

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.

tors, become liable to the punishment of death, and that, after condemnation for contumacy, the revenues arising from their property should be confiscated for the benefit of the nation, without, however, prejudicing the rights of their wives, their children, and their lawful creditors. On the 29th of the same month, a similar decision was made with regard to the refractory ecclesiastics, who were bound to take the oath of citizenship, under pain of being deprived of their pensions, and of being declared suspected of revolt against the law. If they refused it anew, they were to be strictly watched; and if there arose any religious feuds in their communes, they were to be carried to the principal town of the department; and if they were found to have had any share in preaching up disobedience, they were rendered subject to detention.

The king sanctioned the first decree respecting his brother, but put his *veto* on the two others. He had disavowed the emigration, a short time before, by the steps he had publicly taken; and he had written to the emigrant princes to recall them to the realm. He had entreated them to take this step in the name of the tranquillity of France, and of the attachment and obedience which they owed to him, as their brother and their king; and he said, in finishing his letter, "I shall consider myself bound to you all my life, if you will spare me the necessity of acting in opposition to you, by the invariable resolution I have taken, of maintaining all that I have said." His prudent suggestions were not followed by the desired result; but Louis XVI., though he condemned the conduct of the emigrants, was unwilling to give his sanction to any measures taken against them; he was supported in his refusal by the constitutionalists, and by the directory of the department. This kind of support proved useful to him, at a moment when he appeared in the eyes of the people an accomplice of the emigrants, when he excited the discontents of the Girondists, and separated himself from the assembly. He ought to have strenuously united himself with them, as he invoked the constitution against the emigrants in his letters, and against the revolutionists by the use of his prerogative. His situation could only become strong by subscribing with all his heart to the first revolution, and in identifying his own cause with that of the people.

But the court was not sufficiently resigned; and expected always more favourable times, which prevented it from acting with the requisite firmness, and led it to look for hope on all sides. The court continued to keep up relations with Europe, and was at times disposed to allow of foreign intervention: it intrigued with the ministers against the popular party, and made use of the Feuillants, though with much distrust, against the Girondists. Its principal resources at this period were in the petty intrigues of Bertrand de Molleville, who was at the head of the council. He had established a *French club*, of which he paid the members; he bought the applauses of the tribunes of the assembly, and hoped by this spurious kind of revolution to destroy the real one. His plan was to play the parties against one another, and to annul the effects of the constitution, while literally observing its provisions.

By this system of conduct the court had the imprudence to weaken the constitutionalists, whom it should have reinforced; and favoured, at their expense, the nomination of Pétion to the mayoralty. In consequence of the disinterestedness with which the preceding assembly had been seized, all those who had exercised under it any popular employments successively resigned them. La Fayette had given up the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty; the constitutional party proposed La Fayette as his successor in this first post of the state, which put the power of exciting or preventing an insurrection, and consequently Paris itself into the hands of him who occupied it. Up to this time it had belonged to the constitutionalists, who, by means of it, had repressed the movement of the Champ-de-Mars. They had lost the direction of the assembly, the command of the national guard; they moreover lost the municipality. The court gave to Pétion, the Girondists' candidate, all the votes of which it could dispose. "M. de La Fayette," said the queen, to Bertrand de Molleville, "only wishes to be mayor of Paris in order to be afterward mayor of the palace.—Pétion

is a jacobin and a republican, but he is too great a fool ever to be capable of becoming the head of a party." This nomination soon became decisive in favour of the Girondists.

The latter did not content themselves with the acquisition of the mayoralty. France could not long remain in that dangerous and provisional condition: the decrees, which, justly or not, were to serve for the defence of the revolution, and which had been rejected by the king, were not replaced by any measure of government; the ministry discovered either treacherous intentions, or an evident indifference to the state of the nation. This led the Girondists to accuse the minister for foreign affairs, Delessart, of compromising the honour and the security of the state by his negotiations with foreign powers, by his delays, and by his ignorance; they also strongly charged du Portail, the minister at war, and Bertrand de Molleville, minister of marine, with neglecting to put the frontiers and the coasts in a state of defence. The conduct of the electors of Trèves, of Mentz, and of the bishop of Spire, who favoured the military assemblies of the troops, excited generally strong and deep indignation. The diplomatic committee proposed to make a declaration to the king, that the nation would see with satisfaction a requisition issued to the neighbouring princes to disperse the meetings in three weeks; and that he should assemble the force necessary to compel them to respect the rights of nations. The assembly wished, by this important step, to induce Louis XVI. to take a solemn engagement, and to signify to the diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, as well as to all the other courts of Europe, the firm intentions of France.

