

people; the ministers censured and opposed its march. Necker, always haunted by the remembrance of his former ascendancy, addressed memorials to the assembly, combating its decrees, and offering it his counsels. This minister could not reconcile himself to a secondary part; he did not want to follow the plans of the assembly, but to impose his own upon it. The times were changed; and finally, convinced or wearied by the ill success of his efforts, Necker retired, and traversed in obscurity the provinces through which; a short time before, he had been carried in triumph;—a good example of the uncertainty of popular favour. In revolutions, individuals are easily forgotten, because the people see much of them, and live fast. If they would not have the people ungrateful, they should never cease for an instant to serve them in their own way.

On the other hand, the noblesse, which had found a new subject of discontent in the abolition of titles, continued its counter-revolutionary attempts. As it failed in exciting the people to rebellion, since they, not being privileged, found the new changes very advantageous, it tried another scheme, which appeared more certain—it left the realm, in order that it might afterward re-enter it, after having engaged Europe in its quarrel. But while the emigration was organizing;—while it was seeking foreign enemies to fight the revolution, it continued to cherish discontent within the bosom of the country. The troops had been for some time canvassed by opposite parties, as has been already said. The new military code was favourable to the soldiers: the promotions were formerly given to the noblesse; it now gave them to seniority. The greater part of the officers were attached to the ancient régime, and they did not conceal their sentiments. Compelled to take the oath of fidelity *to the nation, to the law, and to the king*, which was become the common oath, some quitted the army, and thickened the ranks of emigration; others sought to gain over the soldiers to their party. General Bouillé was of this number: after having a long time refused the civic oath, he had at length taken it with this intention. He had under his command a considerable number of troops: he was near the frontier of the north, active, resolute, attached to the king, an enemy of the revolution, such as it had now become, though a partisan of reform, which consequently made him suspected at Coblenz. He kept his army apart from the citizens, to preserve it faithful and free from the spirit of insubordination which they communicated to the troops; he knew, also, how to preserve, by a discreet conduct, and by the ascendancy of a great character, the confidence and attachment of the soldiers. It was not the same in other quarters; the officers were the objects of general abuse,—they were accused of diminishing the pay, of rendering no account of the military chest; opinion was also busy among them. These combined causes excited rebellion on the part of the soldiers: that of Nancy produced much alarm, and was almost the signal of a civil war. Three regiments,—that of Chateau-vieux, that of Maistre-de-camp, and that of the king,—rose against their commanders. Bouillé received orders to march upon them, which he did, at the head of the garrison and the national guards of Metz. After considerable resistance, he succeeded in reducing them. The assembly congratulated him; but Paris, which saw in the soldiers patriots, and in Bouillé a conspirator, was roused into commotion by the news. Mobs were formed, who demanded the impeachment of the ministers who had given Bouillé orders to march against Nancy. La Fayette, however, succeeded in dissipating their discontents, assisted by the assembly, which, seeing itself between a counter-revolution and an anarchy, opposed itself to both of them with as much sagacity as courage.

The aristocrats triumphed in the difficulties which embarrassed the national assembly. According to them, the assembly must either make itself dependent on the multitude or be deprived of its support; and in either case the passage to the ancient régime appeared sufficiently short and easy. The clergy aided them with all its efforts; the sale of their property, which they had hindered as much as possible, was going on at prices even higher than those which had been estimated. The people, delivered from tithes, and

reassured upon the subject of the national debt, were far from lending themselves to the resentments of the bishops; from the civil constitution of the clergy, they had employed it in exciting a schism; this decree of the assembly had, as we have seen, touched neither their discipline nor their creed. The king sanctioned it; but the bishops, who wished to conceal their interests under the mantle of religion, declared that it was an encroachment upon the spiritual power. The pope, consulted upon this measure, which was purely political, had refused his assent, notwithstanding the earnest request of the king, and sustained by his encouragement the opposition of the bishops. These decided that they could not concur in the establishment of the civil constitution; that those who were to be suppressed should protest against this uncanonical act; that every creation of a bishop, made without the consent of the pope, should be considered null; and that the metropolitans should refuse institution to bishops nominated according to civic forms.

