

They took the busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans, for it was reported that he also was exiled; they covered them with crape, and carried them in triumph. They traversed the streets Saint Martin, Saint Denis, Saint Honoré, and gained fresh accessions at every step. The people compelled all those whom they met to pull off their hats. The horse patrol was found in their route, the crowd took them for an escort; they advanced to the place Vendôme, where they carried the two busts in procession round the statue of Louis XVI. A detachment of the German royals arrived, wishing to disperse the populace; but was put to flight by showers of stones, and the multitude continued its course till it arrived at the place Louis XV. But there it was attacked by the dragoons of the prince of Lambesc; it resisted for some moments, and was broken; the carrier of one of the busts, and a soldier of the French guards, were killed; the people were dispersed, a part flying towards the quays, others falling back upon the boulevards, the remainder throwing themselves into the Tuileries by the turning bridge. The prince of Lambesc pursued them into the garden, with a drawn sabre, at the head of his cavaliers; he charged a multitude without arms, which was, in fact, merely a crowd, promenading peaceably along. In this charge an old man was wounded by a stroke of a sabre; they defended themselves with the seats, and mounted upon the platforms; the indignation became general, and the call to arms resounded through every quarter, in the Tuileries, in the Palais-Royal, in the city, and in the Faubourgs.

The regiment of the French guards was, as we have already seen, well-disposed towards the people; they had confined it in its barracks. The prince of Lambesc, fearing, nevertheless, that it might take a part, gave orders to sixty dragoons to go and place themselves in front of its dépôt, situated in the Chaussée-d'Antin. The soldiers of the guards, already discontented at being retained prisoners, became indignant at the sight of those strangers, with whom they had had a quarrel a few days before; they wished to run to arms, and their officers, alternately employing menaces and prayers, with great difficulty restrained them. But they would hear nothing more; when some of them came to announce the charge at the Tuileries, and the death of one of their comrades, they seized their arms, broke the gratings, ranged themselves in line of battle at the entrance of the barracks in front of the dragoons, and gave the word, "*Qui vive?*" "The Royal Germans." "Are ye for the *tiers-état?*?" "We are for those who give us orders." The French guards instantly fired upon them, and killed nine of their men, wounded three, and put the rest to flight. They then marched forward in the charging pace with their bayonets in advance to the place Louis XV., placed themselves between the Tuileries and the Champs-Élysées, the people and the troops, and guarded this post all the night. The soldiers of the Champ-de-Mars immediately received orders to advance. When they had arrived in the Champs-Élysées, the French guards received them with musket-shots.—Orders were given them to engage, but they refused; the *Petits-Suisses* were the first to give this example, which the others followed. The officers, in despair, ordered a retreat; the troops retired towards the Grille de Chaillot, whence they presently assembled in the Champ-de-Mars. The defection of the French guards, and the refusal even of the foreign troops to march upon the capital, assured the failure of the projects of the court.

During this evening the people went to the Hotel-de-Ville, and demanded that the tocsin should be sounded, the districts assembled, and the citizens armed. Some electors met at the Hotel-de-Ville, and they took the authority into their hands. They rendered, during these days of insurrection, the greatest services to their fellow-citizens, and the cause of liberty, by their courage, prudence, and activity; but in the first confusion of the insurrection they could scarcely obtain a hearing. The tumult was at its height; every man obeyed the impulse of his passion. Among the citizens well-intentioned, were also men of suspicious character, who sought in insurrection only the means of disorder and pillage. Troops of labourers employed by the government in the public works, the most part without a home, without

a character, burned down the barriers, infested the streets, plundered several houses; these were the men who were called *brigands*. The nights of the 12th and 13th passed in tumult and alarm.

