martial law prevailed.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALL THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE OPPOSED TO FRANCE.

NOTHING could now equal the discomfiture of the republican faction, except the exultation of the dominant party. Marat[1] and other incendiary writers concealed themselves. Brissot was shunned by all. Robespierre expected to be made the object of rigorous proceedings. Everything, however, evaporated in a general decree against the men of blood. There now remained in the Jacobin Club only six persons who belonged to the National Assembly; these were Robespierre, Pétion, Buzot,[2] Antoine,[3] Coroller,[3] and

[1] Jean Paul Marat was born in 1744. He studied medicine, and before 1789 had published several scientific books. Eager for celebrity, he professed in his daily journal, *L'Ami du Peuple*, the most fierce and furious democratic views. He incited to pillage and murder. When in any danger, he hid himself in cellars, from whence he still issued his sanguinary sheets. Paris sent him as deputy to the Convention. He demanded 170,000 heads! He voted for the death of the king, and clamoured for the *Law of Suspected Persons*. Worn out by excitement and by vice, he was a dying man when Charlotte Corday stabbed him in his bath on July 13, 1793.

[2] François Léonard Nicolas Buzot, born in 1760, died in 1793. He was one of the chiefs of the Girondins. He fled with Pétion, and their bones were found in a wood, they having died of hunger or been devoured by wolves.

[3] Of whom I know nothing more.

Rœderer.[1] The whole company at the first sitting after the rupture is said not to have exceeded thirty. The seceders only thought of setting up a rival club, which, from the place of meeting, was called the Feuillants.[2] ["One party, which thinks the Jacobins lukewarm, constitutes itself into Club of the Cordeliers; . . . the other party, again, which thinks the Jacobins scalding hot, flies off . . . and are afterwards named Feuillants' Club" (Carlyle).]

The Assembly now entered on the great task of revising the constitution; and a few days later it was considered as irrevocably fixed. It will be unnecessary to enter into any detailed remarks on a constitution which did not last a year.[3] When the

[1] Pierre Louis, Comte Rœderer, was born at Metz in 1751. He was eminent as a lawyer and as a political economist. He defended the royal family on their trial, and had to conceal himself when the Girondins were proscribed. He accepted office under Bonaparte, but retired at the Restoration. In his later years he occupied himself much with letters, and he died in 1835.

[2] The Feuillants were a religious congregation—a branch of the Bernardine Order. They settled at Feuillant, in Languedoc. The Feuillants' Club occupied the convent of the dislodged monks.

[3] Seven constitutions have been made and unmade in France within the last hundred years:—

1. The constitution of 1791, when the States-General declared themselves to be the National Assembly.

2. That of 1793, the work of the National Convention, and never executed.

3. That of 1795, made by the Convention, and delegating the executive power to the Directory.

4. That of 1799, in which the executive power was confided to three consuls, of whom Napoleon Bonaparte was the first.

5. That of 1848, which lasted until the *coup d'état* of 1851, by which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte became President of the Republic.

6. That of 1852, which suppressed the Republic and made Louis Napoleon the Emperor Napoleon III.

7. That of 1871, after the Commune.

code of the constitution was settled in the details, before it was finally read and passed a mode of acceptance by the king was decreed. Two days after it was presented to him by a deputation of sixty members, who proceeded in great pomp to the palace, and, to give it the greater effect, by torchlight, escorted by a numerous detachment of the National Guards, and attended by the applause of a vast multitude. The royal prisoner, to whom they brought the first semblance of liberty, returned them a favourable answer, and declared that he did not mean to leave Paris, and would issue the orders which he thought expedient for his guard to the Commander-in-chief. 1791. Sept. 2.

The eyes of the whole kingdom and of foreign nations were now turned upon Louis XVI. His natural character, peaceable, hopeful, and indolent, prevailed over his deliberate judgment, and his letter, accepting the constitution, was received by the Assembly. The next day he went down to the Assembly, at the hour which he had appointed, amidst the roar of cannon and the shouts of the people. When he entered the hall there was a profound silence. He advanced to the chair of state which had been placed for him, and began speaking, as he stood, to the Assembly, which was also standing. Sept. 13.

The French nation, during a century of errors, appears not yet to have learnt that a constitution must grow and cannot be made. It is the weed and not the oak which springs up in a single night. Sir Henry Bulwer, Lord Dalling, in his "Talleyrand," says that "the great evil of any constitution formed for a particular time, and not the result of continual adaptation to the wants of various epochs, is that it is altogether of one character, and is almost immediately out of date."

The president sat down, and all the members followed his example. The king perceived the insult, and hastened to take his seat also. The code was signed by the king, countersigned by the Keeper of the Seals, now called the Minister of Justice, and returned to the president, to be deposited among the archives. A supplement to the constitutional code was soon after decreed, relating to the legislation of the colonies. The general amnesty already declared was extended to the colonies.

There was now a general wish for the termination of the present long-protracted session of the Assembly; the king appeared, with his ministers, and the Assembly put a period to its own existence. In no one act had this body ever turned their eyes towards their ancient constitution. They seemed, by common consent, to have renounced their ancestors. By one of their decrees none of their members could sit in the Assembly about to be convoked, or hold any post of administration under the king. Thus the new Assembly must be entirely without legislative experience.

1791. Sept 30.

Space cannot here be given to trace, even in bare outline, any sketch of the insurrections and atrocities which rendered infamous the very names of Avignon and St. Domingo. The baleful influence of disorder and anarchy in France extended to her dependencies, and Jourdan and Toussaint l'Ouverture were the centres of scenes rivalling in horror the massacres which in Paris surrounded Robespierre and Danton and Marat.

The composition of the new Assembly was not such as to give any consoling prospect of moderate and steady counsels. It had nothing like a representation of the landed or monied interest in it.

Notwithstanding the affected veneration for the constitution, the conduct of the new legislators towards the king, who formed an essential part of it, indicated a disposition to degrade royalty, apparent to the most superficial observer. On former occasions when his Majesty went to the Assembly a chair of state was placed for him above that in which the president sat; but this distinction appeared offensive in the eyes of the present legislators, who resolved to abolish it. In spite of the insult thus offered to the king, his resolution of scrupulously adhering to the new constitution seems to have been firm and sincere. He attended the opening of the session without resenting in the slightest degree the insult he had received. The Assembly passed a decree to deprive his brother[1] of his right to the regency, unless the prince returned to Paris within two months from the date of the proclamation. It was also proposed that the French princes absent from the kingdom, together with all persons in civil and military employments also absent, unless they returned by the first of the ensuing January, should be adjudged guilty of high treason, and subject to the penalty of death. The king, supported by the advice of his ministers, refused his sanction to this decree. Another was soon after submitted for the king's sanction; it was levelled

1791. Oct. 7.

[1] Afterwards Louis XVIII.

against the non-juring priests, and went to deprive them of their pensions, and, in case of their disobedience to the constituted authorities, to punish them with two years' imprisonment. In conformity with the advice of the administration, the bishops, and the directory of the department of Paris, the royal sanction was likewise refused to this decree. These exercises of the power invested in Louis by the constitution became the subjects of severe animadversion in a variety of addresses daily presented to the Assembly. It will not be necessary to notice any of the insults addressed by the Assembly to the king till we come to the period when the spirit which was working at bottom broke out into open attempts against his throne and life.

1791. Nov. 18.

[Within the limits of this small volume it is impossible even to allude to one half of the complications in which the French people now found themselves involved, both at home and abroad; and it is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that every throne in Europe felt the vibration of that tremendous revolution which had almost overturned the throne of France, and that no kingly head could lie quite easy on its pillow when the head of the king of France was so insecure within the walls of his palace-prison.[1] It was only probable that a people which sought to destroy its monarch would become in the

[1] At Pilnitz, a village in Saxony, Leopold II., Emperor of Austria, and Frederick William II., King of Prussia, met on August 25, 1791, to consider the affairs of Poland; the state of France also came under consideration, and the position of Louis XVI. was declared a matter of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe.

eyes of all other monarchs an object to be destroyed. Moreover, a country which, like France, has frontiers touching some half-dozen other countries, is constantly inclined to make, or exposed to endure, incursions which may at any moment lead to serious war. Leopold, Emperor of Austria,[1] brother to Marie Antoinette, could not, unmoved, behold the outrages borne by his sister, and the dangers which she might be exposed to. The Assembly had contrived to displease England, the asylum of many of the French emigrants—England, which saw her turbulent younger sister, Ireland, excited to frenzy by the examples and the exhortations of revolted France. At this time all the European powers were on one side, and France on the other; the one man who was destined to make France the equal of all the continental powers combined was yet but a subaltern in the army, and only twenty-two years of age.]

The death of Gustavus, King of Sweden,[2] afforded a subject of great and indecent triumph to the French revolutionists; it freed them from their most decided and active enemy, at the critical period when they were preparing to declare war against the House of Austria. La Fayette wished to be appointed commander-in-chief of the whole force to be employed,

[1] He died March 1, 1792.

[2] Gustavus III. was born in 1746. When he heard how Louis had been stopped and turned back at Varennes, he resolved to invade France, restore the Bourbons, and put an end to the Revolution. A plot was formed against him by Count Horn and others, and at a masked ball at Stockholm he was shot by Anckarström, on March 16, and died on March 29, 1792.

and proposed to enter the enemy's country by way of Namur, and proceed down the Meuse as far as Liége. That city, and the principality dependent upon it, had nothing to do with the war against the King of Hungary (Emperor of Austria), but the possession of it, he thought, would ensure the reduction of the Netherlands.

Expeditions against Tournay and Mons proved fruitless, the soldiers turning against their own officers, as being aristocrats. Shortly afterwards the French generals gave up all thoughts of an offensive campaign; the constant superiority of the Austrians seems to leave very little doubt of the issue had France been attacked at this time.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TWENTIETH OF JUNE.

THERE had for some time been rumours of what was called an "Austrian Committee," of which the beautiful Princess de Lamballe[1] was the presiding spirit.

[1] Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoie-Carignan, born in 1749, died September 3, 1792, married the son of the Duc de Penthièvre, a Bourbon, with the title, Prince de Lamballe, who died within fifteen months of their marriage. She was placed over the household of Marie Antoinette, and attached to her by the tenderest friendship, which proved her ruin. She was confined in the prison of La Force, whence she was dragged out, half dead, towards the guillotine. The executioners asked her what she knew of the plot. "I know of no plot," was her reply. "Swear to love liberty and equality, and to hate the king and queen." She answered, "I will take the first of these oaths, but I cannot take the second." They still urged her, hoping that she would swear, and so be saved. But she was now beyond sight and hearing. "Let them *release* madame," said the chief door-keeper. It may have been that he really intended to release the unhappy woman; but the word *élargir* which he used had latterly been employed as a cant phrase signifying "death." The door was opened, and she was cast out—happily, not conscious—to the furious mob. A sabre-cut at the back of her head drew the blood; but, led by two men, she advanced a step, when another blow laid her dead. Her beautiful corpse was torn to pieces; her head, her heart, and other portions of her body, were paraded on pikes from end to end of Paris, and under the windows of the royal prisoners in the Temple. The municipal

Jean Louis Carra,[1] a journalist, declared that this committee was a fact, and roused afresh the popular fury against the royal family.

Almost certain proofs were brought that no such committee existed; but Chabot[2] undertook to show forth the existence of the pretended committee. The evidence of which he had so greatly boasted was of the most frivolous kind.[3] Still, there can be little doubt that the Princess de Lamballe and many others plotted and intrigued for the safety of the royal prisoners.

1792. June 4.

The situation of the monarch and his family grew from day to day more distressing and alarming. If they approached the windows they beheld in one part of the garden a man mounted on a stool, and reading aloud the most incendiary writings against them; in another part an old officer or a priest, whom the crowd was dragging to one of the basins of water, loading him with outrages and blows; while in every part some were walking, and others amusing

officers endeavoured to prevent the queen from looking out. At length a soldier said, "It is Lamballe's head that they want to prevent your seeing." The queen fainted, and was carried from the room by the king and the attendants.

[1] Executed with the Girondins in 1793.

[2] A furious and dishonest revolutionist; guillotined, deservedly, in 1794.

[3] A volume called "The Great French Revolution, Narrated in the Letters of Madame J——, of the Jacobin Party, edited by her Grandson, M. Edouard Lockroy," and of which a translation was published by Messrs. Sampson Low and Co., in 1885, contains some curious reading. Under date May 23, 1792, Madame J—— writes, "The stupid crowd asks for material proofs, and it is impossible to obtain anything but moral certainty."

themselves with different sports, in the greatest tranquillity. Within the palace they knew that they had, among their domestics, many spies bribed by their own money to betray them to their enemies. The king's council, of which the most conspicuous member was M. Roland (whose conduct was dictated by his more famous wife), was disunited, and Roland, Servan,[1] and Clavière[2] seceded, or were dismissed from it.

The Girondins, Jacobins, and Cordeliers, now suspending their own dissensions, and again assembling together for the purpose of uniting against the Feuillants, displayed all the evil energy of their nature. They determined to carry into effect the insurrection which had long been meditated, in imitation of the attack on the Palace of Versailles in 1789. The 20th of June was fixed upon for this enterprise, as being the anniversary of the celebrated Session of the Tennis-Court.

