

and which abridged the jurisdiction of the Parliament. Resistance was everywhere organized, and disturbances took place in Brittany, in Béarn, and in ten other provinces, and an insurrection in Grenoble. To raise money, Brienne seized the invalid pension fund and the proceeds of several benevolent lotteries; but in August, 1788, he was obliged to declare that the payments of the State should be made partly in specie, partly in treasury notes. This was a fatal blow to Brienne. He was obliged to give up his place to Necker (August 23).

Second Ministry of Necker (1788-1789).—The return of Necker called forth acclamations of joy; the departure of Brienne caused scenes of disorder and unhappily of bloodshed. This first bloodshed in Paris made a deep impression. However, confidence revived, thanks to Necker. In one day the public securities rose thirty per cent. But there were in the treasury only five hundred thousand livres, while the needs of the State were urgent and considerable. It was too late to save the country by minor expedients. An appeal to the nation became indispensable. Brienne had promised to convoke the States-General in 1789; Necker confirmed the engagement.

Convocation of the States-General.—The meeting of the States became the one thought of France. Under what form should they assemble? The Third Estate had become a considerable order, on account of its wealth, its intelligence, its activity, and the conspicuous positions held by its chief men in the government and in the administration of the country. Respect for the nobility was greatly diminished. Now in order that the Third Estate should occupy the position it deserved, it was necessary at least to double the number of its members, and establish individual vote, in place of vote by orders. This view was sustained by Necker and by all liberal men. But the nobility resisted. Necker wished to decide the question in an assembly of Notables, but they refused to make any change in the ancient form. Then he resolved to settle one part of the difficulty himself. A decree of the council, establishing double representation, without deciding anything as to individual vote, convoked the States at Versailles for the first of May, 1789.

FIFTEENTH PERIOD.

CONSTITUTIONAL FRANCE, SINCE 1789.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(1789-1791 A.D.)

Necessity of a Constitution.—It had been long said that the Third Estate paid in money, the nobility in blood, and the clergy in prayers. Now, the clergy of the court and the salon prayed but little, and the nobility no longer composed the entire army; but the Third Estate had remained faithful to its functions in the State: it was always paying, and more each year. It was inevitable that the day should come when, weary of paying, it would demand a reckoning. That day is called the Revolution of 1789.

The abbé Siéyès, in a celebrated pamphlet, discussing questions which every one was then asking, said, "What is the Third Estate? The nation. What is it now? Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything." He estimated the number of the nobility of all ages and both sexes to be less than one hundred and ten thousand, and the clergy was not more numerous.

The court, especially the queen, the Count of Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, were desirous that the States-General should have charge of financial matters only, and that when the deficit was made up and the debts paid, the deputies should be sent home. But political reforms were the best precaution to be taken against the recurrence of the deficit.

France suffered, in fact, from two evils, of which one was the result of the other,—a bad financial system and a bad

political system, the deficit and the governmental abuses. In order to remedy the first, three things were necessary, — economy, a less expensive system of collection, a more equitable distribution of taxation; to remedy the second, a reorganization of the government was needed. Royalty, which had already been transformed so many times, must submit to another change; for, under its latest form, that of absolute royalty by divine right, it had produced all that the country could expect from it, unity of territory and governmental unity. With the immense development of industry, commerce, science, public spirit, and personal wealth, France now had interests too complex, needs too numerous, to be able to place the control of them all in the hands of a single man. The nation was sufficiently mature to take charge of its own affairs. Unfortunately a people separates itself from its past only at the cost of cruel lacerations.

The Elections; Mirabeau. — The excitement increased. Clubs were organized everywhere; among them the Breton Club, out of which was to grow the sinister society of the Jacobins. Divisions existed in the very midst of the privileged orders. The clergy had its democracy, the country curates; a portion of the great lords, La Fayette, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the counts of Montmorency and Lally-Tollendal, the Viscount de Noailles, etc., were favorable to reforms.

In Provence the nobles protested against the decision of the king's council. An illustrious deserter of their cause, the Count of Mirabeau, made a violent attack upon this protest. Repelled by the nobles, who would not allow him to take his seat among them, he went through the province, among the populace, who were dazzled by the first brilliancy of his eloquence, and calmed by his influence the disturbances which had burst out at Aix and Marseilles. His youth had been passed in dissipation; but he had suffered much from the harsh injustice of his father and also of the government, which had issued against him seventeen *lettres de cachet*. He had been imprisoned and condemned to death. His was a stained name, but he possessed a superior mind. His voice was to become the voice of the Revolution itself.