The departure of Necker, which had created an insurrection in Paris, did not produce a less effect at Versailles, and in the assembly; the surprise and discontent were there the same. The deputies met early in the morning in the hall of the states; they were sullen, but their sadness had more of indignation than dejection. "At the opening of the sitting," said a deputy, "many addresses of adherence to the decrees were listened to in sullen silence by the assembly, less attentive to the reading than to its own thoughts."—Mounier first spoke; he denounced the dismissal of ministers dear to the nation, the choice of their successors; he proposed an address to the king to demand their recall, to show him the danger of violent measures, the misfortunes that might follow the approach of the troops, and to tell him that the assembly was solemnly opposed to an infamous bankruptcy. At these words, the emotion of the assembly, hitherto constrained, burst forth in clapping of hands and shouts of approbation. Lally Tollendal, the friend of Necker, then advanced with a sorrowful air, demanded a hearing, and pronounced a long and eloquent panegyric on the exiled minister; he was listened to with the profoundest interest: his grief corresponded with the public sorrow; the cause of Necker was then that of the country. The noblesse itself made common cause with the members of the *tiers-état*, whether it considered the peril as being common, or feared that it should incur the same blame as the court, unless it should disapprove its conduct, or that it was carried along by the general sympathy.

A noble deputy, the count of Vireu, gave the example. "Assembled for the constitution," was his language, "let us make the constitution; let us bind closer our mutual bonds of connexion; let us renew, confirm, consecrate the glorious resolutions of the 17th of June; let us unite ourselves to this celebrated resolution of the 20th of the same month. Let us all swear, yes, all, all the orders united, to be faithful to these illustrious resolutions, which alone can now save the realm." "The constitution shall be made," added the duke de la Rochefoucault, "or we will be no more." But the agreement was still more unanimous when the insurrection at Paris was announced to the assembly, the excesses which had been the sequel of it, the barriers burned down, the electors assembled at the Hotel-de-Ville, the confusion in the capital, and the citizens ready to be attacked by the troops, or to slaughter themselves. There was only one cry in the hall; "Let the remembrance of our momentary divisions be effaced; let us unite our efforts for the salvation of the country." They sent immediately a deputation to the king, composed of twenty-four members, among whom were all the deputies of Paris; the archbishop of Vienne, president of the assembly, was at its head. It was to represent to the king the dangers which menaced the capital and the realm; the necessity of sending away the troops, and of confiding the protection of the city to burghess militia; and if they obtained from the king these demands, they were to send a deputation to Paris to announce this consoling intelligence. But this deputation very soon returned with an unsatisfactory answer.

The assembly then saw that it had only itself to depend on, and that the projects of the court were irrevocably fixed. Far from being discouraged, it became only the more firm, and instantly decreed unanimously the responsibility of the actual ministers, and of all advisers of the king, of whatever rank or state they might be; it voted an address of regret to Necker and the disgraced ministers; it declared that it would not cease to insist on the removal of the troops, and the establishment of the burghess militia; it placed the public debt under the safeguard of French honour, and confirmed all its preceding resolutions. After these measures, it took another not less necessary. Apprehending that in the night the court might close the hall of the states with soldiers, in order to disperse the assembly, it established itself in permanence till a new order should be made; it decided that a part

and twenty-four invalids were under arms. Thuriot urged them as well as the *état-major* of the place, in the name of honour and of the country, not to show themselves enemies of the people. The officers and soldiers all swore not to use their arms unless they were attacked. Thuriot then ascended the towers, and from thence beheld an immense multitude approaching from all parts, and the Faubourg St. Antoine advancing *en masse*. Already from without they were alarmed that Thuriot did not return, and they demanded him with loud cries. To reassure the people, he showed himself on the platform of the fortress, and shouts of applause rang from the garden of the arsenal. He descended, rejoined his friends, made known the result of his mission, and then presented himself before the committee.

But the multitude impatiently demanded the surrender of the fortress. From time to time these words rose from the multitude: *We want the bastille! We will have the bastille!* Two men suddenly sprang from the crowd, rushed upon a sentinel, and struck the chains of the great bridge with a hatchet. The soldiers called out to them to retire, and threatened to fire. But they continued their blows, broke the chains, let down the bridge, and threw themselves forward with the multitude. They advanced towards the second bridge, in order to batter it down also. The garrison made a discharge of musketry, and dispersed them. But they returned to the attack, and during several hours all their efforts were directed against the second bridge, the approach to which was defended by a constant fire from the place. The people, furious at this obstinate resistance, tried to break the gates with blows of the hatchet, and to set fire to the guard-house. The garrison then made a discharge of case-shot, murderous to the besiegers, and which killed or wounded many; this only infuriated them; they had, at their head, men who, like Elie and Hulin, possessed extraordinary courage and audacity, and they continued the siege with impetuosity.