In pursuance of this plan they made the most active preparations for assembling persons of all descriptions in their interest. The Assembly was occupied with discussions, among others, as to the method of preserving public tranquillity, but adopted no resolution on the subject. Chabot went to a public meeting of the suburb of St. Antoine, and made an inflammatory harangue of three hours, which lasted till midnight. He was seconded by

[1] Joseph Servan afterwards was a general in the army; he died in 1803.

[2] Etienne Clavière was a native of Geneva. He followed the fortunes of the Girondins, was arrested in 1793, and forestalled the sentence of execution by committing suicide.

Santerre,[1] who in a manner governed that section; while other leaders were at the same time equally busy in putting the suburb of St. Marcel, and the rest of the districts of Paris over which they had any influence, into a state of insurrection.

Under these auspices broke the morning of the 20th of June. The National Assembly began to consider whether an armed populace could be tolerated under the constitution; but their voices were overwhelmed by the hisses of the galleries. A letter from M. Santerre was read, which announced that the citizens of the suburb of St. Antoine were at the door, and requested the honour of defiling through the Assembly. After a slight opposition it was decreed that the petitioners should be admitted. The orator of the crowd then entered the hall;[2] he asserted that the people had risen, and that blood must flow before the tree of liberty would flourish in peace.

1792. June 20.

Having obtained permission to file through the Assembly, an immense crowd of men, women, and children pressed forward, with St. Huruge[3] and

[1] Claude Santerre was a brewer of the Faubourg St. Antoine; he was born in 1752, and died in 1808. He was one of the most notorious demagogues of his day; took an active part in the assault on the Bastille, led this insurrection of June 20, and was general of the Paris National Guards, in which capacity he led Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Afterwards he commanded a corps in La Vendée, and signalized himself by his incapacity. On his return he was arrested as an Orleanist, and when released from prison retired into private life.

[2] They sat in the Salle de Manége, or "riding-school," attached to the Tuileries.

[3] The Marquis de St. Huruge was born about 1750, and died about 1810. He was at first in the army, but ran through his patrimony,

Santerre at their head. They were armed with all sorts of weapons of offence. One man waved a scroll of paper, inscribed, "Tremble, Tyrant, thy hour is come!" Another (who, indeed, was driven out of the hall) carried a reeking calf's heart, stuck upon a pike, and inscribed as the heart of an aristocrat. As soon as this singular spectacle, which occupied fully two hours, was concluded, the Assembly adjourned.

The populace proceeded towards the Tuileries.

An opposition was made to their passage at the entrance of the Louvre, some troops having been stationed that morning at different posts, to guard against any sudden surprise; but at the command of two municipal officers, who appeared in their scarfs, the crowd soon obtained admittance. Full thirty thousand people of all descriptions began to pour into the Place du Carrousel,[1] drawing up towards the gate called the Porte Royale several pieces of cannon, which they threatened to fire if the least resistance were made. Successful likewise here, they at length arrived without further obstacles at the front entrance of the palace, through which they dragged their cannon, and into the very hall of the guards. The blows of a thousand hatchets, forcing the doors of

lived a turbulent life, became a popular orator and the agent of Danton. When Danton's faction fell, St. Huruge was imprisoned in the Luxembourg, and, being released, spent the rest of his life in obscurity.

[1] The Carrousel was a gentler kind of tournament. Louis XIV. held one on ground belonging to the Tuileries, which has ever since been known as the Place du Carrousel.

the several apartments, now resounded through the palace, and convinced the king that his immediate presence was necessary.

He came forward, therefore, to meet the danger, attended by the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, by a few brave and faithful servants, and by several individuals of the National Guard, who had run to his assistance, and were resolved to protect him or die at his feet. When the door of the room to which he had advanced was opened to the populace (at the time violently assailing it with their hatchets), among the first that entered was a man armed with a stick, to the end of which was fastened a sharp-pointed sword-blade. Rushing forward with this instrument in his hand, he put himself in a posture to attack the king, but the bayonets of the grenadiers frustrated his attempt.

The clamour which at first arose when the rabble burst into the room was so great that for about half an hour it was impossible for any single voice to be distinctly heard. After the tumult had a little subsided, Legendre,[1] addressing the king by the plain title of "Monsieur," exclaimed, "Hear us; for it is your duty to do so! You are perfidious, and have always deceived us. You deceive us still. But take care of yourself; for the people are weary of seeing themselves your laughing-stock!" He then read a paper full of obloquy and threats, containing what

[1] Louis Legendre, a butcher by trade, was born in 1756, and died in 1797. He was a furious demagogue; he became President of the Convention. Under the Directory he was a member of the Conseil des Anciens.

was termed "the will of the sovereign people," in whose name he pretended to speak. The king coolly answered that his conduct would be regulated by the constitution and the decrees of the National Assembly.

In order to be better seen, he stood upon an elevated spot in the recess of the window, with the Princess Elizabeth by his side, and his attendants around him, who guarded him with increasing solicitude. After he was thus raised, a person from the throng (Legendre) thrust forward, on the top of a pike, a red cap with the national cockade and ribbons attached to it. Louis instantly placed it on his head, much to the satisfaction of the spectators, who applauded the act; and he kept it on during their stay. Another person offered him a bottle, requesting him to drink its contents. He took it without hesitation, and immediately drank the uncertain draught. Notwithstanding these proofs of condescension and heroism, several abandoned wretches treated him with unmerited insult, accompanying the grossest language with the most threatening gestures.[1]

Scarcely was there a room in the quarter of the Tuileries inhabited by the royal family, the door of which had not been forced. Many of the rioters expressed the most inveterate rancour against the queen; and, from their ignorance of her person, much

[1] "The hair-dresser . . . assures us that the people have everywhere displayed the utmost moderation and good sense. . . . I have never seen so much suavity and open-hearted gaiety, mingled at the same time with a certain pride, and with dignity which rendered laughter imposing" (Lockroy).

obloquy intended for her was lavished on the Princess Elizabeth, who, finding their error, heroically forbade her attendants to undeceive them.

The queen, at the commencement of the tumult, was left by the king in an inner apartment with the dauphin and the princess royal, it being his wish to stem the torrent alone. As there seemed, however, a necessity for her appearance, she went, with her children and attendants, into the council chamber, where a party of National Guards surrounded her, and protected her, if not from insult, at least from injury. In order to prevent the populace from pressing too near, the council-table was brought up and placed in front of the royal family. Some confusion at first arose at the door before it was opened, and an officer was wounded in the hand; but, admittance being soon obtained, the rabble rushed in with Santerre at their head. A red cap was offered to the queen, which she took and placed upon her head, speaking at the same time to the person who offered it with great affability; then, removing it from her own, she put it on the head of the young dauphin, who wore it for a considerable time. Although torrents of abuse were poured forth, the heart of every spectator was not equally unfeeling; for a woman, among the crowd, as she passed, sobbed and wept aloud, much to the indignation of Santerre, who angrily ordered her to quit the room. After the party had sufficiently gazed at the queen, and many of them insulted her in the coarsest terms, they moved away at the command of their leader, and mingled with

the other crowds which were now streaming out from the palace.

Amidst all the dangers and trials of this threatening day the king preserved the most undisturbed serenity. It was for his family alone that he consented to temporize. "Oh," exclaimed he next day to M. Bertrand,[1] who was advising measures of vigour, "if my wife and children were not with me, it would soon appear that I am not so weak as is imagined; but what would become of them if the measures to which you allude should fail?"[2]

On the evening of the next day M. Pétion had an interview with the king, and spoke so insolently that at length Louis commanded him to retire. During this momentary lull M. Bertrand urged his master to avail himself of the opportunity to quit Paris openly, and after a formal notice of his intention to the Assembly. But Louis saw difficulties, and nothing was done.

The Assembly lost no time in attacking the king and his new administration. They summoned the ministers to appear the next day, and desired that they should be required to deliver in writing, within twenty-four hours, a statement of the measures taken for the safety of the empire, in putting a stop to the troubles excited by fanaticism, and in posting a sufficient army of reserve between the frontiers and Paris.

[1] This was Antoine François, Marquis de Bertrand de Molleville, who was at this time Minister of the Marine.

[2] It must be confessed that Louis's courage was of the passive kind; he could endure, but could not act. Had he acted with vigour at the first it is probable that he would not have had to endure at the last.

The ministers attended accordingly.[1] M. Lajarre, Minister of War, asked for forty-two battalions, to be stationed at Soissons. He was followed by the Minister of the Home Department, who communicated a bill which had been posted up about the streets. It denounced the king in explicit terms as unworthy any longer to fill the throne, called for the sword of justice to strike at his head, and threatened to smite traitors, wherever found, even in the bosom of the Assembly.

La Fayette repaired to the capital and delivered a petition to the Assembly in his own individual character, as a citizen, though with an avowal that he spoke the sense of his whole army. His demands were chiefly that the instigators and leaders of the violences committed at the Tuileries on June 20 should be prosecuted and punished for high treason, and that the Jacobins should no longer be suffered to meet. An entertainment was given to the general, and he departed, unanswered, to resume his command.

1792. June 28.

About the same time the new ministry gave the first sign of approaching dissolution.

At the moment when Brissot was going to deliver a set harangue on the state of the nation a singular scene occurred. M. Lamourette, the constitutional Bishop of Lyons,[1] rose and inveighed

July 7.

[1] "The Ministers appeared at the Assembly yesterday; a *goodly show of noxious beasts*" (Lockroy).

[2] Adrien Lamourette was born about 1742, and was executed in 1794. This absurd reconciliation of parties gave rise to the proverbial expression "Baiser de l'amourette," or "Delilah-kiss;" *amourette* meaning a "love-affair."

against the disastrous divisions of the Assembly. "Let us," he continued amidst loud applause, "with one unanimous and irrevocable oath blast for ever the project both of a republic and of two chambers. I move that the president shall put the question for all to stand up who adjure and execrate alike a republic and two chambers." He had scarcely finished when every member present stood up and swore that they would never suffer any change whatever to be made in the existing constitution. After this ceremony they rushed across the hall into each other's embraces, the opposite parties affectedly mingling together; and they who had distinguished themselves by any marked personalities ostentatiously seating themselves side by side.[1]

A message was sent by twenty-four deputies to Louis, who, attended by his ministers and the deputies, entered amidst cries which of late he had not often heard. He had come, he said, to express in person that the nation and the king were one. When he retired he was followed by every mark of cordial satisfaction and delight from the Assembly and the galleries.

Many of those who joined in this oath were beyond doubt unfeignedly transported by the enthusiasm of the moment. Two days after, 1792. Brissot declared that they had a right to July 9. dispose of their personal resentments, but not of the

[1] "Never was there a fiercer, more exciting, majestic, and astonishing spectacle; I was choked with rage, because I detected the snare; nevertheless my eyes were charmed, in spite of my reason, by this sublime union, unmistakably displayed" (Lockroy).

national justice. The whole course of the proceedings in the Assembly showed a determination to abridge the king's power in every direction, and to drive him or to drag him from the throne.

Nor was much vigour shown by the king on a question which involved no less than the command of Paris. This was the suspension of Pétion from his office. M. Rœderer passed a vote, in consequence of his conduct on June 20, to suspend him from his functions. The king ratified the suspension. The majority in the Assembly restored the mayor, and he resumed his functions.

On the day of the Federation everything was contrived to prejudice the royal cause as much as possible in the eyes of the people. Immediately previous to the ceremony the president of the Assembly went to lay the foundation stone of a pillar to be dedicated to Liberty, on the ruins of the Bastille. The president, the legislative body, the National Guards, the troops, and all the citizens present, on behalf of themselves and of the whole people, now again solemnly swore, on what they called the altar of their country, to maintain the constitution decreed by the first Assembly, and to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.

In the provinces, the Jacobins blew into increased rage all the old animosities against the nobles and the Catholic clergy. At Brest, every non-juring priest was imprisoned or banished. At Vans, M. Bravard, aged ninety-eight, and the Abbé Novi, aged twenty-eight, were murdered; at Bordeaux, the Abbé Dupuis

and M. Langoiran. Two hundred priests were imprisoned at Mans, three hundred at Cevennes, others at Nantes, Port Louis, and other towns.

The king awaited the issue of events with resignation. He frequently read the history of our Charles I.

The Assembly voted that the terrace adjoining the place of their meeting, called the Terrace of the Feuillants, was a part of the precincts of their hall, and should be open to the public. It was divided from the gardens within by the new fence of a tricoloured ribbon. The next day a riotous crowd gathered on this terrace, where the street-orators, advancing to the ribbon, poured forth the most furious invectives towards the palace. M. d'Espréménil, who, before the meeting of the States-General, had been almost adored as a martyr of liberty, was discovered on the terrace. He was reviled, stripped, beaten, mangled with the sabres of the Fédérés, and at last escaped from their hands, covered from head to foot with blood and wounds. In the evening, M. Champion, the new Minister of the Home Department, ran a similar danger of his life. The Girondins clamoured for the recall of Roland, Servan, and Clavière, but Louis was firm in his refusal.

CHAPTER X.

THE TENTH OF AUGUST—THE TRIAL OF THE KING.

AN insurrection had been fixed for June 29, but was postponed until August 9 or 10; this news was soon carried to M. Bertrand, and through him to the king, who made a new declaration of his feelings and principles in a message to the Assembly.

