

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

joined it to watch over the public tranquillity. La Fayette marched against this mob, and succeeded in dispersing it the first time without the effusion of blood. The municipal officers posted themselves at the invalids; but on the same day the multitude returned in greater numbers, and with more resolute determination; Danton and Camille Desmoulins harangued it, even from the altar of the country. Two invalids, whom they took for spies, were massacred, and their heads placed on pikes. The insurrection became alarming; La Fayette returned again to the Champ-de-Mars at the head of twelve hundred national guards. Bailly accompanied him, and caused the red flag to be unfurled; he then addressed to the multitude the summons required by law, but they refused to retire, denying his authority, and exclaiming, *Down with the red flag!* and assailing the national guard with stones. La Fayette ordered his men to fire, but into the air; the multitude was not intimidated, but recommenced its attack; then La Fayette, compelled by the obstinacy of the insurgents, ordered a second discharge, but it was real and destructive. The multitude, struck with terror, fled, leaving numbers dead upon the field of federation. The disturbance ceased, order was re-established, but blood had flowed, and the people never pardoned either La Fayette or Bailly the hard necessity to which it had driven them. This was a real struggle, in which the republican party, which was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently supported, was defeated by the constitutional party. This attempt of the Champ-de-Mars was the prelude of the popular movements which came to a head on the 10th of August.

While this was passing in the assembly and in Paris, the emigrants, whom the flight of Louis XVI. had filled with hope, were seized with consternation on his arrest. Monsieur, who had escaped at the same time as his brother, and who had been more fortunate than he, arrived alone at Brussels with the powers and title of regent. The emigrants thought then no longer but of the assistance of Europe; the officers quitted their colours; two hundred and eighty-six members of the assembly protested against its decrees, in order to legitimate the invasion; Bouillé wrote a menacing letter, in the absurd hope of intimidating the assembly, and at the same time to charge himself with the sole responsibility of his escape; finally, the emperor, the king of Prussia, and the count d'Artois met at Pilnitz, where they concluded the famous treaty of the 27th of July, which prepared for the invasion of France, and which, instead of ameliorating the condition of Louis XVI., would have compromised it, if the unbending wisdom of the assembly had not pursued its designs in spite of the menaces of the multitude and of Europe.

In the declaration of Pilnitz, the sovereigns considered the cause of Louis XVI. as their own; they required that he should be free to go wherever he pleased, that is, to join their standard; that he should be replaced on his throne, that the assembly should be dissolved, that the princes of the empire having possessions in Alsace, should be re-established in their feudal rights. In case of refusal they menaced France with a war, in which all the powers would concur who had guaranteed the French monarchy. This declaration, far from discouraging, only irritated the assembly and the people; they demanded by what right the princes of Europe interfered in their government; by what right they gave orders to a great people, and imposed conditions upon it; and since the sovereigns appealed from them to force, they prepared themselves for resistance. The frontiers were put in a state of defence, a hundred thousand of the national guards were levied, and they waited with assurance the attacks of the enemy, well convinced that the French people would be invincible, animated by the spirit of the revolution, and within their own frontiers.

Meanwhile, the assembly was approaching the termination of its labours; the civil relations, the public contributions, the nature of crimes, their mode of prosecution, the means for their amendment, and their penalties had been as wisely regulated as the general and constitutional regulations. Equality had been introduced into inheritance, the taxes, and punishments; it remained

only to unite all the constitutional decrees into one body, in order to present them for the acceptance of the king. The assembly began to be weary of its labours and its divisions; the people itself, which in France soon gets tired of any thing that continues long, desired a new national representation; the convocation of the electoral colleges was appointed for the 25th of September. Unfortunately, the members of the existing assembly could not make a part of that which was to follow; they had decreed this before the flight to Varennes. On this important question, the disinterestedness of some, the rivalry of others, the projects of anarchy on the part of the aristocrats, and of domination on the part of the republicans, had hurried away the assembly. In vain Duport had said, "Since we are glutted with principles, how is it that we are not advised that stability is also a principle of government? Shall we expose the French nation, whose temper is fickle and headstrong, to a new revolution every two years in laws and opinions?" This was what the privileged class and the jacobins wished, though with different objects. In all similar questions the assembly either erred or was overcome. When it debated concerning the ministry, it decided, contrary to the opinion of Mirabeau, that no deputy could be a minister; when it debated on the re-election, the assembly decided against its own members, that they could not be re-elected; it was in the same spirit that it interdicted them from accepting for four years any appointment conferred by the prince. This mania of disinterestedness went so far as to induce La Fayette to lay down the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty. Thus this remarkable epoch ended entirely with the constituent, and nothing remained of it under the legislative.