The committee of the Hotel-de-Ville was in the greatest anxiety. The siege of the bastille appeared to it a rash enterprise. It received from time to time news of the disasters which were happening at the foot of the fortress. It was placed between the danger from the troops if they were victorious, and that of the multitude, which was demanding from it ammunition to carry on the siege. As they could not give what they did not possess, they were accused of treachery; they had sent two deputations, to procure the suspension of hostilities, and invite the governor to confide the keeping of the place to the citizens; but in the midst of tumults, of shouts, of the discharge of musketry, they could not make themselves heard; they sent a third with a drum and a flag of truce, for the purpose of being more easily recognised; but they were not more successful. Neither side would hear any thing. In spite of its endeavours and its activity, the assembly of the Hotel-de-Ville was still exposed to the suspicions of its party. The provost of the merchants especially excited the greatest distrust. "He has already," said one, "made many shifts in this business." "He advises us," said another, "to open a trench, that he may gain time, and we may lose every thing."—"Comrades," exclaimed an old man, "what have we to do with these traitors? March, follow me, and in less than two hours the bastille shall be taken."

The siege had continued more than four hours, when the French guards arrived with cannon. Their arrival changed the face of the combat. The garrison itself urged the governor to surrender. The unfortunate Delaunay, fearing the lot which awaited him, would then have blown up the fortress, and buried himself under its ruins, and those of the Faubourg. He advanced in desperation, with a lighted match in his hand, towards the powder. The garrison itself seized him, hoisted a white flag upon the platform, reversed their muskets, and lowered their cannon in token of peace. But the besiegers, fighting and advancing on, continued to exclaim, "*Let down the bridges!*" A Swiss officer demanded, across the battlements, leave to capitulate, and march out with the honours of war. "No, no!" cried the multitude. The same officer made a proposal to lay down their arms, if the besiegers would

promise to spare their lives. "Let down the bridge," answered the foremost of the assailants, "no harm will befall you." On this assurance, they opened the gate, let down the bridge, and the besiegers threw themselves into the bastille. Those who were at the head of the multitude wished to save from its vengeance the governor, the Swiss, and the invalids: "*Give them up to us, give them up to us, they have fired on their fellow-citizens, and they deserve to be hanged.*" The governor, some Swiss, and some of the invalids, were torn from the protection of their defenders, and put to death by the implacable mob.

The permanent committee was ignorant of the result of the combat. The hall of its sittings was encumbered by a furious multitude, which menaced the provost of the merchants and the electors. Flesselles began to be uneasy in his situation. He was pale and anxious; exposed to reproaches and the most furious menaces; they had forced him from the hall of the committee to the hall of the general assembly, where an immense number of citizens had assembled. "Let him come, let him follow us," had been called out from all parts. "This is too much;" said Flesselles, "let us march, since they wish it; let us go where I am expected." But he had scarcely arrived in the great hall, when the attention of the multitude was arrested by cries from the Place de Grève. They heard "*Victory! Victory! Liberty!*" These were the conquerors of the bastille, whose arrival was thus announced. Presently they entered the hall, presenting a spectacle the most popular and the most imposing. The most distinguished among them were carried in triumph, and crowned with laurels. They were escorted by more than fifteen hundred men, their eyes gleaming, their hair in disorder, bearing all kinds of arms, crowding one upon another, and making the boards resound with the stamping of their feet. One carried the keys of the bastille and the flag; another the "orders" suspended from the bayonet at the end of a musket; and a third held up in his bloody hand the collar of the governor. It was in this form that the train of the conquerors of the bastille, followed by an immense multitude which inundated the *Place* and the quays, entered the hall of the Hotel-de-Ville, to inform the committee of their triumph, and to decide on the fate of the prisoners who remained. Some individuals wished to leave the decision to the committee. But others cried out, "No quarter to the prisoners! No quarter to men who have fired on their fellow-citizens." The commandant La Salle, the elector Moreau de St. Méry, the courageous Elie, succeeded however in appeasing the wrath of the multitude, and in obtaining a general amnesty.