Demands of the Cahiers. — The following are the demands which, being found in almost all the cahiers, or instructions of the deputies, were not subject to any discussion.

1. Political: that sovereignty, emanating from the people, should be exercised only by the agreement of the national representatives with the hereditary chief of the State; the urgency of establishing a constitution for France; the exclusive right of the States-General to make the laws, which, before being promulgated, should obtain the royal sanction, to control public expenses, and to vote taxes; the abolition of financial immunities and personal privileges of the clergy and the nobility; the suppression of the last remnants of serfdom; the admissibility of all citizens to public employment; the responsibility of the agents of executive power.

2. Moral: liberty of worship and of the press; education of poor and abandoned children by the State.

3. Judicial: uniformity of legislation and of jurisprudence; the suppression of exceptional jurisdictions; the publicity of debates; the amelioration of penal laws; the reform of procedure.

4. Administrative: the creation of provincial assemblies; unity of weights and measures; a re-division of the kingdom according to population and revenue.

5. Economic: liberty of industries; the suppression of internal customs-duties; the replacing of the various taxes by a real estate and personal tax which would reach the products, but never the capital. Such were "the principles of '89."

Opening of the States-General (May 5, 1789). — On the 2d of May all the deputies assembled at Versailles, and were presented to the king. On the 4th they repaired in solemn procession to the church of St. Louis.

May 5th, the States convened in the Salle des Menus. The king was on the throne, surrounded by the princes of the blood: the court stood on the steps. The rest of the hall was occupied by the three orders; on the right of the throne sat the clergy, who numbered 291 members, of whom 48 were archbishops or bishops, 35 abbés or canons, 204 curates, and three monks; on the left the nobility, comprising 270 members, as follows: one prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, 240 gentlemen, and 28 magistrates of the superior courts; last of all, at the lower end, on lower seats, the Third Estate, composed of 584 members, of whom 12 were gentlemen, two priests, 18 mayors or consuls of large cities, 162 magistrates of *bailliages* or *sénéchaussés*, 212

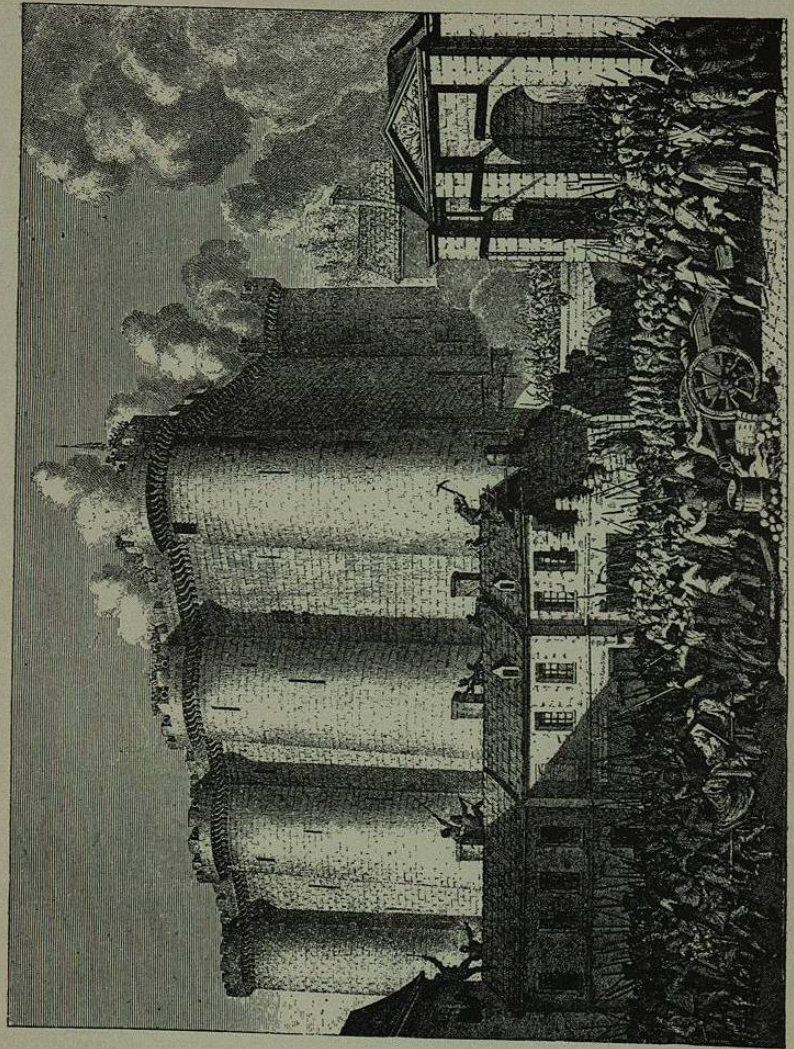
lawyers, 16 physicians, 162 merchants or landowners and farmers.