1792. August 3.

The king's situation was now so manifestly desperate that many plans for his escape were daily offered. Madame de Staël[1] proposed one of the most romantic, in which an important part was assigned to M. Narbonne.[2] But Louis rejected all these proposals.

In the Assembly was brought forward the question

[1] Anne Louise Germaine, Baronne de Staël-Holstein, daughter of Necker, the famous daughter of famous parents. She was born in 1766, and died in 1817. It is superfluous to give any *résumé* of her life so well-known to even superficial students of history.

[2] Louis, Comte de Narbonne-Lara, born in 1755, died in 1813. He accepted the first principles of the Revolution, accompanied the king's aunts in their emigration, was for a short time Minister of War, acted nobly on August 10, 1792, saved himself by flight, returned under the consulate, became private aide-de-camp to Napoleon, and ambassador to Vienna. He was a man of talent and much beloved by his friends.

of the impeachment of La Fayette, as having failed in his duty to the country; but the decree of impeachment was rejected by a large majority. 1792. August 8. This decision was furiously resented by the galleries, by the Feuillants, and by the Jacobins.

The next day the Assembly listened to speeches and passed decrees, all breathing a virulent spirit against the king; and the preparations of the Jacobins were well known at the Tuileries. August 9. Defensive measures became necessary at the palace. Troops were posted, and inspected by Pétion and Rœderer. On Pétion's return to the Assembly that suspicious body sent him as a prisoner to his own house. The Assembly sat all night.

M. Mandat received a written order from Pétion to resist force by force. He was ordered to attend at the hall of the Council General of the Commune. The president ordered him to the Abbaye,[1] and at the same time gave, by gesture, the order for his assassination.

The king prepared himself for his fate by the exercise of religious duties. The queen passed the night in alternately visiting her children and the council-chamber. The cries were heard of "Pétion for ever! Down with the veto! Down with the tyrant!" The attack of the insurgents was hourly expected.

The nobility and gentry, with some four or five hundred of the National Guard, made a rampart of

[1] A prison situated near the abbey of St. Germain des Prés. It was built in 1522, and was in this year (1792) the scene of frightful massacres. In 1854 it was demolished.

their bodies around their sovereign. At about half-past eight in the morning M. Rœderer advised the king to fly for protection to the Assembly. The queen at first opposed this plan; but at length they left the Tuileries. On their arrival at the steps leading to the Terrace of the Feuillants the crowds pressed forward, shouting, "Death, death! We will have no more tyrants!" A small body of the Directory of the department who accompanied the royal party succeeded in making way for them.

1792. August 10.

Arrived at the Assembly, the king directed his steps to the seats appropriated to the ministers, observing that he came there to prevent a great crime, perfectly assured that nowhere else could he be safer. Vergniaud,[1] the vice-president, was in the chair. Louis seated himself at his side; but as the constitution forbade all debate in the king's presence, he was requested to retire with his family to a box behind the president's chair, which had been used by the editors of a newspaper called the *Logographe.* In this confined situation, in a small whitewashed room about ten feet square and six high, the unhappy monarch and his family passed fourteen hours on a burning August day, partaking of little or no refreshment.

At different periods during the night several individuals, two and twenty in all, were arrested by the insurgents. Eleven found means to escape; the populace, exhorted by Théroigne de Méricourt, demanded

[1] Pierre Victorin Vergniaud, an eminent barrister, of Bordeaux, born in 1759, died with the Girondins, 1793.

the others as victims. The Abbé Bouyon was cut in pieces by sabres. M. de Solminiac followed. M. Sulean and six others were butchered. Two of the eleven had escaped.

Five of the Swiss Guard who defended the Tuileries had their brains beaten out by clubs. After firing in the air, and the attack still continuing, the Swiss at length resolved to repel force by force, and a heavy fire commenced from the windows of the palace.[1]

When the report of the cannon was heard at the Assembly the greatest consternation for a time prevailed. The king declared that he had given directions to the Swiss not to fire. About a hundred of them were brought from the palace to the Assembly, and stripped of their uniforms, which were carried by the people in triumph through the streets. Within an hour a further engagement took place. The troops were overpowered, no quarter was shown them; those who remained in the palace were still more cruelly put to death. Even the royal domestics found within the Tuileries were indiscriminately put to the sword. The massacre was succeeded by a general plunder.[2]

The Assembly grew bolder as the success of the

[1] "All of a sudden the windows of the palace were filled with Swiss Guards, who, without warning, fired on the National Guard. . . . The justice of Heaven smoothed all difficulties, and the Swiss Guard expiated, by every sort of death, the vile treason of which they were the instruments" (Lockroy).

[2] "The gold found in the palace, whether through vanity or through disinterestedness born of excitement, was carried to the Assembly" (Thiers).

insurrection seemed assured, and took open part with the conspirators. The sitting was made permanent. All decrees not already sanctioned were voted to have the force of laws. A national convention to settle the future government was summoned. The king was provisionally suspended from his functions, and, with his family, committed to the close custody of the municipality formed for his destruction; while his power was to be exercised by a new executive council appointed by the Assembly. The three dismissed ministers were, of course, placed at the head of it; with them was joined M. Monge,[1] as Minister of the Marine; M. Lebrun for the Foreign Department; and, for his asserted merits in the late insurrection, Danton,[2] the great leader of the Cordeliers, as Minister of Justice.

The former ministers and the most obnoxious of the royalists and Feuillants were seized and thrown into prison. La Fayette fled from his command, but he was captured and detained a prisoner of war. M. Dumouriez[3] accepted the post which La Fayette had vacated.

[1] Gaspard Monge was born in 1746, the son of a pedlar; he was a famous geometrician. He took little part in the Revolution beyond accepting the direction of the navy for eight months. He died in 1818.

[2] Georges Jacques Danton was born in 1759, and at the outbreak of the Revolution was a barrister without briefs. Robespierre feared Danton's power over the people, and denounced him as guilty of "Moderantism," and as the enemy of the Republic; he was imprisoned March 31, 1794, condemned and executed April 5 following.

[3] Charles François Dupeyrier, General Dumouriez, was born in 1739, and died in 1823. From the age of sixteen years he followed his father in the profession of arms. At twenty-four he had received

[During three days Louis and his family occupied the reporters' box of the *Logographe*, passing the night in the small upper rooms. On the fourth day they were removed to the Temple prison.[1] As they passed through the streets in Pétion's carriage the crowd was in general ominously silent, but occasional cries of "Vive la Nation!" were heard. All the foreign ambassadors immediately quitted France. Having done its work of destroying order, the Constituent Assembly now destroyed itself; it disappears in lurid flame, and the "Convention" rises from its ashes. Deputies were elected, all disabilities being abolished. Seven hundred and forty-five deputies composed this new chamber of legislation, which emancipated France from Christianity, from God, from monarchy, from freedom; "reason" and the guillotine reigned in their stead.[2]]

1792. August 13.

August 26.

It was an undoubted principle with the most active party of the Convention that while Louis lived there could be no permanent security for them. Legendre proposed that all who had written out their opinions on the subject of the king's conduct should lay them on the table of the Assembly, and that after

twenty-two wounds. He joined the Girondins; was head of the Army of the North, and won the battle of Jemmapes; came to Paris for the king's trial; rejoined the army, and agreed to betray his trust to the Austrians. He came to England disgraced, and there died.

[1] Formerly a monastery of the Knights Templar.

[2] "Writing under date of August 21, 1792, Madame J—— says, 'Mesdames De Lamballe, De Tourzel, and De Luynes . . . were taken to La Force [a prison]. The *ci-devant* Prince de Poix was arrested at

the intervention of one day they should pronounce sentence on the culprit, without suffering him to utter a word in his defence. Robespierre thought the whole business might be completed in twenty-four hours. The intended proceedings were carefully concealed from the king; it was only from Cléry, his faithful *valet-de-chambre,* that he knew anything of them. He was also cruelly and suddenly separated from his son.

The plan of trial was detailed in fourteen articles. Eight proofs of guilt were scheduled; they consisted of receipts of money paid to some of the king's relatives and troops, such payments being contrary to the constitution. The consideration of these matters was succeeded by a question concerning the constitutional inviolability of the king; the objection raised was overruled by a *post-facto* law. M. Cazalès and M. de Narbonne desired to appear as counsel for Louis, but their request was refused. Louis XVI., the best of the kings of France, was left to his fate.

At 5 a.m. the preparations began, and a body of cavalry, with several pieces of cannon, were intro-
1792. duced into the Temple gardens. At 11 a.m.
Dec. 11. the dauphin, to whom his father was acting as tutor, was forcibly taken to his mother. At 1 p.m. Chambon, Mayor of Paris, appeared; with him two

Passy. . . . How gay and good-humoured the French are! They scatter roses everywhere. . . . My prayers to God are all praises. You and I, dear husband, whose souls are truly great and humane, we feel that it is sometimes necessary to be barbarous from virtuous motives. Yesterday . . . D'Anglemont took his head to the guillotine; to-day it is the turn of the Prince de Poix and La Porte'" (Lockroy).

generals, one of whom was Santerre. Louis was presented at the bar of the National Convention. Barère,[1] the president, thus addressed him, "Louis, the French nation accuses you. The National Convention decreed on December 3 that you should be tried by it. On December 6 it was decreed that you should be brought to the bar; and while the charges against you are read, you are permitted to seat yourself."

Louis submitted. The chief accusations were that he had attempted to dissolve the Assembly in June,

[1] Bertrand Barère, de Vieuzac (his father's native place), was born in 1755, died in January, 1841. He was a successful barrister, deputy to the States-General, editor of the *Point du Jour*. He sought popularity with avidity, and abandoned his convictions, uniting himself to the extreme party. At the Convention he represented the department of the Hautes Pyrénées, and indulged in showy eloquence, being nicknamed the "Anacreon of the Guillotine." His "bloody cowardice" culminated at the trial of Louis XVI.; he uttered these words, "The tree of Liberty only flourishes when watered by the blood of tyrants!" When on the Committee of Public Safety he decreed that "terror was the order of the day;" he also said, when advising massacres, "The dead alone never return!" In 1796, he was proscribed, and lived in retreat until the return of Napoleon in 1815, when he was sent to the Chamber of Deputies, and showed himself very moderate in his views. He was banished by Louis XVIII., and retired to Belgium. Again elected a deputy in 1830, the Chamber quashed his election as informal. M. H. Carnot in 1842 published a volume of extracts from Barère's papers, and this gave occasion to Macaulay to put forth in the *Edinburgh Review* one of his most magnificent essays. "Barère was not unnaturally considered by persons who lived at a distance from the seat of government, and above all by foreigners, who, while the war raged, knew France only from journals, as the head of that administration of which, in truth, he was only the secretary and spokesman. The author of the 'History of Europe' in our own *Annual Register* appears to have been completely under this delusion. . . . Barère approached nearer than any person mentioned in history or fiction, whether man or devil, to the idea of consummate and universal depravity" (Macaulay, April, 1844).

1789; that he had endeavoured to overawe it with troops; that he had ordered the Regiment of Flanders to Versailles; that he had fled to Varennes; that he had encouraged libels against the patriots. Among the personal charges against him were these: that he had promised, if he should recover his authority, to restore the Christian religion; that he had assisted the emigrants; that he had corresponded with his brothers; that the horrors of August 10 were to be imputed to him. The former class of charges shocked even the morality of Marat, and troubled the philosophy of Thomas Paine.[1]

A long series of bitter accusations was read aloud to Louis, who denied knowledge of almost all. Then the president said, "Louis, the National Convention permits you to retire." The king immediately withdrew. He was allowed counsel, and chose as one M. de Lamoignon Malesherbes, a man universally respected and beloved, who was seventy-two years of age.

It was now decreed that Louis should have no communication with the queen or with his sister; but he might see his children, provided they were kept apart from their mother and aunt. From the conduct of the king during his imprisonment it

[1] Thomas Paine, born in 1737, at Thetford, in Norfolk, died in 1809 in America. He was successively staymaker, exciseman, author. He wrote the "Rights of Man," in answer to Burke. Being prosecuted, he went to France and was chosen into the Assembly; under Robespierre he was thrown into prison, and narrowly escaped the guillotine. At this time he wrote his infamous "Age of Reason." In 1802, he went to America, having previously made a scandalous attack on the character of Washington.

appears that he entertained but little, if any, expectations that his enemies would permit him to live. His strong sense of religion served to support him in one of the most trying situations that our miserable nature has ever experienced. He employed himself on Christmas Day in writing that last will and testament which is so replete with piety, benevolence, and understanding, as to have excited the admiration and awakened the sympathy of every intelligent and feeling mind that has contemplated this extraordinary effort of suffering humanity.

On the following day the king was conducted a second time to the bar of the Convention, this being the day for hearing his defence. M. de Sèzes [1] began the defence which had been prepared by himself, Tronchet [2] and Malesherbes.[3] 1792. Dec. 26.

When M. de Sèzes had finished, the president demanded of Louis if he had anything to add to the defence made by his counsel. The king replied in a few calm and dignified sentences. The president then demanded if he wished to add anything more; and the king, having answered in the negative, with-

[1] Raymond, Comte de Sèzes, was a barrister of Bordeaux. He was arrested in 1793 as *suspect*. After the 9th of Thermidor he resumed his profession. Louis XVIII. created him a peer of France, and he was admitted into the Académie. He died in 1828.