But now came the turn of the unfortunate Flesselles: they pretended that a letter, found upon Delaunay, proved his treason, which they had already suspected. "I amuse," said he to him, "the Parisians, with cockades and promises: hold out till this night: you shall have relief." The people crowded round the board. The more moderate demanded that his person should be seized, and that he should be committed to the prisons of the *châtelet*; but others opposed this proposal, contending that he ought to be sent to the Palais-Royal, to be judged there. This last was the general wish. "*To the Palais-Royal! To the Palais-Royal!*" re-echoed from every part of the crowd. "Ah, well! be it so, gentlemen," answered Flesselles, with an air sufficiently tranquil,—"*let us go to the Palais-Royal.*" At these words, he descended from the raised part of the hall, sprang into the midst of the mob, which opened as he marched forward, and which followed without doing him any violence. But at the corner of the quay, Pelletier, a stranger, advanced towards him, and laid him dead, by a shot from his pistol.

After these scenes of arming, of tumult, of battle, of vengeance, the Parisians, who apprehended an attack during the night, as the intercepted letters indicated, made due disposition for receiving the enemy. The entire population laboured in fortifying the town. They formed barricades, they threw up intrenchments, broke up the pavement, forged pikes, cast bullets. The women carried stones to the tops of the houses to crush the soldiers. The national guard distributed themselves at the different posts. Paris resembled

an immense workshop, and a vast camp, and the whole of the night was passed under arms, and in momentary expectation of battle.

While the insurrection of Paris was assuming this character of fury, of permanence, of success, it is natural to inquire what they were doing at Versailles. The court was preparing to realize its designs against the capital and the assembly. The night of the 14th to the 15th was fixed for the execution of its plan. Bréteuil, the prime minister, had promised to restore the royal authority in three days. The commandant of the army assembled at Paris, the marshal de Broglie, had received unlimited powers of every kind. On the 15th, the declaration of the 23d of June was to be renewed, and the king, after having compelled the assembly to accept it, was to dissolve it. Forty thousand copies of this declaration were ready for distribution through the realm; and in order to subserve the urgent necessities of the treasury, they had manufactured more than a hundred millions of government notes. The movement of Paris, far from disturbing the court, favoured its views. To the very last moment, it considered this as a transient disturbance which would be easily repressed; it did not believe either in its perseverance or in its success, and to them it did not appear possible that a mob of citizens could be able to resist an army.

The assembly knew all these projects. For two days it sat without interruption in the midst of inquietude and alarms. It was in a great measure ignorant of what was passing at Paris. At length, intelligence arrived that the insurrection had become general, and that Paris was marching upon Versailles, while the troops were putting themselves in motion against the capital. They believed that they heard the cannon, and they listened to assure themselves. On the 14th, in the evening, they believed that the king was to depart during the night, and that the assembly was abandoned to the mercy of the foreign regiments. This last apprehension was not without foundation; a carriage was constantly in attendance, and for many successive days, the body-guards did not put off their clothes. Moreover, at the orangerie, the most alarming scenes were passing. The foreign troops were prepared by the distribution of wine and presents, for their expedition, and every thing induced the belief that the decisive moment had come.

In spite of the approach and the increase of the danger, the assembly showed itself immovable, and pursued its first resolutions. Mirabeau, who had first demanded the dismissal of the troops, moved a new deputation. It was on the point of departure, when a deputy, the viscount Noailles, arriving from Paris, made known to the assembly the progress of the insurrection, announced the pillage of the invalids, the arming of the multitude, and the siege of the bastille. Another deputy, Wimfen, came to add to the recital, that of the personal dangers he had incurred, and declared that the fury of the people augmented with its dangers. The assembly proposed to establish couriers in order that they might get intelligence from Paris every two hours.

In the mean time, two electors, MM. Ganith and Bancal des Issarts, sent by the committee of the Hotel-de-Ville in deputation to the assembly, confirmed every thing which it had learned. They began by stating the measures which the electors had taken for the good order and defence of the capital; they announced the misfortunes which had happened at the foot of the bastille, the uselessness of the deputations to the governor, and said, that the fire of the garrison had scattered death about the environs of the fortress. At this recital, a cry of indignation arose from the midst of the assembly, and a second deputation was immediately sent to carry to the king this grievous intelligence. The first returned with a very unsatisfactory answer at six o'clock in the evening. The king, in learning these disastrous events, which presaged others still more so, appeared to be greatly affected. He had struggled against the part he had been compelled to take. "You tear my heart more and more," said he to the deputies, "by the recital you make of the misfortunes of Paris. It is not possible to believe, that the orders which have been given to the troops are the occasion of them. You know the answer I have given to your preceding deputation; I have nothing to add to

it." This answer consisted in the promise of sending from Paris the troops of the Champ-de-Mars, and in the orders given to the general officers to put themselves at the head of the burges-guard in order to direct it. Such measures were insufficient to remedy the dangerous situation in which it was placed, and hence the assembly was neither satisfied nor reassured.