The king expressed in a few noble words his wishes for the prosperity of the nation, and urged the States to work for it without allowing themselves to be carried away by the exaggerated desire for innovations. He was followed by the keeper of the seals, Barentin, and by the director-general of finances, Necker, who wearied the deputies with his long speech. Two passages of his discourse excited deep interest; the one in which he made the acknowledgment of an annual deficit of 56,000,000, and 260,000,000 of anticipated receipts, and the other in which he declared that the king demanded that the States should aid him in establishing the prosperity of the kingdom upon solid foundations.

The Deputies of the Third Estate declare themselves a National Constituent Assembly (June 17, 1789).—In the discussion which took place on the subject of the first question at issue, the verification of the powers of the deputies, the Third Estate declared that this verification should be made in common with the nobility and clergy, while the latter contended that each order should verify separately the credentials of its members. Upon the manner in which this question should be discussed depended the mode of deliberation which should be adopted for others, and the question between vote by orders and vote by members. Now if the vote was to be taken by orders, the majority would be assured to the clergy and nobility; if by members, it would be secured to the deputies of the Third Estate.

For five weeks the deputies of the Third Estate, masters of the common hall of session, employed all their energies in trying to induce the two higher orders to unite with them. At length a large number of *curés* joined them. Finally, on June 17, on motion of Abbé Siéyès, the commons resolved themselves into a national assembly, "inasmuch as this assembly is already composed of representatives sent directly by at least ninety-six hundredths of the nation." Later it added to its title the word "constituent."

The Tennis Court Oath (June 20).—This declaration, which opened the Revolution, brought terror to the court and to the two higher orders. The clergy, by a small majority, decided to join the Assembly (June 19). The court urged the king to take violent measures; announcing a royal sitting for June 22, he had the hall of the sessions



THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE. (Priens.)

guarded by soldiers, under pretext of making preparations. On June 20 Bailly, the president of the Third Estate, finding the door closed, convoked them in a tennis court. There the deputies took a solemn oath not to separate until they had established a constitution for France. The next day, the majority of the clergy having joined the Third Estate, the church of St. Louis was opened, and the Assembly began its deliberations.

Fusion of the Three Orders (June 27).—The royal session was then held, after a double check received by the government. Louis XVI. uttered threatening words; he warned the deputies not to touch the ancient and constitutional rights of the three orders. "If you abandon me," he added, "I will work out the welfare of my people alone." He went out, commanding the orders to retire to their respective halls. The first two obeyed, with the exception of a few members of the clergy; the third remained. The Marquis of Brézé, grand master of ceremonies, came back into the hall and said, "Gentlemen, you have heard the orders of the king." Mirabeau rebuked him for his presumption, and replied: "Go and tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will be sent away only at the point of the bayonet." The Assembly immediately proclaimed the inviolability of its members (June 23). The next day the majority of the clergy, and the day after forty-seven members of the nobility, with the Duke of Orleans at their head, united with the Third Estate. Necker advised the king himself to persuade the two higher orders to join the third. They obeyed, June 27, and were received as though their coming was the lasting pledge of a fraternal union. The Assembly then organized in thirty committees; the deputies of the Third Estate chose all the presidents from among the ecclesiastics and nobles.

