

probable expectation of a royalist counter revolution, found means not to utter the compromising words "citizen" and "republic," in order to be ready for any emergency. Hoche, in recalling this, could not restrain his indignation: "Those are indeed our Frenchmen," he cried, "to be in turns constitutional with Lacour, moderate with Brissot, Jacobins under Robespierre, thermidorians with André Dumont, and Royalists, as a few violent demagogues became; such are the principles of that sheep-like class which is composed of the majority of well-to-do gentlemen, of the present public officials, of the lawyers, the attorneys, and middle class people, for whom a return to the old order of things is a sort of resurrection, . . . and whose opinion frequently expressed is, that what matters national opinion, public prosperity, commerce, the arts interfered with by continual reactions, provided that the soup is nice and hot, and that no taxes are required. Wretched set! . . . You merit your lot."

NOTE F.

Hoche acknowledged, says his biographer, M. Bergounioux, that a monarchical rule was more free than a republican rule, and yet he was altogether opposed to the re-establishment of royalty. . . . "Whoever the monarch might be," wrote Hoche, "and by the very fact alone of his being the monarch, he would struggle against the principle, against the very essence of the Revolution, which means the abolition of classes; he would be, in spite of himself, forced to re-establish a nobility, and the reviving of that nobility would prove the cause of his ruin by aggravating the commoners, who would no longer represent all or every one. Monarchy would fall by the fact alone of that scheme, new revolution. We want a government which will consecrate, by fact as well as right, the principle of equality . . . that government can only be the republican government"

As to the personnel of this government, Hoche added: "The following are my fundamental ideas: An elective president who may be re-elected; two assemblies, one entirely elective, the other only half elective.

Other documents prove how his ideas on political organization generally were yet undecided, impracticable, and sometimes contradictory. Thus, for example, his natural good sense put him on his guard against the dangers inseparable from universal suffrage; he saw with reason that the public vote was less a right than a function, and he was not ignorant that every function gives an idea of certain talent, at least presumed talent, in the one who fills it. "Every man," he said, "is not a citizen," and he feared to call the multitude to the public square to record their votes. Patriotism was not a sufficient guarantee for him. "The people who suffer,"