[2] François Denis Tronchet, born in 1726, died in 1806. He was a barrister; in 1801 he became one of Bonaparte's senators.

[3] Chrétien Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes was born in 1721, executed in 1794. He was a man of great talent and greater goodness. "His writings," said Laharpe, "are monuments of virtue in an age of corruption." A memorial has been erected to him in the Palais de Justice in Paris.

drew, attended by his counsel, into the Chamber of Conferences, and was soon conducted, amid the outcries of the rabble, which were more frequent than on the former day, to his prison in the Temple.

During several succeeding days the Convention was principally occupied in hearing the opinions of its members, all of whom introduced their discourses with a declaration of the king's guilt. They, however, differed as to the penalty he had incurred, many of them being of opinion that both justice and policy forbade the punishment of death. All the Rolandists, Brissotins, and Girondins were of that number. The party of Danton and Robespierre argued for immediate death. At length it was decreed that the following questions should be put to all the members, and be determined by nominal appeal or public vote :—

1. Is Louis Capet, late King of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the State? Yes or no.

2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Louis be submitted to the ratification of the people in the primary assemblies? Yes or no.

3. What punishment has he incurred?

The Convention met on January 16, to determine the punishment that Louis was to suffer. The fatal ceremony occupied the whole day, and ended in the sentence of death. There were 721 votes; and if those which were for death with certain restrictions are subtracted from the majority, it does not appear that the sentence was carried by more than five votes.

1793. Jan. 16.

CHAPTER XI.

DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.—ASSASSINATION OF MARAT.

M. DE SÈZES read a few lines from the king protesting against the injustice of his sentence, and appealing from the Convention to the nation at large. The Convention rejected the appeal to the people, but adjourned to consider the subject of a reprieve. 1793. (Year I of the Republic.)

On the Thursday, M. de Malesherbes had an interview with the king, to inform him of the sentence passed. Louis earnestly entreated his old friend to repeat his visits and not to abandon him in his last moments. But this final request was denied the persecuted and insulted king, and he saw his faithful friend and counsellor no more. Jan. 17.

The circumstance which most afflicted Louis was the conduct of the Duke of Orleans, who had voted for the death of his king and kinsman. In the interval of his devotions the royal prisoner read the account of the death of Charles I., as related by Hume. Jan. 18.

The king's desk and drawers were searched for

any weapons with which he might attempt his life. To these and other insults he submitted with the utmost patience and resignation.

1793. Jan. 19.

The morning of this day he employed in reading and writing; and about two o'clock he received the fatal visit of the Executive Council. Garat, Minister of Justice, Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Grouvelle, Secretary of the Council, and several officers of the police and criminal tribunal were introduced by Santerre, with his usual insolence. Louis was informed that he would suffer the punishment of death, and that his execution would take place within twenty-four hours after its notification.[1]

Jan. 20.

During this ceremony, which troubled even those who were employed to perform it, the countenance of the king suffered no change that denoted alarm. He took a paper from his pocket-book containing his last requests; viz. that his sentence might be delayed for three days, in order that he might be better prepared to appear in the presence of God; that he might be freely visited by a person whom he should name (M. l'Abbé Edgeworth de Frémont),

[1] Under date January 19, in the volume called "La Démagogie à Paris, 1793," appears this extract from a print of the day: "This news was soon known to all Paris, and the calmness of terror fell upon the whole city. . . . While the Convention solemnly pronounced the penalty of death upon the tyrant . . . certain Fédérés of Marseilles and of many other departments, together with their brethren of Paris, beneath the gaze of the magistrates, sang the 'Hymn of Liberty,' and the air 'Ça ira,' dancing merry farandoles, and forming but one chain of many thousands of both sexes, holding each other by the hand."

Madame J—— writes: "Paris remains majestically calm; not a remonstrance or complaint is to be heard" (Lockroy).

who would be qualified to assist him in the solemn act of preparation; that he might have a free communication with his family, and without witnesses; that the National Convention would allow his family to withdraw from France; and one or two wishes for the welfare of his old servants.

At six o'clock Garat informed him that he might see M. Edgeworth and his family; that the nation would take on itself the care of his family and pensioners; but that the delay was refused.

The king then retired with M. Edgeworth, a gentleman who was from the piety of his life, the strength of his mind, and the gentleness of his manners, in a pre-eminent degree qualified to fulfil this important and affecting duty. His family was from Ireland; but he had been bred in France, and had been chosen by the Princess Elizabeth as her confessor.[1]

At eight o'clock the king received his family. When the first agony had in some degree subsided, he informed them of the sentence which condemned him to die, and in how short a time it was to be executed. It is a scene whose history will appal mankind while there is a sense of honour or justice in the world, and will awaken sensibility in the human breast while there are hearts to feel or tears to shed.

[1] He was of the same family as Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his daughter Maria Edgeworth; was born in 1745, and after the execution of Louis escaped in disguise to England, and from thence to Mittau, in Russia, where Louis XVIII. resided in exile. There the Abbé devoted himself to the sufferers from an epidemic, caught the disease, and died in 1807.

Nothing now remained for his consolation but to perform the rites and receive the Communion of his Church. When his solemn confession was over, M. Edgeworth, perceiving his royal penitent to be almost exhausted, entreated him to go to bed and endeavour to obtain a little rest The king did so, and enjoyed a calm repose until five next morning, when he was awakened according to his order. At seven he heard Mass, and received the Sacrament with the most profound devotion.

1793. January 21.

All Paris had been under arms since five o'clock, while the sound of drums, the noise of weapons, the clatter of horses, and the passage of cannon were distinctly heard in the tower. At nine the bustle increased, and Santerre appeared, attended by ten *gens d'armes*, who disposed themselves in two lines. The king, with a firm voice, said to Santerre, "Let us be gone."[1] M. Edgeworth followed his master, and was with him in the carriage which awaited them, together with two *gens d'armes*.

During the passage from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution, formerly called the Place Louis Quinze,[2] he read such prayers as were best suited to his situation. When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the king immediately descended from it, and having thrown off his coat was about to ascend the scaffold, when the executioners seized his hands, in order to tie them behind him. As he was not

[1] "Louis . . . saying, '*Marchons, je suis prêt*' . . . accompanied by . . . Firmont, and a commissioner of the Commune, named Roux, an apostate priest" ("La Démagogie").

[2] Now the Place de la Concorde.

prepared for this last insult, he appeared disposed to repel it; but M. Edgeworth, sensible that resistance would be vain, and might expose the royal sufferer to outrages more violent, said to him, "Sire, this added humiliation is another circumstance in which your Majesty's sufferings resemble those of that Saviour Who will soon be your recompense." These words softened him at once, and he presented his hands to the murderous attendants, and they tied them with so much force as to call forth another remonstrance from the king.

He now mounted the scaffold, and M. Edgeworth, following him, boldly exclaimed with the fervent animation of his holy zeal, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!"

The king, bound and disfigured as he was, advanced with a firm step to that part of the scaffold which faced the palace, and, requesting the drums to cease, was instantly obeyed. He then addressed the people in a tone of voice loud enough to be heard in the garden of the Tuileries: "Frenchmen, I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies; I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed."

He was proceeding, when Santerre, who was on horseback near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, when the assistants seized their victim, and the horrid murder was completed.

When the king's head was severed from the body,

one of the executioners held it up by the hair, dancing at the same time round the scaffold, with the most savage exultation, and the shouts of "Vive la Nation! Vive la République!" seemed to applaud the execrable deed. The body was conveyed in a cart to the churchyard of the Madeleine, and thrown into a grave, which was instantly filled with quicklime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed.[1]

Thus did the French nation, who had endured the cruelties of Louis XI., the treachery of Charles IX., and the tyranny of Louis XIV., condemn and execute for the pretended crimes of cruelty, treachery, and tyranny, the most mild, just, and humane prince who ever sat on the throne of France. He was thirty-eight years of age.

[It could not be supposed that such an event as the murder of Louis XVI. could take place without producing various consequences which must very much affect the state and condition of the country where it happened. A war with England was the first of them. But as this volume only professes to deal with the actual Revolution, and not with its consequences, the latter will merely be glanced at from time to time, and only when intimately connected with events taking place within France.

[1] An engraving in "La Démagogie" shows the inhuman delight of the savages round the scaffold. The details are too horrible to be repeated here. Madame J—— says, "The people displayed a majestic calm." Thiers says, "These madmen displayed the brutal and unreal joy which the populace manifests at the birth, at the accession, and at the fall of every prince." But the English populace showed no such exultation at the execution of Charles I.

A pause occurred after the king's execution,[1] which was filled up by legislation on the part of the Convention, who established a "Revolutionary Tribunal" and a "Committee of Public Safety." Violent contests arose between the different factions. The National Convention took possession of their new Hall of Assembly in the Palace of the Tuileries, and laid the first stone of the new edifice of their constitution. The Gironde party had felt themselves tottering. The inflammatory journal[2] conducted by Marat was generally believed to have fomented the spirit of discontent which prevailed (he had declared that the victories of Grandpré, Jemmapes, etc., had been disastrous for the republic), and on March 26 he had been denounced; on April 12 he was committed to the Abbaye. The jury by whom he was tried acquitted him without a dissentient voice.

1793. May 10.

The Convention was now become one continued scene of recrimination and commotion. On May 31, the Girondin party was precipitated from power by the Jacobin faction. On the liberation of Marat he had become more bold and daring than he had hitherto been.]

May 31.

Among the extraordinary circumstances of the eventful moment which is before us, is the death of

[1] Carlyle steps from January 21 to February 25; "La Démagogie" has little to tell until March 26; Lockroy gives one or two letters of anxiety about the scarcity of food, and of admiration for Robespierre. Madame J——'s last letter is dated May 1; she was arrested on August 10, and her son soon afterwards.

[2] *L'Ami du Peuple;* latterly it went by other names.

Marat, a reputed member, at least, of that party which had now obtained the ruling power in France. This furious incendiary, who, from the violence of his cha-

1793. racter, has been suspected of insanity, was
July 13. assassinated by a young, well-educated, and beautiful woman,[1] from Caen in Normandy, in the department of Calvados, which appears to have been particularly attached to the Girondin party. Charlotte Corday was the extraordinary person who had conceived the project, as far as it depended upon her single arm, of destroying those men whom she believed to be the leading tyrants of her country. After several unsuccessful attempts, the important moment at length arrived when she found herself in his presence. The conduct of her Brissotin friends became the subject of conversation; and at the moment when Marat declared that such traitors would find their reward beneath the guillotine, she plunged a dagger in his breast.[2]

[1] "One description of Charlotte Corday says that she was of medium height, with an oval face, fine features, blue eyes, a good nose, beautiful mouth, chestnut hair, lovely hands and arms; another says that she was a virago, awkward, dirty, insolent, rubicund, and fat; and that if she had been pretty she would have been more anxious to live" (La Démagogie).

[2] "It is yellow July evening. . . . M. Marat . . . sits now about half-past seven of the clock, stewing in slipper-bath; sore afflicted; ill of Revolution fever [and] of . . . other malady. Excessively sick and worn . . . with precisely elevenpence-halfpenny of ready-money in paper [Thiers says five francs]; with slipper-bath; strong three-footed stool for writing on, the while . . . Charlotte Corday is admitted. . . . 'What deputies are at Caen?' Charlotte names some. 'Their heads shall fall within a fortnight.' . . . Charlotte has drawn her knife from the sheath, plunges it, with one sure stroke, into . . . [his] . . . heart" (Carlyle).

Having perpetrated the deed which was the object of her visit, she walked with perfect composure out of the house, treated the officers who seized her with silent contempt, and suffered death on the scaffold with the same calm fortitude which accompanied the perpetration of the deed which had brought her to it.[1] She was but twenty-five years of age.

The remains of the murdered Jacobin were interred with great pomp. The honours of the Pantheon were granted to his remains; but within two years they were disinterred, and scattered with every mark of contemptuous and irate indignity.

1793. July 17.

[1] "We read in the *Moniteur*, 'Charlotte Corday has been executed, the 17th, about seven p.m., in the Place de la Révolution, in the [red] garb of assassins, and her goods confiscated to the Republic.' The executioner . . . struck the bleeding head, when showing it, according to custom, to those present; the cheeks were still crimson, and it was said that they were so in consequence of the insult thus offered to them" (La Démagogie).

CHAPTER XII.

EXECUTION OF MARIE ANTOINETTE; OF PHILIPPE ÉGALITÉ; OF MADAME ROLAND; OF TWENTY PUBLIC MEN; AND OF MANY OTHERS.

[As before remarked, this is not the place in which to enter into any account of the wars in which France was engaged. At Aix, at Toulon, at Lyons, the disputes of parties developed into civil war. At Toulon the young Napoleon Bonaparte gave some indications of what his military genius would be in its maturity.]

The government of France was now become a government of blood, to be sustained by the terrors of the guillotine; it was employed to remove those who were obnoxious, to destroy those who were suspected, and to punish those who, though they deserved good fortune, could not always command it. Hence it was that the unfortunate Custine,[1] one of the most meritorious generals that France could boast, was called from the northern army, and

[1] Adam Philippe, Comte de Custine, born in 1740. He was a brave officer, but not equal to the command of an army. He was executed on August 28, 1793.

accused of corresponding with the Russians; his transition was but short from the prison to the scaffold.