The Taking of the Bastille (July 14).—But the court was considering violent measures. Thirty thousand troops, under Marshal Broglie, were concentrated around Paris and Versailles, to protect the Assembly, it was said, and to maintain order. There were some foreign regiments among them; the Swiss and the Royal German, who were in great favor because their fidelity was not doubtful. The French regiments had been influenced by the ideas which were then in circulation, and so much the more as the army itself was burdened by numerous abuses. Paris was disturbed at these

military measures. The focus of the discussion was the garden of the Palais-Royal. A table served as a rostrum. Here all the acts of the Assembly and the court were discussed. The Assembly demanded the removal of the troops, whose presence irritated the people. But instead they were suddenly informed of the dismissal and exile of Necker (July 11). The next day Paris burst forth like a volcano; the Palais-Royal resounded with exclamations of passionate anger; a young man, Camille Desmoulins, boiling with indignation, jumped upon a table, pistol in hand, and harangued the citizens. The leaves of the chestnut trees in the garden were taken for cockades; the crowd seized the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, and bore them about in triumph. At several points it came into collision with the royal troops, and some bloodshed resulted.

During these tumultuous disturbances the Assembly made some efforts for the recall of Necker, which Louis XVI. repelled. At the same time they sent a petition to the king, asking for a withdrawal of the troops. In Paris matters were pushed more rapidly and farther. There was a sort of new municipality formed by the electors, which took the place of the old one in the confidence of the people. The electors were citizens, who, when the election for the deputation of Paris was terminated, had continued to assemble in order to finish the drawing up of their cahiers, and had even obtained a hall in the Hôtel de Ville. Then, without commission, without warrant, and therefore illegally, but with an authority which was obeyed by the whole city, they constituted themselves, July 13, an administrative body. The people cried out for arms, so as to be able to defend themselves against the probable attack of the troops. The electors decreed that a guard should be formed from the middle class, four hundred men from each of the sixty districts. Fifty thousand pikes were made in thirty-six hours; thirty thousand guns, with sabres and cannons, were taken from the Hôtel des Invalides. On the 13th the troops who occupied the Champs-Élysées were withdrawn, and the Parisians were masters of the city. "To the Bastille!" became the general cry. The people rushed thither from all quarters. The governor, De Launay, had only two hundred Swiss or pensioners as a garrison; however, the castle was so strong that the assailants had a struggle of several hours before they were able to take it. They gained an entrance

after having lost nearly a third of their number, one hundred and seventy-one killed and wounded. De Launay was murdered by the populace. Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, and several soldiers, shared the same fate. Their heads were set on pikes and carried through the city. The populace had had a taste of blood, and the Revolution had its first *journée*.

The National Guard; the Tricolor Cockade.—When the Duke of Liancourt informed the king of the storming of the Bastille, "Is this then a revolt?" said he. "No, Sire," replied the duke; "it is a revolution." The king went to the Assembly. When he appeared without guards and declared that he and the nation were one, that he confided himself to the National Assembly, that he would consent to the withdrawal of the German troops, and that he would recall Necker to the ministry, he was greeted with great applause, and an immense crowd followed him on his way to Paris. He entered the city in the midst of this crowd armed with guns, pikes, axes, and scythes, and dragging a few pieces of artillery. Bailly, who had just been appointed mayor of Paris, received the king at the gates and delivered to him the keys of the city. "They are the same," said he, "which were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people, Sire; now it is the people who have reconquered their king." Louis could even then have regained the hearts of his people, but he was not the man for such an emergency. The revolution continued in his very presence. La Fayette, being appointed general of the citizen-militia, hastened to organize it under the name of National Guard, and gave it for its cockade the two old colors of Paris, red and blue, between which he placed white, the color of the monarchy of France.

Abolition of Privileges (night of the 4th of August).—The excitement had spread through the whole country. In many places the peasants burned the convents and castles so as to destroy the old titles and feudal charters. It became urgently necessary to prevent a second *Jacquerie* by great reforms. The nobility set the example: the Duke of Aiguillon, the Viscount of Noailles, Mathieu de Montmorency, proposed the purchase of their privileges; soon the emulation increased, all privileges were abolished; seignorial rights, rights of jurisdiction, ecclesiastical tithes, personal, provincial, and municipal privileges. The feudal régime was destroyed, and the reign of equality began.

Opposition of the Court; Events of October 5 and 6, 1789.