Isnard ascended the tribune to support this project; "Let us," said he, "on this occasion, feel the due dignity of our mission; let us speak to the king, to his ministers, and to all Europe with the firmness which becomes us. Let us tell our ministers, that hitherto the nation is by no means satisfied with the conduct of any of them; that henceforth, they have only to choose between the gratitude of the people and the vengeance of the laws; and that by the word *responsibility*, we mean *death*. Let us tell the king, that his interest lies in defending the constitution; that he reigns only by the people, and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is subject to the law. Let us proclaim to Europe, that the French nation, if it draws the sword, will cast away the scabbard; that it will only go to regain it crowned with the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will engage the people in a war, even to death, against kings. Let us tell her, that all the combats in which nations engage at the command of despots—(here the speaker was interrupted by shouts of applause, and cried out)—do not applaud! do not applaud! but respect my enthusiasm, it is that of liberty. Let us, I say, tell Europe, that all the wars in which nations engage at the command of despots, resemble the blows which two friends, instigated by a perfidious enemy, aim at each other in the dark; when the light of day appears, they throw away their arms, they embrace, and punish him who deceived them; so if, at the moment when hostile armies are struggling with ours, the light of philosophy flashes on their eyes, both nations will embrace in the sight of dethroned tyrants, of consoled earth, and of satisfied heaven."

The assembly decreed with transport and unanimously, the proposed measure, and despatched a message to the king. Vaublanc was the organ of that deputation. "Sire," said he to Louis XVI., "scarcely had the assembly cast its eyes on the situation of the realm, when it perceived that the troubles which still agitate it, have their source in the criminal attempts of the French emigrants. Their audacity is supported by the German princes, who disregarded the treaties signed between them and France, and affect to forget that they owe to this empire the treaty of Westphalia, which guarantees their rights and their security. These hostile preparations, these threats of invasion, require armaments which absorb immense sums, which the nation would have poured with joy into the hands of its creditors.

"It is for you, sire, to put an end to them, it is for you to hold, in address-

ing foreign powers, the language which becomes the sovereign of the French people! Tell them, that every country which continues preparations against France, must be numbered among her enemies; that we will religiously regard our oath of attempting no conquests; that we offer to live with them in brotherly neighbourhood, and to grant them the inviolable friendship of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we require in return that ours should be respected! Tell them, lastly, that if the princes of Germany continue to countenance preparations directed against the French, the French will carry into their country, not fire and sword, but liberty! It is for them to calculate what may be the consequence of this awakening of the nations!"

Louis XVI. replied, that he would take into deep consideration the message of the assembly; and a few days afterward he came to announce in person his resolutions on the subject. They were agreeable to the general wish. The king declared, amid general applause, that he would signify to the elector of Trèves, and to the other electors, that if, before the 15th of January, all hostile meetings and all hostile dispositions on the part of the refugee French should not have ceased in their states, he would regard them as enemies. He added, that he would write to the emperor, in order to engage him, as the head of the empire, to interpose his authority to avert the evils which any longer obstinacy on the part of some members of the Germanic body might occasion. "If these declarations, gentlemen, are not attended to," added he, "it only remains for me to propose war; war, in which a people who has solemnly renounced foreign conquest, never engages without necessity; but which a free and generous nation knows how to undertake when its own security and its own honour demand it!"

The steps taken by the king, relative to the princes of the empire, were supported by military preparations. A new minister at war had replaced du Portail. Narbonne, chosen from the party of the Feuillants, young, active, and ambitious of signalizing himself by the triumph of his party, and by his defence of the revolution, immediately marched to the frontiers. A hundred and fifty thousand men were required; the assembly voted on this occasion twenty millions of extraordinary funds; three armies were formed under the command of Rochambeau, of Luckner, and La Fayette; and finally, Monsieur, count of Provence, the count d'Artois, and the prince of Condé were accused and decreed *guilty of attempts and conspiracy against the general security of the state and constitution*. Their properties were sequestered; and the term which had formerly been fixed for the return of Monsieur to France being expired, he was deprived of all right to the regency.