A short time after, the deputies d'Ormesson and Dupont came to announce to the assembly the capture of the bastille, the death of Flesselles, and that of Delaunay. A third deputation to the king was proposed, to demand again the removal of the troops. "No," said Clermont Tonnerre, "leave them this night for consultation; kings, as well as other men, must purchase experience." It was in this state that the assembly passed the night. In the morning a new deputation was nominated to show the monarch the calamities which would ensue from a longer refusal. It was then that Mirabeau, addressing the deputies as they were departing,—"Tell him boldly, tell him," he exclaimed, "that the hordes of foreigners by whom we are surrounded have received yesterday the visit of princes, of princesses, of favourites, of court ladies, and their caresses, and their exhortations, and their presents; tell him, that these foreign satellites, gorged with money and wine, have predicted, in their impious revelry, the enslavement of France, and that their brutal wishes invoke the destruction of the national assembly; tell him, that in the palace itself the courtiers have danced to the sound of this barbarous music, and that such orgies were the harbingers of Saint Bartholomew! tell him, that the Henry whose blessings are proclaimed by the universe, he of his ancestors whom he should take for a model, brought food into rebel Paris, which he besieged in person; but that his ferocious counsellors sent back the corn which commerce had brought into his faithful but famished capital."

At this instant the king appeared in the midst of the assembly. The duke of Liancourt, availing himself of that access to the sovereign which his office of grand-master of the wardrobe gave him, apprized him of the defection of the French guards, and of the attack and capture of the bastille. At this news, of which his counsellors had left him in ignorance, "*It is a revolt!*" exclaimed the astonished monarch. "No, sire, *it is a revolution.*" This excellent citizen had represented to him the perils to which he was exposed by the projects of the court, the fears, the exasperation of the people, the bad disposition of the troops; and the king had determined to present himself to the assembly, to reassure it of his intentions. This news inspired, in the first instance, transports of joy. But Mirabeau represented to his colleagues the folly of their abandoning themselves to such premature expressions of applause. "Let us wait," said he, "till his majesty make known to us the good disposition which is announced on his part. The blood of our brethren flows at Paris. Let a mournful respect be the first reception of the monarch of an unhappy people; the silence of the people is the lesson of kings." The assembly resumed the sullen attitude which, for three days, it had never abandoned. The king appeared without guards, and without any other retinue than that of his brothers. He was received with the profoundest silence; but when he had declared that he was one with the nation, and that, relying upon the affection and fidelity of his subjects, he had given orders for the troops to retire from Paris and Versailles,—when he had pronounced these touching words, "Well, then! it is to you that I confide myself;" plaudits were heard from every quarter; the members of the assembly rose spontaneously, and reconducted the monarch to the château.

Versailles and Paris now rang with joy. The sentiment of security succeeded the agitations of fear, and the people passed from animosity to gratitude. Louis XVI., restored to himself, felt how important it was to go in person to the capital, and reconquer its affection, and conciliate for himself the popular power. He caused it to be announced to the assembly that he would recall Necker, to make his appearance on the following day at Paris. The assembly had already nominated a deputation of a hundred members to go before the king into the capital. It was received with enthusiasm. Bailly and La Fayette, who made a part of it, were nominated, the first mayor of Paris, the

other commander of the burgess-guard. They deserved these popular acknowledgments; the one by his long and difficult presidency of the assembly, the other by his conduct in America and Europe. This last, the friend of Washington, and one of the principal authors of the American independence, on his return to his country, had first pronounced the name of the states-general, had united himself to the assembly with the minority of the noblesse, and had shown himself subsequently one of the most zealous partisans of the revolution.