— One of the first acts of the Assembly was to draw up a declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen, in which were set forth the principles upon which the constitution should be established. Soon those who wished to divide the legislative power between two chambers, as in England, and give the king an unlimited veto, were vanquished. Influence was passing into the hands of men who had determined to go to the extreme of attack, as well as of resistance. Among those about the king, and in spite of him, the plan of resorting to force was resumed. The Flanders regiment was recalled to Versailles. A banquet given to its officers was turned into a royalist demonstration; the ladies distributed white cockades, and the tricolor cockades, it is said, were trodden under foot (October 1).

Meantime Paris was dying of hunger. The winter had been severe, and there had been famine in several provinces. For three months Paris lived one day at a time, receiving to-day the flour for the bread of to-morrow. When the news of the festival at Versailles reached the ears of the famished populace, the slight provocation was sufficient to cause an insurrection. An army of women cried out, "Give us bread," and marched in a body to Versailles, thinking that they would have plenty if they could bring the king to Paris. The men followed; La Fayette, vainly opposing, was himself dragged along by the Parisian army. The multitude reached the courtyard of the château; a struggle with the body-guard took place. The queen was saved only by the devotion of a few of her guards. During an absence of La Fayette the château was forced. The king was obliged to show himself and promise to go to Paris. The queen determined to accompany him. The journey was not without danger for her. La Fayette led her out upon a balcony, and respectfully kissed her hand as a sign of reconciliation between royalty and the revolution; the crowd applauded. A few moments after, the royal family set out in the midst of this tumultuous crowd, which conducted them back as prisoners to the capital (October 5 and 6). The Assembly most unwisely followed, and installed itself first in the archbishop's chapel, and afterwards in the riding-school near the Tuileries. From that moment the Assembly found itself, as well as the king, in the hands of the populace, to whom the success of the expedition to Versailles had been

a fatal revelation that it was possible to substitute force for discussion.

Popular Excesses; the Emigration. — Already culpable excesses had occurred. Those men of blood and destruction had appeared who are always to be found in popular disturbances. After the taking of the Bastille, De Launay and Flesselles had been killed, afterward the minister Foulon and the intendant Bertier; then the king's guards. In the provinces the peasants were not always content with tearing up feudal title deeds, and pulling down towers and drawbridges; they sometimes struck down the lords themselves. Terror filled the court and the château. The most unwise counsellors of the king, the Count of Artois his brother, the princes of Condé and Conti, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, etc., were the first to fly on the day after the storming of the Bastille: many others followed their example. They left the king alone in the midst of the populace, whose anger they had just aroused by bringing against the country the arms of foreigners.

Double Movement which hastened the Revolution. — From October 6, 1789, to September 30, 1791, the day upon which the National Assembly dissolved, France was seized by two contrary movements. On the one hand, the Revolution, begun by almost the whole nation, then guided for a time by the pupils of Montesquieu, who demanded for France only a constitution modelled upon that of England, tended to pass into the hands of popular tribunes, and was becoming each day more democratic. On the other, the court concealed its regrets under cover of a feigned docility, and by the suspicions and fears which its conduct inspired, hastened the advance of the Revolution, which was becoming implacable.

Labors of the Assembly; Political and Civil Reforms. — The National Assembly pursued the course of its labors, pulling down with one hand, building with the other, with an enthusiasm sometimes rash, more often wisely inspired. After having despoiled the absolute monarchy of the right of making laws, establishing taxation, and making peace and war, it reduced the monarch to being only the chief functionary of the State. The dissenting faiths, the press, industry, and commerce were freed from all hindrances. Rights of primogeniture and entails were suppressed; equal division of property among all the children of the deceased

was rendered obligatory; confiscation abolished; civil marriage provided for. Protestants and Jews were admitted to the enjoyment of all civil rights; and the former recovered such portions of their estates as had been incorporated in the domains of the State; the mulattoes of the colonies obtained civil rights. Finally, the Assembly abolished all titles, destroyed the orders of the nobility and clergy, reduced the nobles to the rank of citizens, the priests to that of public functionaries; it established equality of penalties, and diminished the number of cases calling for the penalty of death: it declared all Frenchmen admissible to public employments and to military grades, all subject to taxation in proportion to their ability; and it replaced the old provincial demarcations by the division into departments (January, 1790). There were at first eighty-three of them, about equal in extent, the boundaries and names of which were not derived from any of the old traditions, but from natural features, the rivers and mountains. Each department was divided into districts, the districts into cantons, the cantons into communes or municipalities numbering 44,828.