The collection of the constitutional decrees into a single body suggested the idea of revising them; but this attempt at revision excited extreme discontent and ended in disappointment; it would not do by an after-stroke to render the constitution more aristocratic, from a fear lest the people wished to make it more popular. In order to check the sovereignty of the nation, and at the same time not to disavow it, the assembly declared that France had the right of reviewing its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to use that right for thirty years.

The constitutional act was presented to the king by sixty deputies; the suspension was removed: Louis XVI. resumed the exercise of his power, and the guard which the law had given him was under his command. Restored to his freedom, the constitution was submitted to him. After several days' examination, "I accept the constitution," he wrote to the assembly; "I pledge myself to maintain it from every danger within, to defend it against every attack from without, and to procure it to be executed by every means which it puts in my power. I declare that, instructed by the adherence which the great majority of the people gives to the constitution, I renounce at the conclusion the objections I had made during its progress; and that, being responsible only to the nation, no other, when I thus renounce them, has the right to make any complaint."

This letter excited the most vivid applause. La Fayette demanded and obtained a decree for an amnesty in favour of all who had been prosecuted for the departure of the king, or for offences relative to the revolution. On the following morning the king came in person to accept the constitution in the assembly; the mob followed him with its acclamations; he was received with enthusiasm by the deputies and the tribunes, and this day he obtained anew the confidence and the affection of the people. Finally, the 29th of September was appointed for the dissolution of the assembly; the king was present at its sitting; his speech was frequently interrupted with plaudits; and when he said, "For you, gentlemen, who in a long and laborious career have manifested an indefatigable zeal, there still remains a duty to fulfil, when you shall have dispersed over the surface of this empire: it is to explain to your fellow-citizens the true meaning of the laws you have made for them, to-recall to them those who disavow them, to purify, to unite all opinions by the example you will give them of the love of order and of sub-

mission to the laws."—"Yes, yes!" re-echoed with one voice all the deputies. "I depend on it that you will be the interpreters of my sentiments to your fellow-citizens."—"Yes, yes!"—"Tell it faithfully to all, that the king will always be their first and most faithful friend; that he has need of being loved by them; that he knows how to be happy only with them and by them; the hope of contributing to their prosperity will sustain my courage, as the satisfaction of having succeeded will be my most sweet reward."—"It is the harangue of a Henry IV." said a voice; and Louis departed in the midst of the most brilliant testimonies of affection.

Thouret arose, and with a powerful voice addressing himself to the people, "The constituent assembly," he said, "declares that its mission is accomplished, and that it terminates at this moment its sittings." Thus ended this first and glorious assembly of the nation; it was courageous, enlightened, just, and had only one passion, that of the law. It accomplished in two years, by its efforts and by an unwearied perseverance, the greatest revolution which a single generation of mankind ever witnessed. In the midst of its labours it put down despotism and anarchy, by defeating the intrigues of the aristocracy and maintaining the subordination of the people. Its single error was in not confiding the conduct of the revolution to those who had effected it; it divested itself of power like those legislators of antiquity who exiled themselves from their country after having given it a constitution. A new assembly did not apply itself to the consolidation of the work of its predecessor, and the revolution which required only to be completed was recommenced.

The constitution of 1791 was founded on principles which suited the ideas and the situation of France. This constitution was the work of the middle class, at that time the most powerful; for, as we know, the prevailing force is always that which seizes upon the institutions: but when it belongs to an individual, it is despotism; to certain persons it is a privilege; to all it is a right: this last state is the term of society as it is its origin. France had finally arrived at it, after having passed through the feudal system, which was the aristocratic institution, and through absolute power, which was the monarchic institution. Equality was consecrated among the citizens, and delegation was recognised as the constitutional mode of exercising their power: such were, under the new régime, the condition of the people, and the form of the government.