The two new magistrates proceeded, on the 17th, to receive the king at the head of the municipality, and the Parisian guard. "Sire," said Bailly to him, "I bring to your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris; they are the same as those presented to Henry IV.; he had reconquered his people, here the people have reconquered their king." From the place Louis XV. to the Hotel-de-Ville, the king traversed the passage formed by the national guard, arranged in three or four lines, armed with muskets, pikes, lances, scythes, and staves. Their visages still wore a sombre aspect, and the cry frequently repeated of *Vive la nation!* was the only one heard. But when Louis XVI. descended from the carriage, when he had received from the hands of Bailly the tri-coloured cockade, and that without guards, surrounded by the multitude, he had entered without distrust the Hotel-de-Ville, applauses and cries of *Vive le roi!* burst from all parts. The reconciliation was entire; Louis XVI. received the greatest testimonies of affection. After having sanctioned the new magistracies, and after having approved the choice of the people, he set out again for Versailles; his return to which was not regarded without inquietude, in consequence of the preceding disturbances. The assembly awaited him in the avenue of Paris, and accompanied him to the château, where the queen, with her children, came to throw themselves into his arms.

The counter-revolutionary ministers, and all the authors of the designs which had failed, now quitted the court. The count of Artois, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, the family of Polignac, took their departure from France, and began the first emigration. Necker returned in triumph; this moment was the finest of his life, and few men have enjoyed such. Minister of the nation, disgraced for it, recalled by it, he was met every where on his route from Bâle to Paris with marks of the gratitude and intoxicating joy of the people. His entry into Paris was a day of festival. But this day, which was the crown of his popularity, was also the termination of it. The multitude, always agitated and always furious against those who had had a hand in the projects of the 14th of July, had destroyed, with implacable fury, Foulon, the intended minister, and his nephew Berthier. Indignant at these executions, fearing that others might become victims, wishing in particular to save the baron of Besenval, commander of the army of Paris under the marshal de Broglie, and who was detained prisoner, Necker demanded a general amnesty, and obtained it from the assembly of electors. This measure was imprudent at this moment of jealousy and exultation. Necker did not know the people; he did know with what facility they suspect their leaders, and crush their idols. They feared that he was wishing to withdraw their enemies from the penalties they had incurred; the districts assembled themselves, the illegality of the amnesty pronounced by an assembly without authority was violently attacked, and the electors themselves revoked it. It was, doubtless, desirable to counsel the people to calmness, and recall them to mercy; but the best means was to demand, instead of a release of the accused, a tribunal which would remove them from the murderous jurisdiction of the mob. There are cases in which the greatest humanity is not that which appears to be so. Necker, without obtaining any thing, let loose the people against himself, and the districts against the electors; from henceforward he began to struggle with the revolution, of which he hoped to make himself the master, because he had been, for an instant, its hero. But he very quickly undeceived himself. A man is a thing of very little moment in a revolution, which removes masses; the movement hurries

him along, or abandons him; he must either advance before it, or be crushed by its pressure. In no times is the subordination of men to things more clearly perceived; revolutions employ many leaders, they surrender only to one.

The consequences of the 14th of July were incalculable. The movement of Paris communicated itself to the provinces; the lower classes especially, in imitation of those of the capital, organized themselves into municipalities for their government, and into national guards for their defence. Authority, as well as force, was entirely displaced; the royal power had lost them by its defeat, and the nation had acquired them; the new magistrates were alone powerful, and alone obeyed; the old ones were become the objects of jealousy. In the towns, the people were arrayed against them, and against the privileged, whom they supposed, not without reason, to be the enemies of the change which they were wishing to operate. In the country, they set fire to the castles, and the peasants burned the titles of their lords. It is very difficult in a moment of victory not to abuse power. But it was important to appease the people, in order that, in their desire to reform abuses, privileges might not be confounded with property: the orders had disappeared, arbitrary power was destroyed; their ancient accompaniment, inequality, ought also to be suppressed. This was the way in which it was necessary to proceed to the establishment of the new order of things; these preliminaries were the work of a single night.