This act of injustice was soon followed by another of the most affecting nature, which the people had been urged to demand, and the ruling powers were anxious to perform. It was no less than the death of the queen. She had been already separated from her family in the Temple. In the night of 1793. August 1 she was suddenly and in the most August 1. cruel and insulting manner removed to the Conciergerie,[1] a prison destined for the reception of the vilest malefactors. There she was treated with a degree of wanton and savage barbarity of which we know not how to conceive the motive, unless it was hoped that its severity might save her persecutors the forms of a trial, or that it would familiarize the people with humiliated royalty. The cell in which she was immured was only eight feet square her bed a hard mattress of straw, and her food of the meanest kind; while she was never allowed the privilege of being alone, two soldiers being appointed to watch her day and night, without the intermission of a moment.

After a confinement of ten weeks in this loathsome dungeon, she was at length brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The act of accusation was

[1] This prison was called the Conciergerie because it served as the lodge of the *concierge* of the Palais de Justice. The dungeon of Marie Antoinette afterwards became a bath-room; that in which Madame Elizabeth, and afterwards Robespierre, were confined, was turned into the sacristy of the chapel; that of Lavalette into a *chauffoir*.

of great length, heavily charged with the most calumniating expressions, in which she was represented as having been the cause of every real or supposed public calamity which had happened in France, from the time of her arrival there to that moment. She was charged, among other things, with dissipating the public revenues, with sending to her brother Joseph (Emperor of Austria) two hundred millions of francs (eight million pounds sterling), as a relief in his wars with the Turks; with holding a correspondence with foreign powers, and inviting them to attack France; with causing a famine, and kindling a civil war in the realm; and, to complete the folly as well as the atrocity of her accusers, she was charged with crimes against morality, and even against nature!

Of these various charges not one was proved, which appears extraordinary, considering how easy it was to procure evidence to any charge, and oaths to support any evidence. The trial was conducted with some appearance of formality, but the sentence was already prepared. On being informed by the president of the tribunal that she must prepare to submit to the same fate which her husband had already suffered, she did not discover the least emotion, and her aspect lost none of that dignity which it displayed in every circumstance of her misfortunes. She had probably anticipated her fate, and therefore met it with calmness and resignation. During her trial, though she was wholly unprepared to meet, as she was uninformed of, the circum-

1793. October 13.

stances of her accusations, she displayed great presence of mind, penetration, and ability, in every part of the proceedings against her, rising above herself into sublimity when the charges were urged against her moral character. The advocates assigned to plead her cause were afraid to do their duty, or, knowing how vain their efforts would be, let her pass undefended to her fate.

She retired from the hall without uttering a word to the court or to the people, and at four o'clock in the morning was reconducted to her dungeon. 1793. October 16.

At five, the drums beat to arms in every part of the city; cannon were planted in the squares and at the ends of the bridges; and at ten, numerous patrols passed through the streets.

At half-past eleven, the queen was brought out of prison, and, like an ordinary malefactor, was conducted in a common cart to the place of execution.[1] Her hair was entirely cut off from the back of her head, which was covered with a small white cap; she wore a white undress; her hands were tied behind her, and she sat with her back to the horses. The executioner was seated on her right, and on the left was a constitutional priest. The cart was escorted by numerous detachments of horse and foot. Henriot, Ronsin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutionary army, preceded by numerous staff officers, rode before it. An immense mob of people, in which the women

[1] Formerly known as the Place Louis XV.; then as the Place de la Révolution; latterly as the Place de la Concorde.

appeared to predominate, crowded the streets, insulted the queen, and vociferated "Long live the Republic!"

She seldom cast her eyes upon the populace, and regarded with indifference, if she at all regarded, the great armed force of thirty thousand men which lined the streets in double ranks. They who had seen her in the former part of her life could not but observe the altered state of her countenance, and what a sad change sorrow had made in that seat of animation and beauty. Her spirits appeared to be calm, and she conversed with the priest who was seated by her with an air of decent submission, but without the least appearance of anguish or dejection. She ascended the scaffold with much haste and seeming impatience, and then turned her eyes with apparent emotion towards the garden of the Tuileries, one of the scenes of her former greatness.

At half-past twelve, the guillotine severed her head from her body, and the executioner exhibited it, all streaming with blood, from the four corners of the scaffold to an inveterate and insatiable multitude.

Thus perished, in the thirty-eighth year of her age, Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, who had enjoyed all the good the world can give and suffered all the evil it can inflict. No doubt her errors have been greatly magnified by the tongue of calumny; but even if, amid the splendour of her life, she should have been subject to reproach, the period of her adversity has redeemed it, and every future age will accompany the reflection of her sad fate with the mingled tear of respect and commiseration.

The corpse of this ill-fated queen was immediately conveyed to a grave filled with quicklime, in the churchyard called De la Madeleine, where the remains of Louis XVI. had been interred with the same privation of pious regard or decent ceremonial.

The death of the queen was soon followed by that of the accused deputies. They were convicted of having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, by exciting a rebellion in the departments of the south, and that of Calvados. On October 30, twenty-one of these deputies suffered the stroke of the guillotine. They were Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Duprat, Lehardi, Ducos, Fonfrède, Boileau, Gardien, Duchâtel, Sillery, Fauchet, Dufriche, Duperret, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Viget, and Lacaze. Valazé, who had prepared the charges against the king, stabbed himself at the moment when the sentence was pronounced against him.

1793. October 30.

Manuel,[1] who had exerted himself to save the life of his former king, was soon cut off by the vengeance of Robespierre, who could not forget, and was not formed to forgive, the cutting sarcasms of his hostile

[1] Pierre Louis Manuel was born in 1751. A pamphlet against religion caused him to be sent to the Bastille, from whence he came out full of revolutionary ardour. He directed the doings of June 20 and August 10; he caused Louis XVI. to be transferred to the Temple; he sanctioned many massacres, and yet rescued many victims. His official visits to Louis in prison had the effect of changing his opinions, and he spoke bravely in defence of the king's life. The next day he was forced to resign his seat; he retired to his native town, Montargis, where he was arrested on August 20, 1793; and he was guillotined in Paris in the following November.

wit. The Generals Houchard and Lückner shared the same fate. Bailly, the first Mayor of Paris after the Revolution, was condemned by the same tribunal. M. Barnave also felt the weight of Jacobinic resentment or apprehension. He was a man of great eloquence, splendid talent, and high character.[1]

Rabaut de St. Étienne, whose integrity was his real crime, soon followed to the same scaffold, with many others who either deserved to live, or were not condemned for the crimes for which they deserved to die.[2]

The decree which removed the Bourbon family to Marseilles has been already mentioned, and that the Duke of Orleans, who had assumed the ridiculous and silly title of "Philippe Égalité," was included in its operation. He was, however, in the beginning of November, brought to Paris, to appear as a criminal before the Revolutionary Tribunal. He was accused of having aspired to the sovereign power from the very commencement of the Revolution; but whether this charge was proved against him we are not com-

[1] "Barnave, on the scaffold, stamped with his foot, and looking upwards was heard to ejaculate, 'This, then, is my reward!'"

[2] Adam Lux; Custine the younger; Generals Biron, Beauharnais (whose widow Josephine married Napoleon Bonaparte), Brunet; Duport; Lebrun; Jourdan, "the headsman"; the Abbé Lamourette, etc. The catalogue would be too long. Hardly a name prominent in 1786 can be found in the records of 1795. All, in long succession, went to violent death, and hundreds of whom now not even the names can be recalled. On November 28, it was announced that the first of the Loire "drownings" had taken place; eighty-four priests had been taken out in a boat, of which the bottom could be dropped at will, and left to their fate.

petent to determine; we can only add that he was condemned to die. This odious, execrable man actually assumed an air of fortitude at the conclusion of his life. In the evening of November 6, he was conveyed in a cart to the place of execution, where the public detestation and abhorrence accompanied the close of his infamous career. 1793. Nov. 6.

The ignominious catastrophe of this man's life may be considered without horror by the most gentle natures; but how shall we express our feelings when we relate the cruel and unmerited fate of that excellent, accomplished, and lovely woman, Madame Roland, who, in two short days, followed such a wretch to such an end? On November 8, she suffered with all the dignity that became her character and her virtues. Her rare talents and acquired knowledge are well known, nor were her domestic qualities inferior to them. Her husband, who was hated by Robespierre on account of his attachment to the Gironde party, was included in the proscription that followed the decree of May 31. He accordingly quitted Paris;[1] but his wife was apprehended and committed to prison. She was at length brought to trial, and the empty charge of a conspiracy was followed by a sentence of death. At the place of execution she maintained that firm, undaunted spirit which had hitherto supported her, and bowing down before the statue of Liberty she exclaimed, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" Nov. 8.

[1] His death has been referred to in a note on page 91.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROBESPIERRE RULER OF FRANCE.

ON a first view it might appear strange that amid such scenes of blood and murder the Government of France should employ itself in such a trifling and unnecessary measure as the alteration of the calendar. But the design was of a more serious nature and had a deeper tendency than superficial observers might imagine. It was not a revolutionary frolic, but a part of that system which had been formed by the philosophers of France to abolish Christianity in their country, and, if possible, to drive it out of the world.[1]

Robespierre, however, with all his impiety, could not but perceive that, amidst their enormities, the people retained the spirit of their ancient faith, and that while they were infringing the laws of their religion every moment of their lives, they saw with

[1] This new calendar was in vogue during thirteen years, and it is usual to give the dates of that period in both the new and the old form. Some account of it will be found at the end of this chapter.

disgust the violation of its altars. He therefore thought it necessary to stand forth in favour of these religious prepossessions; and it may be in great measure owing to this part of his conduct that he acquired the predominant popularity which was now seen to attend and support him.

[Among the puerile follies of this time, in which ferocity was curiously mingled with absurdity, it is worth while to notice the "*soupers fraternels.*" The first of these meals was held, by order, on August 10, 1793. An illustration in the "Démagogie" shows a wide street, of which the pavements are crowded with tables, every one being commanded to eat his supper in the open air, and in the company of his neighbours. It was also decreed that every *section* of Paris should supply at these feasts "two new *ménages*," that is to say, two couples married that morning, and set up in domestic life by funds supplied by the Republic. Here we have the sentimental notion of brotherly love; then the social, for the kiss of peace and glee-singing were also enjoined; and then the strange marriages of two couples selected for the occasion. The order winds up with the words that "No person must on any pretext be absent from this supper. Fraternity or death!"

A few lines must also be spared to record the setting up of a substitute for religion, namely, Reason. On August 10 was celebrated the Feast of Reason. The Goddess of Reason was represented by the citizeness Maillard,[1] an actress from the opera. She

[1] Carlyle calls her "Candeille."

was carried by four men in a chair garlanded with oak-leaves. On her head was a red cap, on her shoulders a blue mantle; she leaned upon a pike; young women dressed in white, with tri-coloured sashes, their heads decorated with flowers, walked before her.

Following these were men wearing oak-leaves round their heads. They sang "Ça ira" and the
1793. "Marseillaise." The beautiful Gothic church
August 10. of Notre Dame was desecrated by a mock service. Reason was seen, in the person of a beautiful woman, seated upon the high altar. In other churches similar scenes were enacted. Joseph Marie Chénier wrote a hymn for the occasion (his elder brother, André Marie Chénier, a true and tender poet, was guillotined).

All the rest of Europe was now allied against France.]

Some rapid successes crowned the French arms. While they were victorious in the Netherlands and on the frontiers of Germany, they were no less successful on the borders of Spain.

History does not furnish an example of a nation that, having emancipated itself from despotism and acquired a constitution founded on principles of freedom, was again so quickly enslaved as the French. Perhaps if Mirabeau had lived—and only perhaps—France might have derived from him benefits similar to those conferred on America by General Washington.

But the love of monarchical government was not

dead ; it was a considerable time before that resolute spirit was subdued which took up arms for the royal cause in the department of La Vendée. The famous and unhappy Charette,[1] on March 10, 1793, had publicly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed the infant son of Louis XVI. King of France, by the name Louis XVII.

A declaration had been published by the British ministry,[2] stating the motives for continuing the war against France. The French answer to this declaration charged it with a manifest avowal of a design to restore despotism in France, and of countenancing it in the rest of Europe. This answer was penned under the direction of that celebrated triumvirate, Robespierre,[3] Danton, and Barère. After the entire destruction of the Girondins, the chiefs of whom, all men of eminent talents, perished by the guillotine, the connection between Robespierre and Danton began to lessen.

Hébert[4] was at this time at the head of a body of

[1] François Athanase Charette de la Contrie, born in 1763, of a noble family of Brittany. He was shot as a military traitor on March 29, 1795.

[2] William Pitt was the English Prime Minister. The French revolutionary party long thought, or affected to think, that Pitt was the cause of every misfortune which afflicted their country, that English bribes supported everything and everybody except the revolutionary party.

[3] Robespierre did not seek his own advantage, and was called the "Incorruptible." He was of a bilious complexion, therefore Carlyle adds the adjective "sea-green," and more often calls Robespierre by the epithet "sea-green incorruptible" than by his name.