In this constitution the people was the source of all power, but it exercised none; it had only the primary election, and its members were chosen by men taken from the most intelligent portion of the community. This composed the assembly, the tribunals, the administrations, the municipalities, the militias, and possessed thus all the force and all the powers of the state. It was therefore alone proper to exercise them, since it alone had the intelligence necessary for the conduct of the government. The people was not yet sufficiently advanced to take a share of the power; it was only by accident and transiently that power fell into its hands; it received the civic education, and accustomed itself to government in the primary assemblies, according to the true object of society, which is not to give its advantages as a patrimony to a class, but to make all participate in them as soon as they are capable of acquiring them. This was the principal character of the revolution of 1791. In proportion as any one became fit to possess the right, he was admitted to it; the constitution enlarged its frame with the progress of civilization, which every day called a greater number of men to the administration of the state. It is thus that it established the true equality, of which the real character is admissibility, as that of inequality is exclusion. In rendering power moveable by election, it made a public magistracy of it; while aristocratic privilege, by rendering it hereditary, made it a private property.

The constitution of 1791 established homogeneous powers, which reciprocally corresponded without interfering with each other; nevertheless, it must be admitted that the royal authority was too subordinate to the popular power. It never happens otherwise; sovereignty, from whatever quarter it comes, when it limits itself, always establishes but a feeble counterpoise. A

constituent assembly weakens the royal power; a legislating king restrains the prerogatives of an assembly.

This constitution was, nevertheless, less democratic than that of the United States, which has been found practicable notwithstanding the extent of the territory; and this proves that it is not the form of institutions, but rather the assent which they obtain, or the disagreement they excite, which permits or prevents their establishment. In a new country, after a revolution of independence, as in America, every constitution is possible; there is only one hostile party, the mother-country, and when it is vanquished, the struggle ceases, because defeat is followed by expulsion. It is not the same with social revolutions among a people which has had a long existence. Changes attack interests, interests form parties, parties enter on a struggle; and the more victory spreads, the more resentments increase: this happened to France. The work of the assembly perished less from its defects than from the blows of faction. Placed between the aristocracy and the multitude, it was attacked by one party and usurped by the other. This latter would not have become sovereign, if civil war and the foreign coalition had not required its intervention and its aid. To defend the country, it was necessary that the government should be in its hands: then it made its revolution, as the middle class had done before. It had its 16th of July, which was the 10th of August; its constituent, which was the convention; its government, which was the committee of public safety; but, as we shall see, without the emigration, it never would have been master of the republic.

## LETTER XX.

*The French Revolution continued—National Legislative Assembly—State of Parties—The Emigration and the refractory Clergy—War declared against the House of Austria. A. D. 1792.*

THE new assembly commenced its sittings on the first of October, 1791, and at once declared itself the *national legislative assembly*. From the moment of its opening, it had occasion to show its attachment to the actual order of things, as well as its respect for the founders of French liberty. The book of the constitution was solemnly presented to the new body by the archivist Camus, at the head of twelve of the oldest members of the national representation. The assembly stood uncovered while its members received the constitutional act, and vowed by its contents, amid the applauses of the crowd which occupied the tribunes, to live freemen, or to die. The assembly next voted thanks to the members of the constituent assembly, and forthwith commenced its labours.

But its first relations with the king did not possess the same character of union or confidence. The court, which undoubtedly hoped to regain under the legislative the ascendancy which it had lost under the constituent assembly, was not sufficiently cautious in the management of a popular assembly which was restless and jealous of its rights, and which passed at that time for the highest in the state. The assembly sent a deputation of sixty members to the king, to announce that it was constituted. The king did not receive them in person, but directed the minister of justice, that he could not give them an audience till the following day at noon. A dismissal so unceremonious as this, and the communication between the sovereign and the national representatives, thus rendered indirect by the intervention of a minister, deeply wounded the deputation. Accordingly, when it was ushered into the presence of Louis XVI., Ducastel, who was president of the deputation, addressed him thus laconically: "Sire, the national legislative assembly is definitely constituted, and it has appointed us to inform you of this." Louis XVI. replied, in a still colder tone, "I cannot attend your assembly before Friday." This conduct of the court towards the assembly was very injudicious, and ill calculated to conciliate towards it the affection of the popular party.

not provoked it. They wished to put down the revolution and they extended it; for in the contest it was sure to be triumphant. Europe then arrived at the end of the political system which had governed it. The existence of the different states, after having been in every thing internal under the feudal government, were now become in every thing external under the monarchical government. The first epoch had terminated about the same time for all the great nations of Europe. Then, the kings who had been so long at war with their vassals because they were in contact with them, met on the borders of their own states and warred against each other. As no domination could become universal, neither that of Charles V., nor that of Louis XIV., the weaker states always leaguings against the more powerful; after various vicissitudes of superiority and alliance, a species of European equilibrium was established. It will not be useless to know what was its condition before the revolution, that we may better appreciate the events that followed.