The elector of Trèves, who did not expect the step which was taken, engaged to disperse the meetings, and to allow them no longer to take place. All this, however, was confined to a pretence of disbanding the troops. Austria gave orders to marshal Bender to defend the elector if he was attacked, and ratified the conclusions of the diet of Ratisbon. The latter demanded the restoration of the *possessory princes*; it refused to allow that they should be indemnified in money for the loss of their rights; and left to France the choice only of the re-establishment of feudality in Alsace, or war. These two resolutions of the cabinet of Vienna were of a very hostile nature. Her troops marched upon the French frontiers, and proved clearly that France was not to trust to her inaction. Fifty thousand men were stationed in the Low Countries; six thousand were posted in the Brigaw, and thirty thousand were despatched from Bohemia. This formidable army of observation, could at a moment's notice, be rendered an army of attack.

The assembly felt that there was an urgent necessity of compelling the emperor to decide. It considered the electors but as borrowed names under which he acted, and the emigrants as his instruments; for prince Kaunitz regarded as legitimate the *league of sovereigns united for the security and the honour of their crowns*. The Girondists, therefore, were desirous of anticipating this dangerous adversary, and of preventing him from having time to prepare himself. They required him to explain before the 10th of February,

in a clear and precise manner, his real intentions with regard to France. They attacked, at the same time, those ministers on whom they could not count in case of war; the incapacity of Delessart, and the intrigues of Molleville, especially afforded ground for such attacks. Narbonne was the only one spared. They were seconded by the divisions of the council, which was half aristocratical, by Bertrand de Molleville, Delessart, &c.; and half constitutional, by Narbonne and Cahier de Gerville, minister of the interior. Men, so opposite in intentions and talents, could never be expected to agree. Bertrand de Molleville had lively contests with Narbonne, who wished his colleagues to adopt a frank and decided tone, and to render the assembly the principal support of the throne. Narbonne failed in the struggle, and his fall produced the disorganization of this ministry. The Girondists accused Bertrand de Molleville and Delessart; the former had enough of ingenuity to defend himself; but the latter was carried before the high court of Orleans.

The king, intimidated by the violent conduct of the assembly towards the members of his council, and especially by the decree of accusation against Delessart, had no resource left but to choose his new ministers from the victorious party. An alliance with the actual rulers of the revolution was the only thing which could save at once liberty and the throne. It would restore concord to the assembly, the chief power, and the municipality; and if their union was maintained, the Girondists would perform, with the aid of the court, what they judged, after the rupture, they could only have accomplished without it. The members of the new ministry were Lacoste for the navy; Clavière for the finances, Duranthon for justice, de Grave, who was soon replaced by Servan, minister at war, Dumouriez for foreign affairs, and Roland for the interior. The two latter were the most remarkable and the most important men of the council.

Dumouriez was forty-seven years of age at the commencement of the revolution; up to that time he had lived amid intrigues, which he was too fond of employing at a period when small means ought only to have been used in aid of great ones, and not to supply their place. The first part of his political life was spent in discovering those by whom he might rise, and the second, those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before 1789, a constitutionalist under the first assembly, a Girondist under the second, a jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But he had all the resources of great men; an enterprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success: he was besides frank, ingenious, clever, bold, equally fitted for the council and the field; full of expedients, astonishing for the readiness of his invention, and knowing how to submit to the misfortune of a difficult position, until he could change it. It must be admitted, however, that these fine qualities were injured by several defects. He was rash, thoughtless, and extremely capricious both in his opinions and his means, in consequence of his continual thirst for action: but the great fault of Dumouriez was his want of all political principle. In a period of revolution nothing is to be accomplished unless the individual is the man of a party—if a man is ambitious, he must see farther than the object he seeks to attain—and unless his will is stronger than that of his partisans he will fail. It was thus with Cromwell and Buonaparte: while Dumouriez, after having been the servant of parties, believed he should conquer them all by his intrigues. He wanted the passion of his time; it is this which completes a man, and which alone can render him the governing spirit of his age.