The National Property; the Assignats.—Mirabeau, by showing that fearful bankruptcy was at the door, caused all citizens to vote unanimously, on the proposition of Necker, for a patriotic sacrifice of one-fourth of their revenues. This was not sufficient. The Assembly, considering the property of the clergy simply in the light of a deposit, decided that such property should revert to the nation. Then the clergy claimed to be proprietors by right of prescription, and in the interest of worship, of the hospitals and the poor. But the clergy having ceased to be a corporation, had lost its quality of proprietor; and the State took possession of the property by right of escheat (November 2, 1789); the domains of the Church were placed at the disposal of the nation, and the minister was authorized to sell them at auction to the amount of 400,000,000, on condition that the State should provide in a suitable manner for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the support of the poor, which was done. The lands of the crown, the property of the émigrés, confiscated later (July, 1792), were also declared to be national property.

To sell all this property, to distribute it among the nation, was a powerful means of attaching the country people

strongly to the Revolution. The State issued paper money having a forced currency which should receive preference in payment for national property. This was the origin of the *assignats*.

Judicial Reforms.—The Assembly had destroyed the parliaments, the seignorial jurisdictions, and those of the royal provosts, baillis, and seneschals, and the court of accounts. But it laid down the fruitful principle of the separation of administrative and judicial powers, and it instituted for the whole kingdom a court of cassation, deciding appeals in the last resort; for each department, a criminal court which was assisted by a jury; for each district, a civil court; for each canton, a judge of the peace and a *bureau of conciliation*; in the principal cities consular courts; and, for the offences of great public functionaries and for crimes against the welfare of the State, a high court of justice (May, 1791). It provided for the framing of a uniform civil code. The magistrates were to be elected for ten years.

Financial Reforms.—The Assembly had abolished the systems of taxation of the old régime, which were so multiplied and so vexatious. But it declared that each citizen should contribute to the public expenses in proportion to his ability, and it decreed a tax upon patents, a personal tax, and a land-tax. It preserved, while simplifying them, the duties on registrations and mortgages, and the stamp-tax. It abolished internal custom-houses, but preserved those on the frontier; and it allowed free importation of all raw materials and articles of food. It established a uniform system of weights and measures.

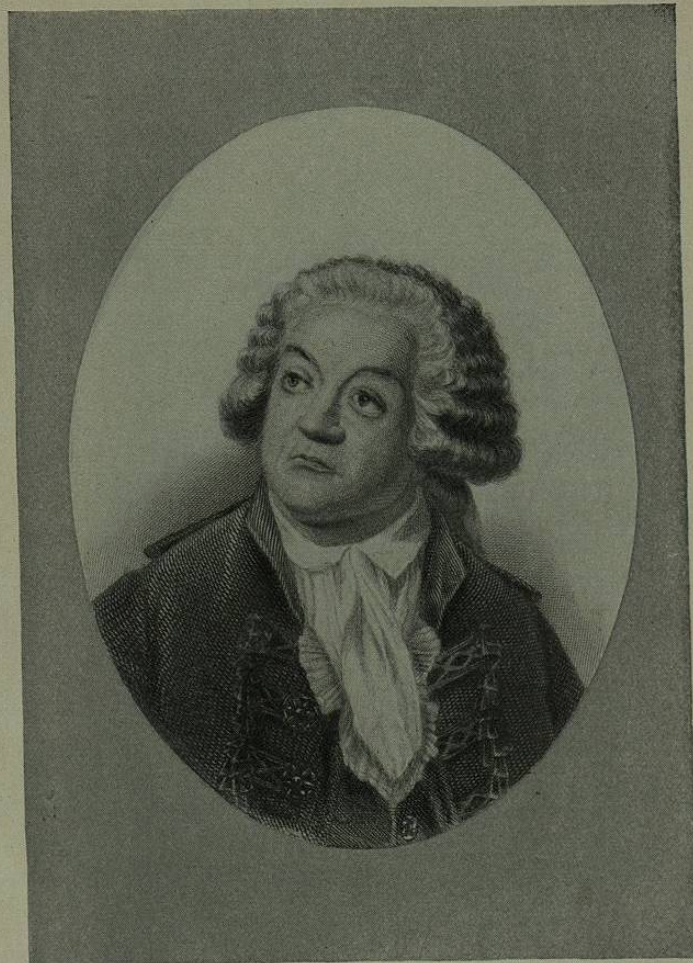
The Federation (July 14, 1790).—Thus were the desires for the political and social renovation of France realized. Unfortunately, the timidity of some, the impatience of others, and the crimes of a few caused them to fall short of their aim, and the beautiful edifice, prepared by the labors of a whole century, fell to the ground, to rise again, mutilated, only after horrible convulsions.