Austria, England, and France were the three great powers of Europe. Interest leagued together the first two against the third. Austria dreaded France in the Belgic provinces, England feared her on the seas. The rivalry of power or commerce brought them frequently into contest; they endeavoured to humble or despoil each other. Spain, since its throne had been occupied by a prince of the house of Bourbon, had been allied with France against England. This was indeed a decayed power; exiled into the corner of the continent, depressed under the system of Philip II., deprived by the family compact of the only enemy which could preserve it in a state of wholesome vigilance, it had preserved on the sea only a remnant of its former superiority. But France had other allies on all the quarters of Austria; in the north Sweden, in the east Poland and the Porte, in the south the Germanic circles, in the west Prussia, and in Italy the kingdom of Naples. These powers, dreading the encroachments of Austria, were the natural allies of France. Piedmont, placed between the two, was sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other: the cabinet of Turin resembled an adventurer, who lets out his services according to circumstances. Holland was allied to England or France, as the party of the stadtholder or that of the people prevailed in the republic. The Swiss were neutral.

Two powers had sprung up in the north, of which the one, Prussia, entering into this equilibrium, deranged by the preponderance it had acquired, and of which the other, Russia, was, on account of its recent establishment, entirely out of the European relations. Prussia had been changed from a simple electorate to a kingdom by Frederic William, who had given it an army, and by his son Frederic the Great, whose talents had so greatly aggrandized its powers. Russia, placed in the third line, began to overflow upon Europe, and to derange its equilibrium. It had invaded Poland, it menaced the Porte, and as its only means of action were conquest, it meditated also the occupation of Turkey.

Such was the state of Europe when the French revolution began. The potentates who hitherto had no enemy but themselves suddenly encountered in this event a common antagonist. The ancient relations of war or alliance, already deranged during the seven years' war, then ceased entirely: Sweden reunited itself to Russia, and Prussia to Austria. There were only kings on one side, and a people on the other, until the latter were joined by those whom its example or the faults of the princes gave it for auxiliaries. A general coalition was soon formed against the French revolution: Austria entered into it in the hope of aggrandizement; England, from a dread of infection from republican principles; Prussia, to strengthen absolute power, which was menaced, and to find employment for her army; the circles of Germany to regain for some of their members the feudal rights of which the abolition of the feudal régime had deprived them in Alsace; the king of Sweden, who was created the champion of arbitrary power that he might re-establish it in France as he had already done in his own country; Russia, that she might effect without trouble the partition of Poland, while Europe was occupied elsewhere; finally, all the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon,

from regard to their own power or from family attachments. The emigrants encouraged them in these projects, and incited them to the invasion. According to them, France was without an army, or at least without leaders, without money, abandoned to disorder, weary of the assembly, attached to the ancient régime, and without either means or desire to defend itself. They came in numbers to take part in this easy campaign, and they formed themselves into an organized corps, under the prince of Condé, at Worms, and under the count d'Artois, at Coblenz.

The count d'Artois especially accelerated the determinations of the cabinets; the emperor Leopold was in Italy; he passed over to him, accompanied by Calonne, who was his minister, and the count Alphonse de Durfort, who had been his agent at the court of the Tuileries, and who had reported to him the authority of the king that he should treat with Leopold. The conference was held at Mantua, and the count de Durfort went to Louis XVI., to carry, in the name of the emperor, a secret declaration, by which the approaching aid of the coalition was announced to him. Austria was to march thirty-five thousand men upon the frontier of Flanders, the circles fifteen thousand upon Alsace, the Swiss fifteen thousand upon the frontier of the Lyonesse, the king of Sardinia fifteen thousand upon that of Dauphiny. Spain was to increase its army of Catalonia to twenty thousand; Prussia was well disposed towards the coalition; the king of England was to make a part of it as elector of Hanover. All these troops were to be put in motion at the same time, about the end of July. The house of Bourbon was then to make a protest, the powers to publish a manifesto; but up to that moment it was important to keep this design secret, to avoid all partial insurrection, and not to make any attempt at escape. Such were the contents of this famous declaration of Mantua, of the 20th of May, 1791.