In wishing to break this confederacy, the assembly strengthened it. If it had abandoned the dissident priests to themselves, they would, notwithstanding their efforts, have found no elements of a religious war. But the assembly decreed that the priests should swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain the civil constitution of the clergy. The refusal of this oath was to lead to the appointing new incumbents to their sees or cures. The assembly hoped, that the high clergy from interest, and the inferior clergy from ambition, would adopt this measure. The bishops, on the other hand, believed that all the ecclesiastics would follow their example, and that by refusing to swear, they would leave the state without the forms of worship, and the people without priests. The result disappointed the anticipations of both parties. The majority of the bishops and curés of the assembly refuse the oath; but some bishops, and many curates, took it. The non-conforming incumbents were ejected, and the electors nominated their successors, who received canonical institution from the bishops of Autun and Lida; but the deposed ecclesiastics refused to abandon their functions; they declared their successors intruders; the sacraments administered by them null; the Christians who were bold enough to acknowledge them excommunicated. They did not quit their diocess; they issued charges, they excited disobedience to the laws; and thus what had been an affair of interest, became first an affair of religion, and afterward an affair of party. There was a double clergy, the one constitutional, the other refractory; they had each their partisans, and treated each other as rebels or heretics. Religion became, according to their passions and their interests, an instrument or an obstacle; and when the priests became fanatics, the revolutionists became infidels. The people, who had not yet arrived at this malady of the higher classes, lost, in the towns especially, the faith of their forefathers, from the imprudence of those who placed it between the revolution and public worship. "The bishops," said the marquis de Ferrières, "in whom we will suspect no blame, refused to make any arrangement; and by their culpable intrigues closed every avenue to reconciliation, sacrificing the Catholic religion to a foolish infatuation and an unworthy attachment to their wealth."

The countenance of the people was sought by all parties; they were conciliated as the sovereign of the time. Having tried to act upon them through the medium of religion, clubs, another medium at that time all-powerful, were put in operation. Clubs were, at this epoch, private unions, in which were discussed the measures of government, the affairs of the estate, and the decrees of the assembly: their deliberations had no authority, but they were not without influence. The first club had its origin with the Breton deputies, who met together to concert their proceedings. When the national representation was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the Breton deputies, and those who thought with them, held their sittings in the ancient convent of the jacobins, which gave its name to their union. It was at first only a preparatory assembly; but as every thing which exists extends itself, the jacobin club did not content itself with influencing the assembly,—it became desirous of acting also upon the municipality and the multitude, and admitted, as

associates, the members of the commune, and persons who were merely citizens. Its organization became more regular, its action more powerful; new societies were affiliated in the provinces, and it raised by the side of legal power another power, which began by counselling, and ended by directing it.

The club of jacobins, in putting off its first philosophic character, had been abandoned by a part of its founders. These established a club upon the original plan, under the name of the club of Eighty-nine. Siéyes, Chapelier, La Fayette, La Rochefoucault, directed it as Lameth and Barnave directed that of the jacobins. Mirabeau shared in the deliberations of both, and was equally sought after by each of them. These clubs, of which one exercised its influence in the assembly, the other among the people, were attached to the new order of things, though in different degrees. The aristocrats wished to attack the revolution with its own arms; it raised royalist clubs, to oppose them to the popular clubs. The first of them, established under the name of the *impartialists*, soon fell to the ground, because it addressed itself to the opinions of no party. Having reappeared under the name of the *monarchic* club, it had among its members all those whose views it represented. Wishing to gain the favour of the people, it made distributions of bread among them; but far from accepting them, the people considered this establishment as a counter-revolutionary manœuvre; it disturbed their sittings, and compelled them to change their place of meeting several times. Finally, this club became the occasion of so much commotion, that the municipal authority was obliged to put an end to it.

The distrust of the multitude was now become extreme; the departure of the aunts of the king, of which it exaggerated the importance, increased its inquietude, and made it suppose that his own was in preparation. Their suspicions were not without foundation, and gave rise to a sort of commotion of which the counter-revolutionists wished to avail themselves to carry off the king. This project failed through the determination and address of La Fayette. While the multitude were marching off to Vincennes to demolish the tower, which, according to their notion, communicated with the Tuileries, and was to serve for the escape of the king, more than six hundred persons, armed with spears and poniards, attacked the Tuileries, for the purpose of carrying him off. La Fayette, who had gone to Vincennes at the head of the national guard to disperse the mob, arrived in time to disarm the counter-revolutionists, after having quieted the popular assemblage; and regained, by his second expedition, the confidence which he had lost by the first.