Roland was a contrast to Dumouriez. He was a character which liberty found ready made, as if she had herself moulded it. The manners of Roland were simple, his morals severe, and his opinions tried: he loved liberty with enthusiasm, and he was equally capable of disinterestedly consecrating to her cause the whole of his existence, or of perishing for its sake without ostentation and without regret. He was a man worthy of being born in a republic, but misplaced in a revolution; he was ill-fitted for the agitations

The assembly approved of the manner in which the president of the deputation had expressed himself, and very speedily allowed itself an act of reprisal. The ceremonial with which the king was to be received by the assembly was founded upon preceding regulations. An arm-chair, after the fashion of a throne, was reserved for him: he was addressed by the titles of *sire* and *majesty*, and the deputies, who stood up uncovered on his entrance, sat down, put on their hats, and rose up again, following with deference all the movements of the king. Some violent and turbulent spirits thought these condescensions unworthy of a sovereign assembly. The deputy Grangeneuve moved that the words *sire* and *majesty* should be replaced by the higher and more constitutional title of king of the French. Couthon went even farther, and proposed to give the king a simple arm-chair, exactly similar to that of the president. These demands excited some slight signs of disapprobation on the part of several members, but the majority eagerly joined in them. "I trust," said Guadet, "that the French nation will always regard with far higher veneration the simple arm-chair on which sits the president of the representatives of the people, than the gilded seat which supports the chief of the executive power. I shall say nothing of gentlemen, of the titles of *sire* and *majesty*. I am only astonished that the national assembly should ever have hesitated as to whether it should preserve them. The word *sire* signifies *seigneur*: it belonged to the feudal government, which no longer exists. As to that of *majesty*, it ought only to be employed in speaking of God or of the people."

The previous question was called for, but feebly; these different propositions were put to the vote, and adopted by a considerable majority. Nevertheless, as such a decree appeared hostile, the constitutional opinion was against it, and blamed so rigorous an application of its principles. The day following, those who had called for the previous question demanded the abandonment of the resolutions of the previous sitting. A report spread at the same time that the king would refuse to be present at any meeting of the assembly, if the decree was kept in force, and it was accordingly annulled. These little disputes between two powers who mutually dreaded the usurpations, the pride, and the ill-will of each other, ended here for the present. All recollection of them was entirely effaced by the appearance of Louis XVI. among the legislative body, by which he was received with the highest respect and the most lively enthusiasm.

His discourse chiefly tended to the pacification of parties in general. He pointed out to the assembly the points which demanded its attention, the finances, the civil laws, commerce, industry, and the consolidation of the new form of government: he promised to employ all his endeavours to recall the army to order and discipline, to put the realm in a state of defence, and to give such favourable ideas of the French revolution, as would tend to conciliate the favourable opinion of Europe. He added the following words, which were loudly applauded: "Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal should produce all the good which may be naturally expected from them, there ought ever to exist between the legislative body and the monarch, a constant harmony and an unalterable confidence. The enemies of our common repose will be but too ready to seek to disunite us; but let the love of our country bind us together, and the interest of the public render us inseparable! Thus will the power of the nation be enabled to exert itself without opposition; the administration be no longer tormented by visionary terrors; the property and the belief of all shall be equally protected, and none shall have any longer a pretext for deserting a land where the laws shall be in force, and where the rights of all shall be respected." Unfortunately, there were two classes separate from the revolution, which refused to combine with it, and whose efforts in the interior of France, and in Europe generally, prevented the fulfilment of these words of peace and wisdom. Wherever there are any parties displaced in a state, there must always be a struggle; and they force their opponents to adopt against them measures of hostility. Thus the internal troubles excited by the priests who had not

taken the oaths, the warlike meeting of the emigrants, and the preparations for the coalition, soon carried the legislative farther than the constitution allowed, or than the assembly itself contemplated.

The composition of this assembly was wholly popular. All ideas having been turned to the revolution, neither the court, the nobles, nor the clergy exercised any influence over the elections. There were not in that assembly, as in the preceding, any partisans of absolute power or peculiar privileges. The two factions of the left who had separated towards the conclusion of the constituent, still formed part of the assembly, but they were greatly diminished both in numbers and in power. The popular minority of the other assembly became the majority of this. The regulation which forbade the election of constituents already chosen, the necessity which they were under of selecting their deputies from among those who had rendered themselves most remarkable by their conduct and opinions, and above all the active influence of the clubs, led to this result. Opinions and parties soon discovered themselves. There were a right, a centre, and a left, as in the constituent, but possessing a character altogether different.