The assembly had addressed to the people proclamations which might restore tranquillity. The erection of the *châtelet* into a tribunal charged with the trial of the conspirators of the 14th of July, by satisfying the multitude, had contributed to the restoration of order. It remained to enact a measure still more important,—the abolition of privileges. On the night of the 4th of August, the duke of Noailles gave the signal for it; he proposed the redemption of the feudal rights, and the suppression of the personal servitudes. This motion began the sacrifices of all the privileged; it set up among them a rivalry of voluntary surrenders and patriotism. The contagion became general; in a few hours they decreed the cessation of all the abuses. The duke de *Châtelet* proposed the redemption of all the tithes, and their change into a pecuniary tax; the bishop of Chartres, the suppression of the exclusive right of the chase; the count of Vireu, that of pigeon-houses and dove-cots; and in succession, the abolition of seigniorial jurisdictions; of the venality of the office of the magistracy; of pecuniary immunities, and of the inequality of imposts; of the perquisites of the *curés*; of the annats of the court of Rome; of the plurality of benefices; of pensions obtained without titles; all were proposed and admitted. After the sacrifices of private persons, come those of corporate bodies, of towns, of provinces; the wardenships and freedom of companies were abolished. A deputy of Dauphiné, the marquis of Blacons, pronounced, in his own name, a solemn renunciation of its privileges. The other provinces imitated Dauphiné; and the towns followed the example of the provinces. A medal was struck to preserve the memory of this day, and the assembly decreed to Louis XVI. the title of *restorer of French liberty*.

This night, which an enemy of the revolution called at the time the Saint Bartholomew of property, was only the Saint Bartholomew of abuses. It cleared away the rubbish of feudality; it delivered the person from the remnants of servitude; lands from seigniorial dependence; soccage properties from the ravages of game, and the exaction of tithes. In destroying seigniorial jurisdictions, the remnants of private power, it conducted to the régime of public power; in destroying the venality of magistratic offices, it presaged gratuitous justice. It was the passage from a condition in which every thing belonged to individuals, to another in which every thing ought to belong to the state. This night changed the aspect of the realm; it rendered all Frenchmen equal; it opened the way for all to arrive at employments; to aspire after property; to exercise industry; finally, this night was a revolution as important as the insurrection of the 14th of July, of which it was the consequence. It rendered the people the master of society,

of the deputies should sit during the night, and that another should come to relieve it early in the morning. To lessen the fatigue of a continual presidency to the venerable archbishop of Vienne, they nominated a vice-president to supply his place at these extraordinary times. The choice fell on La Fayette, who held the sitting during the night. The night passed without deliberation, the deputies being upon their seats, silent, but calm and serene. It was by these actions, by these public remonstrances, by these resolutions, by this unanimous enthusiasm, by this sustained wisdom, by this unshaken course of conduct, that the assembly rose more and more to the height of its dangers and its mission.

At Paris, the insurrection took, on the 13th, a more regular character; in the morning the people presented themselves at the Hotel-de-Ville; they sounded the tocsin of the common house, and that of all the churches; drums were beat along the streets to summon the citizens. They collected in the public places; they formed themselves into troops, under the name of the volunteers of the Palais-Royal, volunteers of the Tuileries, of the Bazoche, of the Arquebuse. The districts reunited themselves; each of them voted two hundred men for their defence. They only wanted arms; they searched every place where they hoped to find any; they seized upon those they found among the gunsmiths and sword-cutlers, granting receipts for them; they went to the Hotel-de-Ville to demand arms there; the electors, always assembled, answered in vain that they had none; they, by some means or other, were resolved to have them. The electors then sent for the head of the city, M. de Flesselles, provost of the merchants, who alone understood the military state of the capital, and whose authority among the people might be of great service in so difficult a conjuncture. He arrived amid the applauses of the multitude. "*My friends,*" said he, "*I am your father, you shall be satisfied.*" A permanent committee formed itself at the Hotel-de-Ville, to take measures touching the common safety.

About the same time it was announced that the house of the Lazarists, which contained a large quantity of grain, had been plundered; that the Garde-Meuble had been forced in order to take from it the ancient armour, that the shops of the gunsmiths had been pillaged. The greatest excesses on the part of the multitude were apprehended; it was let loose, and it appeared difficult to restrain its impetuosity. But this was a moment of enthusiasm; it disarmed men of suspicious character: the corn found at the house of the Lazarists was carried to the market-hall. It robbed no private houses; the carriages, the chariots filled with provisions, moveables, household furniture, stopped at the gate of the city, were conducted to the Place de Grève, now become a vast magazine; the multitude constantly crowded together, always shouting out the cry of *Arms! arms!* It was almost one o'clock; the provost of the merchants announced the near arrival of twelve thousand muskets of the manufacture of Charleville, which would very shortly be followed by thirty thousand more.

