

Mountain. Vernier, who proposed that the chiefs of the Gironde and the Mountain should be sent to serve as common soldiers. Rewbell, who shut himself up in Mayence. Bourbotte, who had his horse killed under him at the taking of Saumur. Guimberteau, who directed the army of the Cherbourg coast. Jard Panvilliers, who managed the army of the coasts of Rochelle. Lecarpentier, who led the squadron of Cancale. Roberjot, for whom the ambush of Rastadt was waiting. Prieur of the Marne, who bore in camp his old rank of major. Levasseur de la Sarthe, who by a word decided Serrent, commandant of the battalion of Saint-Amand, to kill himself. Reverchon, Maure, Bernard de Saintes, Charles Richard, Lequinio, and at the summit of this group, a Mirabeau, who was called Danton.

Outside the two camps, and keeping both in awe, rose the man Robespierre.

## V.

Below crouched Dismay, which may be noble; and Fear, which is base. Beneath passions, beneath heroisms, beneath devotion, beneath rage, was the gloomy cohort of the Anonymous. The shoals of the assembly were called the Plain. There was everything which floats; the men who doubt, who hesitate, who recoil, who adjourn, who wait, each one fearing somebody. The Mountain was made up of the Select; the Gironde of the Select; the Plain was a crowd. The Plain was summed up and condensed in Siyès.

Siyès, a profound man, who had grown chimerical. He had stopped at the Tiers-Etat, and had not been able to mount up to the people. Certain minds are made to rest halfway. Siyès called Robespierre a tiger, and was called a mole by Robespierre. This metaphysician had stranded, not on wisdom, but prudence. He was the courtier, not the servitor, of the Revolution. He seized a shovel and went with the people to work in the Champ de Mars; harnessed to the same cart as Alexander de Beauharnais. He counselled energy, but never showed it. He said to the Girondists, "Put the cannon on your side." There were thinkers who were wrestlers; those were like Condorcet, with Vergniaud; or, like Camille Desmoulins, with Danton. There were thinkers, whose aim was to preserve their lives; such were with Siyès. The best working vats have their lees. Underneath the Plain even was the Marsh, a hideous stagnation which exposed to view the transparencies of egotism. There shivered the fearful in dumb expectation. Nothing could be more abject. A conglomeration of shames feeling no shame; hidden rage; revolt under servitude. They were afraid in a cynical fashion; they had all the desperation of cowardice; they preferred the Gironde and chose the Mountain; the final catastrophe depended upon them; they poured toward the successful side; they delivered Louis XVI. to Vergniaud, Vergniaud to Danton, Danton to Robespierre, Robespierre to Tallien. They put Marat in the pillory when living, and defied him when dead. They upheld everything up to the day when they overtook everything. They had the instinct to give the decisive push to whatever tottered. In their eyes—since they had undertaken to serve on condition that the basis was solid—to waver was to betray them. They were number; they were force; they were fear. From thence came the audacity of turpitude. Thence came May 31st, the 11th Terminal, the 9th Thermidor; tragedies knotted by giants and untied by dwarfs.

## VI.

Among these men full of passions were mingled men filled with dreams. Utopia was there under all its forms; under its warlike form, which admitted the scaffold, and under its innocent form, which would abolish capital punishment; phantom as it faced thrones; angel as it regarded the people. Side by side with the spirits that fought were the spirits that brooded. These had war in their heads, those peace. One brain, Carnot, brought forth fourteen armies; another intellect, Jean Debry, meditated a universal democratic federation.