The right, which was composed of firm and decided constitutionalists, formed the Feuillant party. Its principal organs were Dumas, Ramond, Vaublanc, Beugnot, &c. It had some relations with the court through Barnave, Duport, and Alexander Lameth, who were its former leaders; but their counsels were rarely followed by Louis XVI., who abandoned himself with more confidence to the guidance of those who were about him. It relied for support without doors on the club of the Feuillants and on the middle classes. The national guard, the army, the directory of the department, and, in general, all the constituted authorities, were favourable to this faction. But it no longer was the ruling party in the assembly, and it speedily lost a post equally essential, that of the municipality, which was occupied by its antagonists of the left.

These formed the party called the Girondists, who served in the revolution as a connecting link between the middling and the lower classes. This party at that time entertained no levelling projects: but it was inclined to support the revolution by all means, in distinction from the constitutionalists, who proposed to support it only according to law. At the head of this faction were the brilliant orators of the department of the Gironde, from which it drew its name, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and the provençal Isnard, whose eloquence was still more glowing than theirs. Its principal leader was Brissot, who had been a member of the municipality of Paris during the preceding session, and who now belonged to the assembly. The opinions of Brissot, who wished for a complete reform, his great activity of mind, which exerted itself by turns in the journal called the Patriot, in the rostrum of the assembly, and at the club of the jacobins, and his accurate and extensive acquaintance with the situation of foreign powers, combined to give him great influence at a moment when France was divided between the strife of parties and a war against Europe. Condorcet's influence was of another description: he owed his ascendancy to the profoundness of his views and his strong powers of reason, which raised him to something like the rank of Siéyes in this second revolutionary generation. Pétion, the character of whose mind was calm and decided, was the man of action of the party. His tranquil air, his flowing eloquence, and his acquaintance with the moods of the people speedily raised him to the municipal magistracy, which Bailly had exercised on behalf of the middling classes.

The left side had in the assembly the heads of a faction which went beyond the main party in opinion, of which the members, such as Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, were to the Girondists, what Pétion, Buzot, and Robespierre had been to the left side of the constituent assembly. This was the commencement of the democratic faction, which out of doors served as auxiliaries to the Girondists, and regulated the affiliation of the clubs and of the multitude. Robespierre in the society of jacobins, where he established his empire after quitting the assembly; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Faure

d'Eglantine at the Cordeliers, where they had founded a club of reformers still more violent than the jacobins, composed of persons belonging to the trading classes; together with the brewer Santerre, in the Fauxbourgs, where the popular force resided, were the real chiefs of that faction, which trusted for its support to an entire class of the population, and aspired to the foundation of a government of its own. But this party only fought, as it were, under orders, and it required very pressing circumstances to have brought about its triumph. This was the real party of the Champ-de-Mars.

The centre of the legislative was sincerely attached to the new order of things. It held, except in a few immaterial points, the same opinions, and had the same wish for conciliatory measures, as the centre of the constituent assembly; but its power was very different: it was no longer at the head of a class, by means of which it possessed the power of overruling in a wise and firm manner all the violent and turbulent parties existing. The dangers which threatened the public, by awakening a sense of the necessity of relying for support upon violent opinions within, and on parties without, completely annulled the centre. It soon became the appanage of the strongest faction, as it happens in the case of all moderate parties, and sunk under the influence of the left.

The situation of the assembly was a very difficult one; for that which preceded it had left behind parties which it had evidently been unable to pacify. In the very commencement of its sittings, it found itself compelled to attend to these; and its attention was to be confined to combating them. The emigration was making alarming progress; the king's two brothers, the prince of Condé and the duke of Bourbon, had protested against the acceptance of the act of the constitution by Louis XVI., in other words, against the sole means of conciliation; they asserted that the king had not the power of alienating the rights of the ancient monarchy; and their protest, which soon circulated through France, produced a great effect on their partisans. The officers left the army, the nobles abandoned their châteaux, and whole companies deserted, to enrol themselves in the regiments on the frontiers. Distaffs were sent to those who remained behind; and those who refused to emigrate were threatened with being degraded to the class of the people, when the nobility should return victorious. What was styled *External France* was formed in the Austrian Low Countries, and in the neighbouring electorates. The counter-revolution was openly prepared at Brussels, at Worms, and at Coblenz, not only under the protection of the foreign courts, but even with their assistance. The emigrant ambassadors were received, while those of the existing French government were either sent home, or ill-received, or in some instances imprisoned, as in the case of M. Duverger; and French travellers or merchants suspected of patriotism, or admiration of the revolution, were subjected to the distrust of all Europe. Several powers had declared themselves openly; among these were Sweden, Russia, and Spain, which was then governed by the marquis of Blanca Florida, who was entirely devoted to the cause of the emigrants. At the same time, Prussia kept up her army, in expectation of a war; the line of the Sardinians and Spanish troops assembled on the French frontiers, was increased by supplies from the Alps and the Pyrenees; and Gustavus, the intended chief of the coalition, was collecting a Swedish army.