[4] Jacques René Hébert was born in 1755. His early life was spent in dishonest practices, his later life in ferocious cruelties. His appear-

violent men; and the Cordelier Club, over which he exercised the chief influence, was ready to second his views. Robespierre was no favourite there, nor did they enjoy his countenance. Robespierre and Danton had both been members of this club, but had abandoned it.

Fabre d'Eglantine[1] and Camille Desmoulins[2] had both acted a conspicuous part since the meeting of the Convention. The latter was a man of spirit as well as of ability; the former had made himself chiefly known by his antipathy to religion. Robes-

ance was pleasing and his speech fluent. He published a journal which he called the *Père Duchêne*, using the name of a little royalist paper. In August, 1792, he became Procureur de la Commune, or public attorney. The lengths to which his newspaper went caused him to be arrested, and this again made him immensely popular. The name of Père Duchêne was transferred to Hébert himself. He addressed infamous questions to the queen on her trial, and to her little son. When the Girondins were arrested, he proposed that they should be assassinated. He was one of those who suggested the worship of Reason. When the schism arose among the Cordeliers, Danton and his followers were known as the Moderates, the Hébertists as the enraged, or the maddened, club. Robespierre contrived the arrest of Hébert, Momoro, Anacharsis Clootz, and others, to the number of nineteen persons. Then the bully became the coward, and Hébert's terror equalled his former ferocity. The whole band were condemned to death, which they suffered on March 24, 1794.

[1] Philippe François Nazaire Fabre d'Eglantine was born in 1755. He wrote very successfully for the stage before he joined the revolutionary party. He lived so expensively that suspicion fell on him of having taken bribes in his official capacity. Danton and Desmoulins complained of having to die on the same scaffold with "a thief."

[2] Camille Desmoulins was born in 1762. He led the attack on the Bastille. A man of education and of excitable character, sceptical, shrewd, witty, as Carlyle says, one might almost love him. He was arrested as one of the *modérés* or *indulgents;* his young and charming wife followed him to the guillotine a week later.

pierre had long lived in habits of intimacy with Desmoulins.

Hébert had the boldness to make a speech at the club in which he openly declared that tyranny existed in the Republic. This was construed into a denunciation of Robespierre and his party, who instantly determined to sacrifice Hébert to their vengeance and security. He was arrested with his principal associates, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. His fall was decreed. The most puerile and most inconsistent allegations were made against the Hébertists. Of the nineteen persons accused (one of them a woman), only one, a man, was acquitted. 1794. March 15.

This execution of persons whose guilt at most was problematical, and whose fall was beheld with so much apathy, now convinced Robespierre that he might proceed without much fear of opposition in completing the scheme he had in contemplation, which appears to have been no less than that of rendering himself supreme and uncontrolled ruler of the state. He soon judged it necessary to rid himself of a man of whose capacity he had often made use, and had even just lately employed against Hébert. This was Camille Desmoulins, who had actually ventured on a personal attack upon St. Just,[1] the bosom friend of Robespierre.

[1] Antoine Louis Léon Florelle de St. Just, born in 1769, an enthusiastic and energetic partisan of Robespierre; he was at one time President of the Assembly. Young, handsome, and talented, in happier times he might have been a distinguished man.

A secret enmity had long subsisted between Danton and Robespierre, which was more inveterate on the part of Robespierre than on that of Danton. The latter in a long interview tried to show that their mutual interests required a reconciliation; but Robespierre stood aloof, with great pride and indifference. Danton, understanding this behaviour, said at parting, "Beware, for if you destroy me you will shortly be destroyed yourself!"

Robespierre procured the arrest of Fabre d'Eglantine, charged with receiving pay from the powers at war with the Republic; and also that of Chabot,[1] the ex-Capuchin, and of Bazire. The partizans of Robespierre insisted on their trial, and that the Committees of Public and General Safety ought to possess the full confidence of the people. This tended directly to invest at once the executive department with exclusive and boundless authority, or, in other terms, to constitute Robespierre sole and supreme judge in all matters referred to those committees, the members of which, however indirectly, were of his own appointment. It was observed on this occasion that, whether through inadvertence or a desire to conciliate Robespierre, Danton expressed his approbation of the sentiments uttered by his enemy's partizans. Danton thus put himself unresistingly into the hands of a

[1] François Chabot loved uncleanness of person and language. He married an Austrian lady, though he was a monk, and became so fond of luxury and money that he forged a decree in order to obtain a large sum. For this crime he was, deservedly enough according to the criminal code of his day, brought to the scaffold. He was born in 1759, and died in 1794.

rival whom he knew to be implacable. Ten days later he was, together with his friend Camille Desmoulins, arrested in the night of March 30. Two others were also imprisoned at the same time — Julien de Toulouse, and Phelippeaux, become odious to Robespierre on account of the faithful relation of the barbarities committed in La Vendée, whither he had been sent as a commissioner. Danton was warmly defended in the Convention by his friend Le Gendre, who moved that Danton and La Croix, his fellow-prisoner, should be heard in their defence at the bar of the house. But Robespierre argued with virulence against both.

1794. March 30.

In the conspiracy attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine, among the persons accused as principal accomplices were Hérault Séchelles, who had been President of the Convention on the famous May 31, 1793, when the Gironde party was overthrown ; Chaumette, procureur of the commerce of Paris, well known by his brutal behaviour to the king on his trial ; Gobat, who had been constitutional Bishop of Paris, and had, about twelve months before, publicly renounced his functions and his religion ; Westerman, who commanded the popular insurrection on August 10, 1792 ; and the two Freys, brothers-in-law of Chabot, opulent bankers.

The trial of Danton and of his fellow-prisoners was peculiarly memorable. When questioned, according to the usual forms, respecting his name and abode, "My name," he answered, "will live in history for ever ; but my abode will soon be nowhere."

He flung paper bullets at the president by way of showing his contempt.

Robespierre and his coadjutor Barrère refused to appear against the prisoners, on pretence that a plot had been formed for their assassination. On this refusal the prisoners persisted in their determination to answer no interrogatories, insisting that they were illegal unless their accusers personally appeared.

1794. April 2. The embarrassment of the tribunal was such that, averse to proceed without being sanctioned, they sent notice to the Convention of the difficulty they were in. St. Just immediately moved that a decree should pass empowering the tribunal to proceed without hearing them. Danton did not fail to continue an able and spirited defence, speaking with such boldness that the president enjoined him to silence. But Danton paid no regard to this injunction, and it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to retire out of court to take, as he was told, some refreshment. Then, by virtue of the decrees against refractory prisoners, sentence was passed on him and on the others who had been brought before the tribunal; out of sixteen, one only, Lallier, a man of small importance, was acquitted.

This sentence was pronounced at three in the afternoon, and they were all executed at six in the evening. The prisoners submitted to their fate with great firmness. The intrepidity of Danton was remarkable; he met the stroke of death with an air of dignity which was long remembered.

Robespierre, whatever satisfaction he might derive

from the destruction of the only rival he dreaded, soon perceived that a party remained which would require his utmost vigilance. Among the many unfortunate persons confined in the prisons of Paris were Simon, a member of the Convention, and General Arthur Dillon, who had the command of a division of the French army when the Prussians were repulsed in the forest of Argonne. He was connected with Camille Desmoulins, and when talking with Simon about Danton and the other prisoners on trial, confessed, in presence of La Flotte, who had been agent of the Republic at the Court of Florence, his fervent hope of their deliverance. La Flotte informed the Committee of Public Safety of the words spoken by General Dillon, who was, in consequence, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. He was condemned to death on this charge, and for having sent a letter to the wife of Desmoulins, enclosing an order for a thousand crowns, with which he was accused of intending to hire a mob for the purpose of overawing the Revolutionary Tribunal. This unhappy woman never received the letter; but she was, nevertheless, condemned as accessory to this intention, and executed, together with General Dillon and the door-keeper of the prison, who suffered for having neglected to inform the Committee of Public Safety of the receipt of the letter. They were accompanied on the scaffold by Chaumette, Gobat, and General Bayssur, charged with treasonable practices while at the head of the forces employed against the insurgents of La Vendée. The wife of

1794. April 5.

April 7.

Hébert was also a sufferer on this occasion. She and the wife of Desmoulins, a very beautiful woman, were the only persons who excited or deserved the commiseration of the public. These executions took place two days after that of Danton.

It ought in justice to Robespierre to be acknowledged that if he possessed any quality deserving the name of virtue it was disinterestedness. It was upon this incorruptibility of disposition in whatever related to pecuniary matters that he chiefly founded his claims to popularity. Some severe decrees were passed against peculation; against persons convicted of pronouncing discourses inimical to the Revolution; and also a decree levelled against the clergy, to whom the country were still secretly and firmly attached. Another curious decree was made, prohibiting the marriage of the wives of emigrants with foreigners, under the heaviest penalties. The wives of royalists who had emigrated, desirous of being with their husbands, had hit on an expedient which for a time proved successful. They contracted pretended marriages with foreigners who were in the secret, and by whom they were carried out of the country, as if by their husbands.

The Convention passed a decree by which all the Farmers-General of the old days of the monarchy were consigned to trial, where many of them were condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

1794. May 5.

Fouquier-Tinville, a man well-fitted for the bloody office of Accuser-General with which he was

invested, formally demanded that the Princess Elizabeth, sister of the late king, should be cited to appear before the Revolutionary Tribunal on suspicion of being concerned in counter-revolutionary practices. The utter impossibility that a woman, under the strict confinement in which she was held, should be accessory to any such proceedings was so obvious that all Paris was struck with amazement when told that she was to undergo a trial. Her character was in every sense unimpeachable. To the various charges urged against her she made the most satisfactory answers, and completely cleared herself of every accusation. To that of having encouraged her nephew in the hope that he would be one day King of France, she frankly replied that she had employed every means to comfort him in his melancholy situation. This ingenuous answer was interpreted as an acknowledgment that she had really encouraged him in that expectation, and sentence of death was passed upon her. 1794. May 9. She suffered in company with twenty-six others, and was executed the last. She behaved with great dignity in her last moments.

These numerous and merciless executions filled all France with terror. This was the very end in view. But this terror was accompanied with equal horror. Robespierre now adopted an idea which he thought would be useful to his designs; this was to set apart the tenth day for religious and moral observance, in imitation of the seventh of the Christian system. He hoped thus to keep up his character for piety. The decree was passed, and the French nation

thereby acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. The following days were annually to be celebrated as festivals: July 14, August 10, January 21, and May 31. Every tenth day of the month was also to be a festival. The last article of the decree, that which Robespierre had most at heart, was the solemn celebration of a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, which was appointed for the eighth of the next June.

In front of the Tuileries a spacious amphitheatre was erected, in the midst of which was placed a tribune, wherein Robespierre, as President of the Convention, and as the head, in fact, of the French nation, held forth with great solemnity on the business of the day. A variety of ceremonies and singular transactions took place in the course of this remarkable festival, which closed with hymns and musical compositions in praise of the Deity.

1794. June 8.

The new religious creed and institutions of Robespierre naturally became a subject of much speculation. Not long before the festival of June 8, an event happened which ought to have warned him of the precariousness and danger of his situation, and prevented his assumption of unseasonable pride. A resolution had been taken to assassinate him and one of his intimates, Collot d'Herbois,[1] by a man of the name of

[1] Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois, born in 1750, began life as a comic actor, and wrote some plays successful in their day. He was at Nice, as envoy, at the time of the trial of Louis XVI., but wrote that he voted "for death without delay." On his return, he advocated the most sanguinary measures, and put them in practice at Lyons. After May 31, 1793, he consorted less with Robespierre; he presided at the

Amiral, who fired a pistol at d'Herbois in open day as he was crossing a street. Being immediately seized, Amiral confessed and gloried in his intentions, regretting only that the attempt had failed. On the very same day (May 25) a young woman named Cecilia Renault went to Robespierre's dwelling, and being told that he was absent, expressed much disappointment. She was suspected, and was consigned to the Revolutionary Tribunal, where her only answer was that she was desirous to see what sort of being a tyrant was. No weapons were found upon her; but she was, together with her family, against whom nothing could be alleged, sent to the guillotine with Amiral and above sixty other persons.

These two attempts against the life of Robespierre were alarming proofs that his popularity was not universal; but he did not seem inclined to relax from the severity he had so steadily adopted ever since his entrance into power. He was now arrived at the plenitude of that power. He acted almost without control. The dreadful decrees followed each other with hardly a day's intermission. No man was safe from the malice of an acquaintance. Informers were secure from detection; no person denouncing another was called upon to allege his motives, or to discover his name, profession, or dwelling. The Revolutionary Tribunal decided at once on the reputation and life of every one brought before it. An accusation, an arrest, and a sentence of death,

Convention of Thermidor 9 (July 27, 1794). Eight months later, he was banished to Cayenne, where he died in 1796.

were now reputed the same thing. One of the assassins of the Tribunal waited every morning upon Robespierre, with a list of the prisoners, and it was his custom to mark with a cross the names of those that were to be condemned. Armed with such power it was not surprising that he made himself, if not the nominal, still the real sovereign of France.