Amid this furious eloquence, among these shrieking and growling voices, there were fruitful silences. Lakanal remained voiceless, and combined in his thoughts the system of public national education; Lathenas held his peace, and created the primary schools; Revellère Lépeaux kept still, and dreamed of the elevation of Philosophy to the dignity of Religion. Others occupied themselves with questions of detail, smaller and more practical. Guyton Morveaux studied means for rendering the hospitals healthy; Maire, the abolition of existing servitudes. Jean Bon Saint-André, the suppression of imprisonment for debt and constraint of the person; Romme, the proposition of Chappe; Dubois, the putting the archives in order; Coren Fustier, the creation of the Cabinet of Anatomy and the Museum of Natural History; Guyonard, river navigation and the damming of the Escant. Art had its fanatics and even its monomaniacs. On the 21st of January, while the head of monarchy was falling on the Place de la Révolution, Bézard, the representative of the Oise, went to see a picture of Rubens, which had been found in a garret in the Rue Saint-Lazare. Artists, orators, prophets, men-giants like Danton, child-men like Cloots, gladiators, and philosophers, all had the same goal—Progress. Nothing disconcerted them. The grandeur of the Convention was, the searching how much reality there is in what men call the impossible. At one extreme, Robespierre had his eye fixed on Law; at the other, Condorcet had his fixed on Duty. Condorcet was a man of revery and enlightenment; Robespierre was a man of execution; and sometimes in the final crises of worn-out orders, execution means extermination. Revolutions have two currents—an ebb and a flow; and on these float all seasons, from that of ice to flowers. Each one of these currents produces men adapted to its climate, from those who live in the sun to those who dwell among the thunderbolts.

## VII.

People showed each other the recess of the left-hand passage, where Robespierre had uttered low in the ear of Garat, Clavière's friend, this terrible epigram: "Clavière has conspired wherever he has respired. In this same recess, convenient for words needed to be spoken aside and for half-voiced cholera, Fabre d'Églantine had quarrelled with Romme and reproached him for having disfigured his calendar by changing Fervidor into Thermidor. So, too, was shown the angle where,

elbow to elbow, sat the seven representatives of the Haute-Garonne who, first called to pronounce their verdict upon Louis XVI., thus responded one after the other—Mailhe, "Death;" Delmas, "Death;" Projean, "Death;" Calès, "Death;" Ayral, "Death;" Julien, "Death;" Desaby, "Death."

Eternal reverberation, which fills all history, and which, since human justice has existed, has always given an echo of the sepulchre to the wall of the tribunal. People pointed out with their fingers, among that group of stormy faces, all the men from whose mouths had come the uproar of tragic notes. Paganel, who said—"Death! A king is only made useful by death." Millaud, who said—"To-day, if death did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it." The old Raffon du Trouillet, who said—"Speedy death!" Goupilleau, who cried—"The scaffold at once. Delay aggravates dying." Siyès, who said, with funeral brevity—"Death." Thuriot, who had rejected the appeal to the people proposed by Buzot, "What! The primary assemblies! What! Forty-four thousand tribunals! A case without limit. The head of Louis XVI. would have time to whiten before it would fall." Augustin Bon Robespierre, who, after his brother, cried—"I know nothing of the humanity which slaughters the people and pardons despots. Death! To demand a reprieve is to substitute an appeal to tyrants for the appeal to the people." Fousseidoire, the substitute of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, who had said—"I have a horror of human bloodshed, but the blood of a king is not a man's blood. Death!" Jean Bon Saint-André, who said—"No free people without a dead tyrant." Lavicomterie, who proclaimed this formula—"So long as the tyrant breathes, Liberty is suffocated. Death!"

Châteauneuf Randon, who had uttered this cry, "Death to the last Louis." Guyardin, who had said, "Let the Barrière Renversée (the overturned barrier) be executed." The Barrière Renversée was the Barrière du Trône. Tellier, who had said, "Let there be forged, to aim against the enemy, a cannon of the calibre of Louis XVI's head." And the indulgents—Gentil, who said, "I vote for confinement. To make a Charles I. is to make a Cromwell." Bancal, who said, "Exile. I want to see the first king of the earth condemned to a trade in order to earn his livelihood." Albouys, who said, "Banishment. Let this living ghost go wander among the thrones." Zangiacom, who said, "Confinement. Let us keep Capet alive as a scarecrow." Chaillon, who said, "Let him live. I do not wish to make a dead man of whom Rome will make a saint."

While these sentences fell from those severe lips and dispersed themselves one after another into history, women in low-naked dresses and decorated with gems sat in the tribunes, list in hand, counting the voices and pricking each vote with a pin.