Louis XVI., whether he was unwilling to place himself at the mercy of foreigners, or whether he dreaded the ascendant which the count d'Artois, if he should return at the head of a victorious emigration, would take in the government which he would have established, chose rather to restore the monarchy by his own efforts. He had in general Bouillé a partisan devoted and active, who equally condemned the emigration and the assembly, and who promised him a refuge and a support in his army. For some time a secret correspondence had been carried on between him and the king; Bouillé prepared every thing for his reception. Under the pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, he established a camp at Montmédy; he placed detachments upon the route the king was to follow, to serve as an escort; and, as he must have a motive for these dispositions, he pretended that they were for protecting the military chest destined for the payment of the army.

The royal family on its part kept all the preparations for departure in profound secrecy; few persons were acquainted with them, no circumstance betrayed them. Louis XVI. and his queen, on the contrary, did every thing to remove suspicion, and on the 20th of June, in the night, at the moment fixed for departure, they quitted the château, one by one, in disguise. They escaped the vigilance of the guards, and met each other upon the boulevard, where a carriage was waiting for them, and instantly started on the road for Châlons and Montmédy.

In the morning, at the news of this escape, Paris was seized with stupor; presently, indignation followed, groups of people began to form, and the tumult went on increasing. Those who had not prevented the flight were accused of having favoured it; distrust spared neither La Fayette nor Bailly. They saw in this event the invasion of France, the triumph of the emigration, the return of the ancient régime, or rather a long civil war. But the discretion of the assembly soon restored calmness and security to the public mind. It took all the measures necessary to meet an emergency so pressing. A meeting being instantly held, it summoned to its bar the ministers and the authorities; calmed the people by a proclamation; took precautions to maintain the public tranquillity; assumed the executive power; charged the

minister of foreign affairs, Montmorin, to make known to the powers of Europe its pacific intentions; sent commissaries to the troops, to assure itself of their fidelity, and to receive their oath no longer in the name of the king, but in its own. Finally, it issued orders to the departments for the arrest of all who should be leaving the realm. "Thus, in less than four hours," said the marquis de Ferrières, "the assembly saw itself invested with all the powers: the government went on, the public tranquillity experienced not the smallest shock, and Paris and France learned by this experience, so dangerous to royalty, that in almost all cases the monarch is a stranger to the government which is administered in his name."

Meanwhile, Louis XVI. and his queen were arriving at the termination of their journey. The success of the first part of the journey, and the distance from Paris, rendered the king less reserved and more confident; he had the imprudence to show himself, and was recognised and arrested at Varennes. In an instant all the national guards were on foot, the officers of the detachments posted by Bouillé wished in vain to deliver the king, the dragoons and the hussars feared or refused to second them. Bouillé, apprized of this fatal accident, hastened thither himself, at the head of a regiment of cavalry. But it was too late: when he arrived at Varennes, the king had left it several hours; his squadrons were fatigued and refused to proceed any farther, the national guards were every where in arms, and after the bad success of his enterprise, he had no alternative but to quit the army and France.

The assembly, on learning the arrest of the king, sent as commissaries to be in attendance on his person three of its members, Pétion, Latour Maubourg, and Barnave; they joined the royal family at Epernay, and returned with them. It was during this journey that Barnave, touched by the good sense of Louis XVI., the attentive and conciliating manners of Marie Antoinette, and the humiliated condition of all the royal family, testified for his sovereign the most lively interest, and gave him from that day his counsel and his support. This assemblage, on arriving at Paris, traversed an immense multitude, which raised no cry of approbation or discontent, but observed a long reproachful silence.

The king was provisionally suspended; a guard was appointed for him as well as the queen; commissaries were nominated to interrogate him. All parties were in commotion; some wished to maintain him on his throne, in spite of his attempted flight; others pretended that he had abdicated, by condemning in a manifesto addressed to the French on his departure, both the revolution and the acts that emanated from him during this epoch, which he had called a period of captivity.