This assurance appeased for a time the people, and the committee proceeded with a little more calmness to the organization of the burgess militia. In less than four hours the plan was digested, discussed, adopted, printed, and posted up. They decided, that till new orders, the Parisian guard should consist of forty-eight thousand men. All the citizens were invited to inscribe their names and become a part of it; each district had its battalion, each battalion its captains; they offered the command of this burgess army to the duke d'Aumont, who demanded twenty-four hours to make his decision. In the mean time, the marquis of Salle was nominated second in command. The green cockade was then replaced by the red and blue cockade, which were the colours of the capital. The districts declared their concurrence in the measures which the permanent committee had taken. The clerks of the châtelet, those of the palais, the medical students, the soldiers of the watch, and, what was still more important, the French guards, offered their services to the assembly; patrols were formed to scour the streets. But the people were waiting impatiently for the result of the promises of

the provost of merchants; the muskets did not arrive, the evening was approaching, and they dreaded in the night an attack of the troops; they believed that they were betrayed, when they learned that five thousand pounds of powder had been secretly removed from Paris, and that the people at the barriers had seized it. By-and-by, chests arrived inscribed with *artillery*; this calmed the effervescence; the people escorted them to the Hotel-de-Ville, believing them to contain the expected muskets of Charleville: they opened them, and found them filled with old linen and bits of wood. The people now clamoured at the treachery, and broke forth in murmurs and menaces against the committee and the provost of the merchants. He excused himself by saying that he had been deceived, and in order to gain time, or to disengage himself from the multitude, he sent it to Chartreux to seek for arms there; but there was none, and it returned more jealous and furious.

The committee saw then that they had no other resources for arming Paris and for divesting the mob of its suspicions, than by having pikes forged; they ordered the immediate fabrication of fifty thousand. To prevent the excesses of the preceding night, the town was illuminated, and patrols scoured it in every direction.

Next day those who had not been able to obtain arms came to demand them again from the committee very early in the morning, reproaching it with its refusal and evasions on the preceding evening. The committee had in vain sought for arms; none had come from Charleville, none had been found at Chartreux, even the arsenal was empty. The people, who would no longer receive any excuse, which believed itself more and more betrayed, went in a body to the Hotel of the Invalids, which contained a considerable dépôt of arms. It manifested no fear of the troops established in the Champ-de-Mars, penetrated into the Hotel in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, M. de Sombreuil, found twenty-eight thousand muskets concealed in the cellars, seized them, took the sabres, the spears, the cannon, and carried off the whole in triumph. The cannon was posted at the entrance to the Fauxbourgs, at the castle of the Tuileries, upon the quays, upon the bridges, for the defence of the capital against the invasion of the troops, which they were expecting every moment.

During this morning the alarm was given, that the regiments posted at Saint Denis were on their march, and that the cannon of the bastille was pointed upon the street Saint Antoine. The committee took measures immediately on this discovery, placed citizens to defend this side of the town, and sent a deputation to the governor of the bastille to engage him to withdraw his cannon, and not to commit any act of hostility. This activity, the apprehension which the fortress inspired, hatred of the abuses it protected, the necessity of occupying a point so important, and of no longer leaving it to their enemies in a moment of insurrection, directed the attention of the multitude to this point. From nine in the morning to two in the afternoon, there had only been one cry from one end of Paris to the other, *To the bastille! to the bastille!* The citizens assembled there from all parts of the town in groups armed with muskets, pikes, sabres; the crowd which already surrounded it was considerable; the sentinels of the place were posted, and the bridges raised as in a period of war.

A deputy from the district of Saint Louis de la Culture, called Thuriot de la Rosiere, demanded an interview with the governor, M. Delaunay. Admitted into his presence, he summoned him to change the direction of the cannon. The governor answered that the pieces were at all times placed on the towers; that he had it not in his power to get them down; and that, finally, informed of the disturbed condition of Paris, he had made them retire some paces and to point from the embrasures. Thuriot with difficulty succeeded in penetrating farther, and examined if the state of the fortress was as satisfactory for the town as the governor affirmed. He found as he advanced three pieces of cannon directed upon the avenues of the place, and ready to play on those who should attempt to force it. About forty Swiss