Where tragedy entered horror and pity remain. To see the Convention, no matter at what period of its reign, was to see anew the trial of the last Capet. The legend of the 21st of January seemed mingled with all its acts; the formidable assembly was full of those fatal breaths which blew upon the old torch of monarchy, that had burned for eighteen centuries, and extinguished it. The decisive trials of all kings in that judgment pronounced upon one king was like the point of departure in the great war made against the Past. Whatever might be the sitting of the Convention at which one was present, the shadow of Louis XVI's scaffold was seen thrust forward within it. Spectators recounted to one another the resignation of Kersaint, the resignation of Roland, Duchâtel, the deputy of the Deux-Sèvres, who, being ill, had himself carried to the Convention on his bed, and, dying, voted the king's life, which caused Marat to laugh; and they sought with their eyes the representative whom history has forgotten, he who, after that session of thirty-seven hours, fell back on his bench overcome by fatigue and sleep, and when roused by the usher as his turn to vote arrived, half opened his eyes, said "Death," and fell asleep again.

At the moment Louis XVI. was condemned to death Robespierre had still eighteen months to live; Danton, fifteen months; Vergniaud, nine months; Marat, five months and three weeks; Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau, one day. Quick and terrible blasts from human mouths!

## VIII.

The people had a window opening on the Convention—the public tribunes; and, when the window was not sufficient, they opened the door, and the street entered the Assembly. These invasions of the crowd into that senate make one of the most astounding visions of history. Ordinarily those irruptions were amicable. The market-place fraternized with the curule chair. But it was a formidable cordiality, that of a people who one day took within three hours the cannon of the Invalides and forty thousand muskets besides. At each instant a troop interrupted the deliberations; deputations presented at the bar petitions, homages, offerings. The pike of honour of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine entered, borne by women. Certain English offered twenty thousand pairs of shoes for the naked feet of our soldiers. "The citizen Arnoux," announced the *Moniteur*, "Curé of Aubignan, Commandant of the Battalion of Drôme, asks to march to the frontiers, and desires that his cure may be preserved to him."

Delegates from the Sections arrived, bringing, on hand-barrows, dishes, patens, chalices, monstrances, heaps of gold, silver, and enamel, presented to the country by this multitude in rags, who demanded for recompense the permission to dance the Carmagnole before the Convention. Chenard, Narbonne, and Vallière came to sing couplets in honour of the Mountain. The Section of Mont Blanc brought the bust of Lepelletier, and a woman placed a red cap on the head of the president, who embraced her. The citizenesses of the Section of the Mail "flung flowers" to the legislators. "The pupils of the country" came, headed by music, to thank the Convention for having prepared the prosperity of the century. The women of the Section of the Gardes Françaises offered roses; the women of the Champs Elysées Section gave a crown of oak-leaves; the women of the Section of the Temple came to the bar to swear "only to unite themselves with true republicans." The Section of Molière presented a medal of Franklin, which was suspended by decree to the crown of the statue of Liberty. The Foundlings—declared the Children of the Republic—fled through, habited in the national uniform. The young girls of the Section of Ninety-two arrived in long white robes, and the *Moniteur* of the following morning contained this line—"The president received a bouquet from the innocent hands

of a young beauty." The orators saluted the crowds, sometimes flattered them; they said to the multitude, "Thou art infallible; thou art irrefragable; thou art sublime." The people has an infantile side; it likes those sugar-plums. Sometimes Riot traversed the Assembly; entered furious and withdrew appeased, like the Rhone which traverses Lake Lemane, and is mud when it enters and pure and azure when it pours out.

Sometimes the crowd was less pacific, and Henriot was obliged to come with his "bullet-heaters" to the entrance of the Tuileries.

(To be continued.)

## AT HOME AND ABROAD.

JULY 23.—The Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Andrew Lusk, has been created a Baronet.

The Carlists shot every tenth man of the volunteer battalions captured at Cuenca.

The bodies of forty Republicans, murdered by Carlists, have been found in a house in Cuenca, mutilated beyond recognition. The Spanish Minister of Finance says he has funds sufficient to arm 150,000 reserves and meet the ordinary expenses of the State till September.

Mrs. Tilton denies *in toto*, the charges made by her husband against Mr. Beecher and herself.

In the Imperial House of Commons last night, Mr. Disraeli moved, seconded by Mr. Gladstone, for an annual grant to Prince Leopold of \$75,000. The motion was adopted almost unanimously.

JULY 24.—The Sublime Porte has given orders for two hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance.