In the middle of the year 1790 many clouds, and some of them bloody ones, had already appeared on the horizon; but the people still believed in the political success of this great undertaking, and there was a moment of universal confidence and boundless hope at the Feast of the Federation given by the Parisians in the Champs de Mars to the deputies of the army and the departments. The local *fed-*

erations, or patriotic unions of citizens and soldiers, sent one hundred thousand representatives to Paris on the 14th of July, 1790. In the midst of the Champs de Mars was erected the altar of the Fatherland; an immense crowd surged over the vast plain; La Fayette, who had been appointed commander of the national guards of the kingdom, was the first to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution, which was repeated by thousands of voices. The king repeated it in his turn in a loud voice. Sincere and unanimous acclamations rent the air. It was the happiest day of the Revolution; the spirit of concord and fraternal devotion filled all hearts.

The Clubs: Jacobins, Cordeliers, etc. — Everywhere debating clubs were formed, all of which tried to influence public opinion; and some of them began to manifest much violence against the clergy, the court, and even the Assembly. The most active of these societies was the Breton Club, established at the convent of the Jacobins, whose name it took later. It was still under the influence of enthusiastic but moderate men; later, Robespierre reigned supreme in it. But there was also formed, at the convent of the Cordeliers, the terrible club directed by Danton. The press spread the flames: Camille Desmoulins, in his journal, *Les Révolutions de Brabant et de Flandre*; the hideous Marat, in *L'Ami du Peuple*. The provinces were as much agitated as Paris; there were disturbances, particularly in the south. The insurrection reached even the army. Necker, seeing his powerlessness, handed in his resignation (September, 1790).

Death of Mirabeau (April 2, 1791). — The National Assembly felt itself morally obliged to interpose its authority in order to put a stop to anarchy. Mirabeau, who was daily acquiring a greater influence in it, began also boldly to demand the repression of the factions. He even approached the court and consulted with the king and queen, for the purpose not of destroying, but of arresting and consolidating the Revolution. He believed himself strong enough, should he be called to the ministry, to restrain both the torrent of popular passions and that of aristocratic passions. Death deprived him of this test of his power. Worn out before he was old by all sorts of excesses, he was still speaking, writing, and working actively when suddenly his strength failed him. As soon as it was known that a serious malady threatened his life, the street of Chaussée-



MIRABEAU.

d'Antin, in which he lived, was crowded with an anxious multitude, who seemed crushed as by a public calamity. He expired the 2d of April, 1791, when not quite forty-two years old. The whole National Assembly, all Paris, indeed, escorted his remains to the Pantheon, where he was buried.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy.— After Mirabeau's death, Louis XVI. no longer heard moderate counsels, nor advice in favor of constitutional rule, which, moreover, was repugnant to all his habits, and of which the queen had a horror. The measures taken by the Assembly relative to the clergy were especially abhorrent to him.

Already the clergy had ceased to be proprietors and to form a separate order in the State; the number of convents had been restricted; the taking of monastic vows had been suspended, and the legal sanction refused to vows previously taken. The Assembly went still further; it reduced the number of archbishoprics and bishoprics from one hundred and thirty-five to eighty-three, one for each department, and decreed that the electors who chose the administrators of the departments and the deputies of the National Assembly should also choose the bishops and curés (July 12, 1791).

This Civil Constitution of the Clergy, to which all the priests were obliged to take oath, disturbed the established ecclesiastical hierarchy. There was to be a Catholicism in France different from that in Rome, at least in respect to discipline, canonical institution, and spiritual jurisdiction. The measure was also politically unwise, as giving opportunity to the adversaries of the new social order "to oppose religious enthusiasm to the enthusiasm for liberty."