This attempt increased more than ever an apprehension that Louis XVI. intended, if possible, to effect his escape. Thus, when he wished some time after to go to St. Cloud, he was prevented by the mob, and by his own guard, in spite of the efforts of La Fayette, who tried to make them respect the laws and the liberty of the monarch. The assembly, on its part, after having decreed the inviolability of the prince, after having regulated his constitutional guard, having assigned the regency to the nearest male heir of the crown, declared that his flight out of the realm would be a forfeiture. The increase of emigration, its declared objects, the menacing attitudes of the European cabinets, very naturally induced the apprehension that the king would adopt such a determination.

It was then, for the first time, that the assembly wished to arrest the progress of emigration by a decree; but such a decree was very difficult to be framed. If they should punish those who left the realm, they would violate the maxims of liberty consecrated in the declaration of rights; if they should not put some restraints on emigration, they would expose France to peril, since the nobles were quitting it for a moment only to invade it. In the assembly, besides those who were favourable to emigration, there were some who saw only the right, others who saw only the danger, and according to his manner of viewing the question, every one declared for or against the restraining law. Those who demanded the law, wished it to be mild; but, at the moment, there was only one practicable, and the assembly recoiled before it. This law, upon the arbitrary designation of a committee of three

members, was to pronounce the civil death of the fugitive, and the confiscation of his property. "The groans which are heard at the reading of this project," exclaimed Mirabeau, "prove that this law is worthy of being placed in the code of Draco, and cannot be enrolled among the decrees of the national assembly of France. I declare, that I should feel myself absolved from every oath of fidelity towards those who could be base enough to nominate a dictatorial commission. The popularity at which I aspire, and which I have the honour to enjoy, is not a tottering reed; it is in the earth that I wish to strike its roots, upon the bases of justice and liberty." The external situation was not then sufficiently alarming to demand such a measure of security and revolutionary defence.

Mirabeau did not long enjoy a popularity of which he believed himself so secure. This sitting was his last; he ended in a few days a life worn out through excitement and toil. His death was a public calamity; all Paris assisted at his funeral. France was in mourning; and his remains were deposited in the burial-ground which was thenceforth consecrated to the GREAT MEN IN THE NAME OF A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. He had no successor in power and popularity, and for a long time the eyes of the assembly, in all difficult discussions, were directed to the seat from which had been used to issue that sovereign word which was to terminate their debates. Mirabeau, after having aided this revolution by his intrepidity in time of peril, by his powerful intellect since its victory, died perhaps not unseasonably for his fame. He was meditating vast designs; he wished to reinforce the throne, and to consolidate the revolution,—two things very difficult at such a time. It is to be feared that the royal power, if he had rendered it independent, would have subdued the revolution, or if he had failed, that the revolution would have abolished the royal power. Perhaps it is impossible to adapt an ancient power to a new order of things; perhaps it is necessary that a revolution should be prolonged in order to become legitimate, and that the throne in recovering itself should acquire the novelty of other institutions.

From the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, to the month of April, 1791, the national assembly completed the reorganization of France; the court abandoned itself to small intrigues and projects of escape; the privileged classes sought new means of power, those which they formerly possessed having been successively taken away. They seized every occasion of disorder which circumstances furnished, to restore the ancient régime by the aid of anarchy. At the opening of the parliaments the noblesse protested against the "committee of vacations;" when the provinces were abolished, it protested against the orders; when the departments were formed, it tried new elections; when the old writs expired, it required the dissolution of the assembly; when the new military code was decreed, it provoked the defection of the soldiers; finally, all these means of opposition failing to effect its designs, it emigrated, in order to excite Europe against the revolution. On the other hand, the clergy, discontented by the loss of their property, still more than by the ecclesiastical constitution, wished to destroy the new order by insurrections, and to produce insurrections by a schism. Thus it was, that, during this epoch, the parties separated more and more, and that the two classes, the enemies of the revolution, prepared the elements of civil and of foreign war.

LETTER XIX.

The French Revolution continued—Coalition of the European Courts against it—Flight of Louis XVI.—His Arrest and Suspension—Declaration of Pillnitz—Termination of the Constituent Assembly. A. D. 1791.

THE French revolution changed the politics of Europe; it terminated the struggle of kings with each other, and began that of kings with the people. This last would not have occurred so soon, had the sovereigns themselves