[*NOTE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.*

The *Calendrier Républicain*, set forth by the Convention, abolished the Christian era, and dated the era of the Republic from September 22, 1792, the day of the autumnal equinox. The months, twelve in number, were uniformly composed of thirty days, and were in this order: Vendémiaire (vintage), Brumaire (foggy), Frimaire (frosty), Nivose (snowy), Pluviose (rainy), Ventose (windy), Germinal (buds), Floréal (flowery), Prairial (meadows), Messidor (reaping), Thermidor (heat), Fructidor (fruits). The year was completed by five extra days; six in leap-year. Instead of the months being divided into weeks, there was an arrangement of three decades, of which the days were called, primidi, duodi, tridi, quartidi, quintidi, sextidi, septidi, octidi, nonidi, décadi; the décadi, or tenth day, being the day of rest. The day was divided into ten hours. To replace the calendar of the Roman Church, of which every day was a holy

day or the festival of a saint, there was devised a series of names of animals, metals, agricultural implements, etc., *e.g.* Vendémiaire: primidi, grape; duodi, saffron, etc. The first of the complementary days was consecrated to Virtue; the second to Genius; the third to Labour; the fourth to Opinion; the fifth to Rewards; the sixth, which made up leap-year, was the Festival of the Revolution. Each period of four years ending with bissextile was a *franciade.*

The Republican Calendar was calculated by Gilbert Romme, a mathematician. He was a warm revolutionist, being one of the leaders of the insurrection in Paris on May 20, 1795. He was cited before a military commission, condemned to death, but stabbed himself on the spot. Fabre d'Eglantine invented the names for the calendar. It was in use during thirteen years, and ended on December 31, 1805, when the Gregorian Calendar was re-established in France.]

CHAPTER XIV.

FALL OF ROBESPIERRE, AND END OF THE REIGN OF TERROR.

AMONG the many victims of Robespierre's barbarity, was that truly great man, Lamoignon de Malesherbes. He was born in 1721; he served his country faithfully until 1786, when, thinking with good reason her condition desperate, he retired to his country house. Full of gratitude and intrepidity, he undertook, at great risk, the defence of his unhappy monarch. He was now dragged from his retirement and condemned to die by the guillotine, together with his daughter and her child. The Viscountess de Noailles was doomed because it was thought that probably she had taken part in a conspiracy against the revolutionary government, though it appeared on her trial that it was impossible she could have done so. Anacharsis Clootz was executed; and Lavoisier, the great chemist; and Baron Trenck, on a charge of counter-revolutionary practices; also Colonel Newton, an Englishman who had risen to high rank in the French army; and Thomas Payne. Were we to relate all the barbarities of Robespierre we

1794. April 22.

must of necessity make them the subject of a separate volume.

That party in the Convention to which Danton, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine had belonged became convinced that no safety remained but in the removal of Robespierre. Full of this conviction, they determined, if necessary, to put him to death in the Convention, and trust to their country for approbation of the deed. This seems, however, to have been their last remedy for the present evils.

Robespierre procured a decree by which the two Committees of Public and of General Safety might consign to the Revolutionary Tribunal whomsoever they might think fit objects of national severity. It passed on the day after the grand festival. 1794. But the following day opened a new scene. June 9. A man of great intrepidity undertook to stand forward in asserting the rights of the Convention. This was Bourdon de l'Oise. He demanded of the president whether, by the power vested in the committees, they were authorized to bring the National Deputies before the Tribunal. This question roused at once the whole Convention, which formally decreed that the Committees had the right of arresting members of the Convention, but not of consigning them to the Tribunal until a decree of accusation had been passed against them by their fellow-deputies. This was the first check which Robespierre had ever received in the Convention. He bore it with much coolness, and though generally absent from the Convention, he laboured by means of his trusty agents,

St. Just and Couthon,[1] to procure a number of salutary laws to be passed.

During these two months the victories obtained by the French over the powers combined against them seemed to cast a lustre on the administration under which they were so triumphant. But the cruelties of Robespierre were such as not to admit of exculpation. He was accused, moreover, of intending to procure himself a nomination to supreme and absolute power, under the title of Dictator, and to appoint St. Just and Couthon his coadjutors. In the Committee of Public Safety a powerful combination had been formed against him. Having discovered the parties and resolved to destroy them, he had, according to custom, inserted their names in a list of persons whom he intended to destroy. This list was found upon a member of the Revolutionary Jury, who had been arrested.[2] A report of this nature alarmed the whole of that party which was leagued for his destruction, and they determined on its quickest acceleration.

[1] Georges Couthon, born in 1756, although deprived of the use of his legs, was a prominent actor in the Revolution. He was the first person who demanded the execution of Louis, and who voted for "death without delay." With Robespierre and St. Just, he formed the Triumvirate of the Terror, and it was thought that he aspired to the sovereign power. He fell, with his accomplices, on Thermidor 9, and next day died upon the scaffold which he had long merited for his cold-blooded atrocities.

[2] "There was a remarkable bachelor dinner one hot day, at Barrère's. The day being so hot, it is said the guests all stript their coats and left them in the drawing-room; whereupon Carnot glided out, groped in Robespierre's pocket, found a list of forty, his own name among them, and tarried not at the wine-cup that day" (Carlyle).

It appeared, however, that they were not finally prepared how to act. Barrère found himself obliged to assume the mask of dissimulation; he warned the Convention to be on their guard against conspiracies, and to adhere faithfully to government. The Jacobin Club formally denounced a domestic faction aiming at the ruin of the Convention and the Committees; and on the following day Robespierre mounted the tribune of the Convention, after an absence of six weeks from that assembly, and delivered a long speech on the state of affairs, not forgetting to take notice of the accusation that he aspired to the place of dictator. He violently disclaimed such an idea, which he attributed to the malicious enmity of the British ministry.[1]

1794. July 23.

July 21.

The furious altercation which followed, and the attacks made upon him, struck Robespierre with silent amazement. He would have moved towards the Tribune to speak, but was deterred by Tallien's[2] drawing a dagger, and vowing that he would plunge it into his heart unless the Convention delivered him

[1] During nearly the whole of the Revolution all the misfortunes of France were attributed to the enmity of England, and especially to the malevolence of William Pitt.

[2] Jean Lambert Tallien was born in 1769. He was a violent revolutionist, but perceiving that the only way to save his own life was by destroying Robespierre, he united with others like himself in the accusation and condemnation of the would-be dictator. After the dissolution of the Convention he was one of the Council of the Five Hundred. With the 18th of Fructidor (August—September, 1796) his political career terminated. He accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, was captured by the English on his return, and was afterwards appointed consul at Alicante. He died in 1820. His wife was celebrated as one of the most beautiful women of her time.

up to justice. Tallien then moved that Robespierre should be arrested, together with his accomplices. The decree to this end was passed immediately and unanimously.

Robespierre, deeply sensible of his danger, endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but he was assailed with the cry of "Down with him!" "You shall not speak," said a member to him; "the blood of Danton is upon your head; it flows down your throat; it chokes you!" "Is it Danton, then?" exclaimed Robespierre, bewildered with rage, and overwhelmed by the denunciations of his manifold iniquities, poured upon him without mercy from every quarter. "Lead me, then," he cried in the voice of despair, "to immediate death."

1794. July 27.

In this horrible state he had the consolation, if he was susceptible of any, of seeing his two intimates, Lebas[1] and Couthon, preserve their attachment to him. They were included in the arrest, together with St. Just and Robespierre's brother.

All Paris was now roused. Robespierre and his fellow-prisoners were confined in the Hôtel de Ville. His party assembled themselves under their leaders. Henriot,[2] commanding the National Guards, had been

[1] Philippe François Joseph Lebas was born in 1765. He voted for the death of the king, became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, was arrested with Robespierre, conducted to the prison of La Force, rescued by the mob, and, when about to be retaken, killed himself with a pistol-shot.

[2] François Henriot was born in 1761. He carried out with a high hand the sentences of the Revolutionary Tribunal. On this day he was arrested, and then rescued by Coffinhal. He desired to save Robes-

arrested by decree of the Convention, but found means to escape, and to collect a body of men which he divided into three parts; one as a guard to the municipality at the Hôtel de Ville; another against the Committee of Public Safety; the third against the Convention itself. The Convention adopted vigorous measures against their adversaries, and before night had secured the adherence of the different sections of Paris. In the meantime, Henriot, at the head of his division, made an attempt on the Tuileries, where the Convention held its sittings; but on their proclaiming him outlawed, his soldiers and officers forsook him directly, and he withdrew with this distressing intelligence to his associates at the Hôtel de Ville. Their affairs were now in a desperate condition.

Relying on the effect which the scheme of outlawry had produced, the Convention resolved to attack their enemies with that weapon. At three o'clock in the morning, Bourdon de l'Oise[1] put himself at their head, and marched to the Hôtel de Ville. He halted in front of it, and read the declaration of outlawry; on which the National Guards refused all further obedience to the party they had been brought together to defend. Nothing was

1794. July 28.

pierre and his accomplices; but, seeing him drunk on his horse, his men refused to obey him.

[1] François Louis Bourdon, deputy for the department of the Oise to the Convention, began by being a violent revolutionist, but from this 9th of Thermidor became a violent reactionary. He made a large fortune by speculating in *assignats*, and posed as the enemy of everything that could be deemed republican. The Directory banished him in 1797, and he died shortly afterwards.

left to do but to seize the heads of that party. Bourdon de l'Oise, with a sufficient force, rushed into the Hôtel de Ville and seized most of them. Those who escaped for the present were speedily taken.

Robespierre was found in a room, alone. He had discharged a pistol in his mouth, which had broken his under-jaw. He held a knife in his hand, apparently with the intention of despatching himself; but the soldier who discovered him, thinking that he meant to employ it in his defence, fired a pistol which wounded him in the side. His brother threw himself out of a window, and broke a leg and an arm. Couthon stabbed himself, but not mortally; only Lebas shot himself dead on the spot. Henriot, in the meantime, was endeavouring from one of the windows of the Hôtel de Ville to prevail by his entreaties on the soldiers who had been under his command not to desert the cause they had promised to defend; but he was seized while he was speaking, and hurled headlong upon the stones, where he was bruised to death.

The circumstances attending the latter hours of Robespierre were horrible. He was first conveyed to the house of the Committee of General Security, where he was laid on a table, weltering in the blood which flowed from his wounds. The agony of his mind corresponded with that of his body. In this condition he was carried to the Hôtel Dieu (a hospital). Here his wounds were dressed, merely to enable him to go through the forms of justice. He was then removed to that prison (the Conciergerie)

whither he had sent so many others, and brought from thence before the Revolutionary Tribunal, with his accomplices, where Fouquier-Tinville,[1] the Public Accuser, his intimate and his creature, was officially compelled to demand sentence of death against him and them. He was conducted in their company to the place of execution, where he had caused such numbers to die, loaded all the way with the execrations of a multitude which exceeded any numbers ever assembled before on such an occasion.

The principal of those who suffered with him were his brother, Couthon, St. Just, Dumas, Fleuriot, Mayor of Paris, Vivres, President of the Jacobin Club, and fourteen others of inferior note. In the morning of this memorable day they were deeply busied in the most daring and dangerous conspiracy that ever threatened the Convention; at five in the afternoon their vast projects had been overthrown, and they were all no more!

With the death of Robespierre the Reign of Terror came to an end, and France, weary of bloodshed, stood aghast at her own misdeeds and misery. The following epitaph was written on Robespierre, and appeared in the Paris papers about this time—

> "Passant, qui que tu sois, ne pleurez pas mon sort;
> Si je vivais, tu serais mort."

which may be thus translated—

[1] Antoine Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, born in 1747, appears to have joined in the excesses of the Revolution as a shelter from his creditors. He was frigidly sanguinary. On August 9 his accusation was begun, and after forty days' trial he was condemned and executed.

"Lament not that I lie in my last bed,
For were I living, friend, you would be dead."

The fall of Robespierre was attended by circumstances which strongly proved his popularity to have declined much more than was generally believed. Instead of affording any testimonials of respect to his memory, the populace expressed universal satisfaction at the triumph of the Convention. Two days after his execution about seventy accomplices of the insurrection in his favour were put to death. They were mostly members of the municipality and officers of the National Guards.

[It will have been noticed that the chief actors in the Revolution were men who had hardly attained middle age, and who consequently lacked experience and the calmness which comes with experience and with years; also that very few of the leaders survived the movements which they led; one after another they and their movements were abruptly ended by the axe; and, further, that the French during the last hundred years have been constantly endeavouring to make their constitution as they do their roads, by cutting a straight line from one point to another. Such a method of road-making precludes the picturesque windings which show that the highway has grown from the footpath; and such attempts at constitutions prove the absence of that stability which is the result of law based upon immemorial custom. But here the simile fails; for while the roads arrive at their destination, the constitutions do not, or rather, do come to an end not aimed at by their engineers.]

The people at large, but particularly the more respectable classes, began to breathe from the fatiguing anxiety with which they were continually agitated. The Revolutionary Tribunal, the engine of blood and barbarity, was, pursuant to a decree of the legislature, though not altogether abolished, newly modelled, and placed on a footing of equity and justice that quieted the fears of all friends to the Revolution, at the same time that it held out no further terrors to those who peaceably submitted to the existing government. The prisons, too, were no longer suffered to retain indiscriminately the innocent and the guilty.