A part of the provinces, indeed, turned against the Revolution when the Pope forbade the taking of the oath (1791). A very large majority of the bishops refused to take it; those who took it formed, under the title of the *sworn* or *constitutional priests*, the clergy recognized by the State. There were thus two worships: one public, in churches deserted by the faithful; the other, clandestine, in secret places, which had consequently much the greater spiritual influence. The nobles were already enemies of the Revolution; the priests were now entering into the fight against it.

Opposition of the King.— The king, too, opposed his veto; he did not withdraw it until the expiration of five months. In his own eyes, as well as in those of the court and of

Europe, he was no longer free, and all his strength was gone. The court, however, still counted upon the fidelity of the army, and upon the foreign sovereigns, who were frightened at the sight of this tremendous revolution, which gave to the world such passionate speeches and such fearful examples. Hence came the suggestion of flight and of appeal to the other sovereigns of Europe.

Flight of the King (June 20, 1791). — The Count of Artois and the Prince of Condé, chiefs of the émigrés, were occupied abroad with finding means to deliver Louis XVI.; the former, with the king's consent, undertook negotiations with the emperor Leopold, which resulted in a secret convention. The sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, Spain, and even Switzerland, engaged to station along the frontiers of the kingdom different bodies of soldiery, amounting to one hundred thousand men (conference of Mantua, May, 1791).

Thus Louis XVI. authorized the blockade and invasion of France; but first he wished to be free. He left the Tuileries in the night of the 20th of June with the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal his daughter, and his sister Madame Elizabeth, and the governess of the children, Madame de Tourzel, and proceeded rapidly on the road to Montmédy, along which Bouillé had been ordered to place detachments of troops. But at Sainte-Menehould the king was recognized by the postmaster, Drouet; at Varennes he was stopped by the procureur of the commune and sent back under guard of commissioners sent from Paris. He re-entered the capital in the midst of an immense and silent crowd.

Affair of the Champ de Mars (July 17, 1791). — The king was at first suspended from the exercise of his powers and placed under guard; the constitutionalists of the Feuillant Club, who still ruled the Assembly, declared that if he retracted his oath of allegiance to the constitution, and placed himself at the head of an army to make war against the nation, he should be considered as having abdicated. But already republican ideas had been openly uttered. A petition drawn up in strong language by the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, summoning the Assembly to pronounce the deposition of Louis, was placed upon the altar of the Fatherland in the Champ de Mars to receive signatures. On the 17th of July a considerable crowd assembled and riotous

demonstrations were made. The Assembly ordered the commanding general of the National Guards and the mayor of Paris to disperse the crowd. La Fayette and Bailly marched their troops into the Champ de Mars. Attacked by the mob, Bailly ordered his troops to fire upon them, and several were killed.

The King re-established in his Functions (September 14). — The Assembly, fatigued by its long-continued labors, hastened to finish the constitution. On the 14th of September the king accepted it, and solemnly swore to observe it. The Assembly restored him to his former powers; but could it give back to him the moral power which he had lost, or could he infuse into those about him his desire to live loyally under the new laws?

Constitution of 1791. — This constitution bestowed the legislative power upon a single and permanent assembly, which the king had not the right to dissolve, and which was renewed by general election every two years. This assembly alone had the initiative of laws and the right to make war; it allowed the monarchy, together with the executive power, a suspensory veto. The deputies to the National Assembly, the administrators of the departments, those of the districts, and the judges of the courts, were chosen by secondary elections. Suffrage was given to citizens twenty-five years of age, entered upon the rolls of the National Guard, who had lived one year in the canton, and paid a direct tax equal to the local value of three days' work.

The constitution of 1791, with its two millions of voters, was odious to the court and to Europe generally, as being too revolutionary; by those holding republican opinions it was considered too aristocratic.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (September 30, 1791). — The Constituent Assembly concluded its career by proclaiming a general amnesty, and making efforts to recall the émigrés to their country. It has a right, in spite of its errors, to the gratitude of the nation; for if its political reforms have perished, almost all its civil reforms have survived.

The Constituent Assembly had, upon motion of Robespierre, forbidden the re-election of its members; a disinterested but unwise measure, which would deprive the new assembly of the experience which the members of the Constituent had so dearly bought.