The refractory ecclesiastics lost no opportunity of exciting in the country a diversion which might prove useful to the emigrants. "The priests, and more especially the bishops," says the marquis of Ferrières, "employed all the resources of fanaticism to rouse the lower classes, both in town and country, against the civil constitution of the clergy." The bishops commanded the priests no longer to celebrate divine service in the same churches with the constitutional clergy, lest the people should confound the two modes of worship and the two orders of priesthood. "Independently," he adds, "of the circular letters addressed to the curates, instructions designed for the people were distributed through the country. In these it was stated, that it was not allowable for any one to receive the sacraments from the hands

of the constitutional priests, who were designated as intruders; that all who participated in them became guilty, by their mere presence, of a mortal sin; that those who were married by the intruders should not be regarded as married; that they would draw down a curse on themselves and on their children; that no one was to hold communication with them, nor with those who had separated themselves from the church; that the municipal officers who installed them became apostates like themselves; that even at the moment of installation, the ringers of the bells and the sacristans were to abandon their duty.—These fanatical addresses produced the effect expected by the bishops, and religious dissensions broke out in all quarters."

The revolt took place chiefly in the departments of Calvados, or Gévaudan, and of La Vendée. These provinces were not much disposed to welcome the revolution, because the middling and enlightened class was far from numerous there, and the populace was firmly attached to the clergy and nobility, upon whom they depended. The Girondists, in alarm, were disposed to adopt vigorous measures against the emigration and the dissident clergy who attacked the established order of things. Brissot proposed to stop the emigration by renouncing the system of mildness and forbearance which had till then been followed with regard to it. He divided the emigrants into three classes: 1st, the principal chiefs, at the head of whom he placed the king's two brothers; 2d, the public functionaries who abandoned their places, and their country, and endeavoured to seduce their colleagues; and, 3d, private individuals, who, through terror of their lives, hatred of the revolution, or other motives, quitted their country, without, however, taking up arms against her. He demanded that laws of the severest kind should be enforced against the first two classes, and insisted that it would be the very reverse of good policy to show itself indulgent towards the latter. As for the unconsecrated and seditious ecclesiastics, several Girondists were disposed to be content with subjecting them to a stricter system of scrutiny; but others pretended that there was but one sure measure to be adopted with regard to them, and that the only means of crushing the spirit of sedition was to banish them from the realm. "All methods of conciliation," said the impetuous Isnard, "are now useless: I ask, what has been hitherto the result of so many reiterated pardons? Your enemies have only augmented their boldness in proportion to your indulgence; and they will never cease to injure you until they have no longer the means. They must either be victors or vanquished: to this it must come at last; and any man who cannot see this great truth, I hold to be politically blind."

The constitutionalists were opposed to all these measures: they did not attempt to deny the danger; but they regarded such laws as arbitrary. They said, that before all things the constitution ought to be respected, and that measures of precaution were all that were necessary at that period; that it was sufficient to protect the nation against the emigrants; and that in order to punish the dissident priests, some real conspiracies ought to be discovered on their part. They recommended that the law should be kept inviolate, even towards the enemy, lest, once engaged in that career, it might be impossible to stop; and lest the revolution should be annihilated, like the old government, by its own unjust deeds. But the assembly, judging the safety of the state more important than a strict observance of the law, seeing danger in hesitation, and being moreover led on by feelings which produced prompt steps, was not stayed by these considerations. On the 30th of October, it adopted, by general consent, a decree relative to the king's eldest brother, Louis Stanislaus Xavier. This prince was required, in the terms of the constitution, to return to France within two months; if not, at the expiration of the delay granted him, he was declared to be deprived of his rights to the regency: but there was not the same unanimity relative to the decrees against the emigrants and the priests. On the 9th of November, the assembly decided that all Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers were regarded as suspected of conspiracy against their country; that if, on the 1st of January, 1792, they were still met in a body, they should be treated as conspira-