The members of the Convention had lived in perpetual terror during the whole time of Robespierre's administration. Distrustful of each other, and conscious that the least indication of discontent at his measures would expose them to instant destruction, they carefully concealed their real sentiments, and expressed so much approbation of his conduct that his partizans in that assembly had no room to suspect its general attachment to him, and were struck with astonishment, as well as himself, when they found their mistake. But the discovery was made too late; the antipathy to Robespierre burst out like a sudden explosion. Though he was apprised that an opposition was formed against him, he never conceived it to be so extensive as to include the whole Convention.

That assembly, being all determined republicans, resolved to frame such a plan of government as might effectually prevent the accumulation of the whole power of the State into the hands of one. The per-

son selected to do this was Barrère. His indefatigable industry enabled him within a week to lay before
1794. August 5. the Convention the scheme of a temporary government entirely comformable to what had been proposed. It was accepted by the Convention with much applause, and decreed to continue in force until the intended plan of a new constitution should have been duly prepared and revised by that body, and have received its formal sanction.

While the Convention were thus employed in endeavours to reconcile, through lenity, the numerous enemies whom the late government had created at home through severity and terror, the utmost efforts were made in that assembly to restore union between the parties that still continued to divide the nation. Those members who had been outlawed or imprisoned were restored to liberty, and, shortly after, to their seats in the Convention. Their number amounted to seventy.

Robespierre's murderous edict prohibiting quarter to be given to the English had always been held in detestation by the public; some members of the Convention, indignant that such a decree should remain on their registers, procured its formal repeal.

An order was made for examining into the conduct of Barrère, Billaud-Varennes,[1] Collot d'Herbois, and Vaudier, who had been the principal acting members

[1] J. Nicolas Billaud-Varennes, born about 1760, was first an Oratorian (*i.e.* a member of the religious congregation founded by St. Philip Neri), but was dismissed. He then married, and entered political life. It was he who moved for "Terror as the order of the day." He died in 1819.

of the Committee of Public Safety under the administration of Robespierre. After two months' examination into their conduct, it was declared that they had been accessory to the tyranny that had been exercised over the people and the Convention. Their lives were spared, but they were banished to Guiana. In this manner terminated the careers of Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes. Vaudier had found means to make his escape. 1795. March 22.

There still remained a man equally guilty with the worst of those who had suffered. This was Joseph Lebon.[1] He was brought to a trial, which terminated in his execution. The president and judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal were also brought to justice. At the head of them stood Fouquier-Tinville. Fifteen others were comprehended in the list, either judges or jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal. They were condemned and executed, to the universal satisfaction of the humane and equitable part of society.

The scarcity of bread, whether real or artificial, was now become too true. Among the remaining leaders of the Jacobins were two members of the Convention whom it had sentenced to imprisonment with several others; but they contrived to escape, and excited the people to rise in arms against May 9.

[1] Joseph Lebon was born at Arras in 1745; was an Oratorian; Curé of Neuville near Arras; Mayor of Arras from August 10, 1792; established the Reign of Terror in his native town; distinguished himself by his cruelties; and was executed there on October 9, 1795.

the Convention. They advised the citizens of Paris to demand "bread, and the constitution of 1793."

The Convention, forewarned, had assembled, and passed a decree to outlaw every one who headed the insurgents. But these now rushed in and took possession of the tribunes, and a fierce contest ensued between them and the Conventional Guards. A body of citizens arrived and entered the hall. One of them snatching off the hat of an insurgent, on which was chalked "Bread, and the constitution of 1793," was instantly cut down with sabres and wounded by a musket-shot. A member of the Convention, Ferrand, endeavouring to assist him, was immediately murdered by the mob, his head cut off and fixed upon a pike. The tumult was become so dreadful that the majority of the members thought it prudent to withdraw. Those only continued in the hall who were favourable to the principles of the insurgents. They were proceeding to pass decrees, when an armed body of citizens, in company with another of military, making their way into the hall, with the information that all Paris was under arms, and that General Hoche[1] was at the head of the city militia, with also a number of the military, struck them with such terror that they dispersed and fled on every side. But they soon reassembled and returned; and the Convention thought it prudent to temporize by inviting the deputies of the insurgents to the honours of

1795. May 20.

[1] Lazare Hoche, born in 1768, was one of the most eminent generals of the Revolution. He died at the age of twenty-nine, leaving a name which his country delights to honour.

the sitting, and giving them the fraternal kiss. The citizens, alarmed, now hastened to support the Convention, and the insurgents, in consequence, prepared for a stout resistance. After a doubtful conflict of three days, fortune declared at last for the Convention.

After the suppression of this dangerous insurrection, the Convention thought it indispensable to make some examples of its authors and promoters. Six of their own body were tried by a military commission, and condemned to die. Three of them were executed, and three perished by their own hands. About fifteen others of inferior note were also put to death. The spirit that promoted this insurrection had been more active than was at first suspected. At Toulon, at Marseilles, at Lyons, and in other parts of France, the work of the Jacobins was remarkable. Ever since the fall of Robespierre the Jacobins had experienced the revenge of the many individuals whose friends and relatives had perished through his cruelties. Violations of the law were reputed justifiable against men who, under its pretended sanction, had committed so many acts of injustice.

A motive which, though not acknowledged, might be justly presumed to operate powerfully in the vengeance now exercised against the Jacobins, was the death of the son of Louis XVI. That unhappy child had been confined in the Temple at the same time with his unfortunate parents. He had now suffered imprisonment nearly three years, and his constitution had been greatly impaired by the wretchedness of his situation. It had been pro- 1795. June 8.

posed in the Convention to set him at liberty; but he was kept still in close confinement, and was used with much inhumanity. So severe a lot, especially at his time of life, accelerated his end; he died in the twelfth year of his age.

The daughter[1] of the unhappy Louis still remained in the hands of the Convention, of whom the most moderate were desirous to liberate her. The decease of her brother had excited almost universal commiseration. A negotiation was opened with the Austrian ministry, who agreed to deliver up some members of the Convention and two ambassadors to the Ottoman Court, who were held captive by order of the imperial government. Towards the close of December the princess was set free from her imprisonment in the Temple, and conducted to Bâle, where she was exchanged for the persons above mentioned.

[1] Marie Thérèse Charlotte, Madame Royale, was born in 1778. On recovering her liberty she went to Vienna. In 1798, she rejoined her uncle, the Comte de Lille, afterwards Louis XVIII., and the following year married her cousin, the Duc d'Angoulême, eldest son of the Duc d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. After some years of wandering, spent chiefly in England, she returned to France in 1814, and came back to England the following year. After the battle of Waterloo she took up her abode in Paris. Again exiled when the Revolution of 1830 placed her cousin Louis Philippe on the throne, she became a widow in 1844, and died at Frohsdorf, in Austria, in October, 1851. Thus closed her gloomy life, than which few can have been more stormy. She left no child.

CHAPTER XV.

LEADING BACKWARD.

A NEW constitution was again proposed for France; those who coolly weighed its merits and defects against those that had been already tried, at once gave it the preference. Its authors prudently admitted of nothing in it that might furnish a pretext to the Jacobins for accusing them of inclining to royalism.

The Convention, in arranging a scheme for a new National Assembly, naturally endeavoured to provide for their own interests, and decreed that the electoral bodies must choose two-thirds of their deputies out of the members of the present Convention. To support their pretensions the Convention released from prison a great number of those who went by the name of Terrorists—men full of rancour at the Parisians for having assisted in quelling the insurrections they had raised. The sight of them inflamed the anger of the Parisians, who were now to make trial whether the confidence they had placed in the military was well or ill-founded. After a fight which lasted the whole day they yielded a dear-bought victory 1795. October 5.

to the troops of the Convention. It was in this conflict that Bonaparte appeared first on the theatre of war, and by his courage and conduct laid the foundation of that confidence in his powers which conducted him so soon thereafter to preferment and to glory.

The Convention was now dominant in Paris, and, consequently, in France. Their new constitution had been accepted by the people. What, therefore, was the disappointment felt when it was found that hardly any other alteration was intended in the form of government than that of names! The Convention came forward with a declaration that such was the danger of the State, that nothing less than a *dictature* of five men would be able to save it. On October 26 the Convention dissolved itself, after sitting upwards of three years. No political assembly recorded in history ever did much greater or worse things; no assembly ever displayed a more astonishing mixture of shining qualities and of atrocious vices.

1795. October 26.

The meeting of the new legislation opened a scene of the most intricate nature. The predominant party held the reins of government in their hands, but the people favoured their rivals. The great object of ambition now was to occupy a seat on the dictatorial throne; but of five directors four were of the ruling faction. Of these the most remarkable and the most known to posterity was the Abbé Siéyès. The one man who was of the opposite faction was Lepaux, a lawyer and a Girondist.

The Revolution being at an end, and weary France

longing for a settled government, her history now becomes chiefly political. The members of the Directory were installed in their high office with great pomp, and with Guards, and with all the magnificence of royalty. The first measure of importance adopted by the Directory was to suppress the Society of the Pantheon, which was, in fact, the Jacobin Society revived. They then founded an institution for the progress and encouragement of arts and sciences. They also, exclusive of the pacification with the two great powers of Spain and Prussia, concluded amicable treaties with Tuscany, with Sweden, with Switzerland, or rather, with the Protestant cantons of that republic; the affairs of Switzerland belong to another page of history, and cannot be even glanced at here. Holland, too, acceded to the friendly overtures of France.

The conclusion of the year 1794 and the commencement of 1795 were marked by the splendour attending the arms of France in every part of Europe, and the dejection with which their successes had impressed most of the powers engaged in the coalition against them. [The foreign policy and campaigns of France, though closely connected with her internal agitations, have appeared to be so much outside the scope of the present volume that little has been said about them. In like manner the war in La Vendée has scarcely received an allusion, for the reason that to speak of it with more than a mere allusion would necessarily occupy far too much space. But now, as we drift from the raging ocean of the French Revolution into waters stormy enough, but not fierce with

that fury in which no sail could lead, no helm could guide, we must see the position which France held among the nations, and the port to which she was driving by stress of weather.]

The successes of her arms had painfully impressed most of the powers engaged in the coalition; everywhere the people of the inferior ranks reprobated the coalition, and styled it the war of kings against the people. The triumphs of France over all her enemies and the popular sympathy of the lower classes with the French republicans could not but perplex and trouble the English ministry, and make them hesitate concerning the measures proper to be pursued, when the parliament of Great Britain resumed its annual session. Their country was already involved in a war with France, and the taxation necessary to carry it on weighed heavily on the country.

The French, in the midst of their successes against all their other enemies, were deeply exasperated at the unconquerable resistance of the English. In both the House of Lords and the House of Commons it was warmly debated whether one nation had a right to interfere in the government of another that acted on principles dangerous to its neighbours, and what was the object for which the English were contending. Mr. Pitt said that though the French had been so successful, there was no motive sufficiently strong to induce this country to look upon the affairs of the coalition as in a state of danger. He would therefore move "that it was the determination of the House to prosecute the war, as the only means of procuring a

permanent and secure peace." The ministry were unwilling that England should recognize a republican form of government in France by treating with its heads; the Opposition again and again insisted that it was incumbent on government to remove every impediment that stood in the way of peace between Great Britain and France. Pitt carried his point, and the country stood committed to war with France.

[We have seen how the executive power in France was lodged in the hands of the five persons called the "Directory." One member of this body must vacate his seat and be replaced each year; but the Directory had a difficult task in endeavouring to please all parties, for all parties mistrusted them. When they took office the public exchequer was empty, but they soon succeeded in restoring a gold and silver currency. The circulation of specie revived confidence; then also revived luxury and corruption, all the greater because following on a time of depression, of mourning, and of bloodshed. The royalist party threatened the revolutionary, which was saved by the *coup d'état* of the 18th of Fructidor (September 4, 1797), when three of the *directeurs* rose against their two fellows, and the Councils of the Five Hundred and the Ancients. On June 18, 1799, the Councils were in revolt against the Directory; a great crisis had arrived, and a vast change or upheaval appeared imminent. General Buonaparte secretly quitted Egypt, and landed at Fréjus. At once the constitution was abolished, the Directory dissolved, and the government of the Republic became "pro-

1795. October 27.

visionally consular." The only mark which the Directory left on its age was that of unchecked stock-jobbing and unbridled licence of morals and manners.

Buonaparte was First Consul, Siéyès Second, Roger Ducos Third.

His wonderful career and success made Buonaparte the idol of the people, and prepared them for any step which he might choose to take. During the next fifteen years England and France were at either open or covert enmity. The great general, to whom England opposed one as great, was even now learning his art with a rapidity which in a few years brought him to the highest point of success. At Toulon the port, the arsenal, and the fleet had been delivered by treason to the English. Napoleon Buonaparte recaptured the fort, and the English retired from Toulon. We see him commanding in Italy; we have already seen him prominent in Paris, and victorious in Egypt. He will lead his country on from glory to glory, himself the very focus of his country's glory. At last we shall behold him step up from the seat of Consul to the throne of Emperor; and then we shall watch his quick decline from splendour to failure, to exile, and to death.

But the life of Napoleon is not to be written here. We have followed the Revolution from its origin in the effete monarchy to its close in a republican government. Our present task is finished.]

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