General Moriones is reported to have won a great victory in Navarre, and captured 1,500 Carlists.

Eight detectives have been sent to Kissingen to exercise a personal superintendence over Bismarck's safety.

Serrano, Castelar and Zabala are said to be concerting measures for the definite establishment of a Conservative Republic for Spain.

Mr. Disraeli announces the withdrawal of the Land Transfer, the Judicature, and the Endowed Schools Bills, and the prorogation of the House on the 8th proximo.

Mayor Havemeyer has sent in to Governor Dix his answer against the Tammany charges. He refuses to allow its publication, but is confident the Governor will dismiss the charge.

On account of an alarming outbreak of small-pox at Newmarket, England, the authorities have asked the Jockey Club's permission to convert the Grand Stand into an hospital.

Earl Russell says there should be no unnecessary delay in the recognition of Spain by Great Britain. Lord Derby thinks such recognition premature, and that it should be the collective act of the European powers.

The steamer City of Guatemala, of the Pacific Mail Line, was lost on the 16th instant, off Watling Island, Banamas. The crew were saved, but the vessel, valued at \$270,000, will be a total loss. She was insured for \$220,000.

The Spanish Legation have been instructed, from Madrid, to ascertain whether the United States would intervene with an armed force in Cuba, with a view of discovering whether the inhabitants desire separation from Spain or not.

Victoria Woodhull has arrived in New York in connection with the Beecher scandal, but will reserve her statement till all the others have finished with theirs.

In case the Investigation Committee exonerate him, Beecher's friends will bring an action for slander against Tilton. The latter, on the other hand, promises to take the case before a court of law—whatever the Committee's verdict—where Beecher will not be permitted to choose his own jury.

JULY 25.—The medical chief reports, upon examination, indication of a "possible apoplectic disease" in Tweed's physical condition.

The German squadron has been ordered to cruise off the coast of Spain, in consequence of German subjects having been shot by the Carlists.

In accordance with instructions from the Head Offices in England, some of the Chicago insurance agents have ceased taking risks, while others have raised the rates 50 per cent.

The motion for the dissolution of the Assembly is to be reconsidered. The Government have accepted the proposition, adopted by the Committee of Thirty, for the creation of a Senate.

Archbishop McCloskey sailed from New York on Saturday for Europe, where he is to superintend the building of altars and the selection of stained glass windows for the new Cathedral in South Fifth Avenue.

A water spout broke over the town of Eureka, Nevada, on Friday, carrying away over thirty houses. Between twenty-five and thirty lives are supposed to have been lost. Twenty-four bodies have already been recovered.

JULY 27.—It has been decided to hold the sittings of the Brussels Congress with closed doors.

Thirty men were killed last week by the explosion of a Carlist magazine at Quiza.

Sir Alfred Horsefield is the representative of Great Britain at the Brussels Congress.

The Suffragan Bishop of Posen, in Prussia, has been arrested and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment for violation of the Ecclesiastical Laws.

The Philadelphia police have parties in custody through whom it is believed a clue may be obtained as to the whereabouts of the missing boy, Charlie Ross.

Disastrous accounts are received from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, of the effects of the recent floods in that vicinity. Over a hundred persons are said to have perished.

A terrible land slide occurred in Spain, in the Province of Navarre. The catastrophe was so sudden that few of the inhabitants of the town destroyed escaped. Over a hundred corpses are said to have been already discovered.

An extensive Republican demonstration against the grant to Prince Leopold was made in London on Sunday. The Prince is officially reported as being seriously ill. There is, however, no cause for alarm, though his recovery, it is said, will be tedious.

Tilton publishes a card, wherein he enumerates several important items in his cross-examination by the Investigating Committee, which he said were purposely omitted from the Committee's report. He further states that Moulton will only give evidence before a tribunal that can compel him to speak.

Forty-one Carlists, most of them ecclesiastics or members of the nobility, have been arrested at Barcelona by way of reprisal against the inhuman conduct of Carlists.

The Committee of the Agricultural Labourers' Union have adopted a resolution declaring that "as we are not justified in appealing to the public for support for locked out labourers in the eastern counties during harvest, therefore we offer them the alternative of emigrating or depending on their own resources." The Committee is negotiating for easier terms of emigration to Canada.