The republican party now began to appear. Hitherto it had been dependent or concealed, because it had no substantive existence, or no pretext for manifesting itself. The struggle which had begun at first between the assembly and the court, then between the constitutionalists and the aristocrats, and lastly among the constitutionalists themselves, now commenced between the constitutionalists and the republicans. Such is in times of revolution the inevitable march of events. The partisans of the order of things newly established then united themselves, renouncing the differences which were not without inconvenience even when the assembly was all-powerful, and which became perilous, at the moment when the emigration threatened it on one side, and the multitude on the other. Mirabeau was no more; but the centre upon which this great man relied, and which constituted the least ambitious portion of the assembly, and the most attached to principles, might, in uniting under the Lameths, establish Louis XVI. and the constitutional assembly, and resist the excesses of the people.

This alliance was effected: the Lameths had a secret understanding with d'André and the principal members of the centre, conferred with the court, and opened the club of Feuillants, to oppose to that of the jacobins. The jacobins could not be without leaders; they had combated under Mirabeau against Mounier, under the Lameths against Mirabeau, under Pétion and Robespierre they fought against the Lameths. The party that wished a

second revolution had constantly supported the extreme partisans of the revolution already accomplished, because it was thus hastening the struggle they wished for, and the victory they hoped. At this epoch, from being subordinate it became independent; it struggled no longer for others and the opinions of others, but for itself and under its own banner. The court, by its multiplied faults, by its imprudent machinations, and, in the last place, by the flight of the monarch, had given it an opportunity to avow its objects, and the Lameths in abandoning it had left it to its true leaders.

The Lameths experienced in their turn the reproaches of the multitude, which saw only their alliance with the court, without examining its conditions. But supported by all the constitutionalists, they were the strongest party in the assembly, and it was important to them to re-establish the king as soon as possible, in order to put an end to a dangerous controversy; for the republican party were authorized to demand the forfeiture of the crown so long as the suspension should continue. The commissaries charged with interrogating Louis XVI. dictated to him themselves a declaration, which they presented in his name to the assembly, and which soothed the irritation excited by his flight. The reporter declared, in the name of the seven committees, charged with the examination of this great question, that there were no grounds for placing Louis XVI. in judgment, nor to pronounce the forfeiture against him. The discussion which followed this report was long and animated; the efforts of the republican party, in spite of their obstinacy, failed. The greater part of their orators spoke; they wanted a deposition, or a regency, which was an approximation to it. Barnave, after having combated all their suggestions, ended his harangue with these remarkable words: "Regenerators of the empire, pursue your course without deviation. You have shown that you had the courage to destroy the abuses of power, you have shown that you could replace them by wise and happy institutions; prove that you have the sagacity to protect and maintain them. The nation is about to exhibit a grand proof of force and courage; it has solemnly produced, and by a spontaneous movement, every thing which it can oppose to the attacks with which we are menaced. Continue the same precautions, that our limits, our frontiers may be powerfully defended. But at the moment we are manifesting our power, let us also prove our moderation; let us offer peace to the world, disquieted by the events which are passing among us; let us present an occasion of triumph to those who in foreign lands have taken an interest in our revolution! They cry out to us from all places, 'You have been powerful; be wise, be moderate; that will be the crown of your glory; it is thus that you will show that in all varieties of circumstances, you know how to employ talents, various means, and all the virtues.'"

The assembly concurred in the sentiments of Barnave. But in order to calm the people, and to provide for the future security of France, it decreed that the king should *ipso facto* abdicate the crown, if he retracted his oath to the constitution after having taken it, if he should put himself at the head of an army to make war on the nation, or should suffer any one to do it in his name; that then, becoming a simple citizen again, he should cease to be inviolable, and be subject to accusation for acts subsequent to his abdication.

On the day that this decree was adopted by the people, the leaders of the republican party excited the multitude to resistance. But the place of the sittings was surrounded by the national guard, and the assembly could neither be invaded nor intimidated. The agitators, unable to prevent the decree, roused the people against it. They drew up a petition, in which they denied the competency of the assembly, appealed from it to the sovereignty of the people, considered Louis XVI. as a private citizen, since he had fled, and demanded a substitute for him. This petition, drawn up by Brissot, author of the *Patriote Français*, and president of the committee of investigation of the city of Paris, was carried to the Champ-de-Mars, and placed upon the altar of the country: an immense multitude came to sign it. The assembly, apprized of this, summoned the municipality to its bar, and en-