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OA/ID Number:	13677
Folder ID Number:	13677-008

Folder Title:
Presentation of Key to Bastille to President Mitterand of France 7/13/89 [OA 6266] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	2	4

(Lange/Wallace)
July 10, 1989
10:45 a.m.
[BASTILLE.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESENTATION OF THE KEY TO THE BASTILLE TO PRESIDENT MITTERAND OF FRANCE
[PLACE ELYSSES]
THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1989
[TIME] 4:30 pm

2 min.

President Mitterrand. _____. _____. People of France. On the eve of the 200th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, **I bring you a relic of revolution -- and a message of hope.**

The Marquis de Lafayette gave this key to George Washington, as a gesture of admiration and respect. What brings me here today is the admiration and respect shared by our two nations.

In America's House of Representatives, only two portraits are hung: those of Washington, the father of our country; and Lafayette, the hero of two worlds. It is right that the portraits of those men watch over the proceedings of that assembly.

But what binds our two countries goes beyond great men and institutions. The ties that connect us are found in the ideals that compel us. In the colors of our flags; in the fabrics of our societies; in the nature of our progress toward enduring, shared ideals: **we are two nations devoted to democracy.**

Over two centuries ago, France made America free. And in this century, America returned the favor. Democracy developed -- and has endured -- in dialogue between our two nations.

This dialogue of democracy began with the great philosophers of the Enlightenment in France -- Voltaire, Montaigne, Rousseau, Montesquieu. Men whose faith in reason, and commitment to human progress, forged the key for the American Revolution.

Our revolution came to be fought and won with the help of French ships, arms, money, and blood. And **that** revolution was founded on the same principles that opened the Bastille -- drove Lafayette to order its destruction -- and inspired the French Revolution.

There were, in those turbulent times, recurring complications over the means and motive of revolution. Many of them remain unresolved. But the democratic dialogue that began 200 years ago between France and the United States has been rich, constant, and enduring. It is as if two friends, walking down the same uncertain path, will look to each other to see that their direction is true. And so we have. And so it has been.

Like all powerful ideas, revolution has the power to do great good -- or great evil.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, first presented by Lafayette, was an eloquent assertion of the rights of liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. It was a magnificent document, that embodied some of mankind's highest ideals.

But that uncertain era also gave the world its first taste of ideology -- and political polarity. Our idea of "left" and

"right" first came from the pro- and anti-Revolutionary parties that sat on either side of the National Constituent Assembly.

And revolution has left an even harder legacy. Thomas Jefferson, looking back on the revolutionary convulsions of the revolution in France, wrote, "I did not, in '89, believe they would have lasted so long, nor have cost so much blood." What began in a hopeful moment led to a staggering loss of life.

Today -- in Eastern Europe, in China, in Latin America -- we also see the potential for great good, and great evil.

The same high hopes and aspirations for democracy that led to the French and American Revolutions, now appear to motivate the people of Eastern Europe.

The same blood that once was shed on the shores of the New World -- and was shed by torchlight on palace walls and in the dark angry streets of Paris 200 years ago tomorrow -- this year stained Tiananmen Square, and the streets of Panama City.

Today, the idea of revolution must be re-defined. We must learn from the losses of history, so that the lives of the forebears of freedom were not lost in vain. **This generation must be the first to make the movement toward democracy <u>not</u> through loss of life, but through change of heart.**

For we believe that freed minds make for freed peoples. That brutality will never kill the ideal of equality. And that **the rights of man will never surrender to the wrong end of a gun.**

We have heard the cry for freedom, and in this we must be determined and steadfast: Let the desire for democracy motivate

a bloodless revolution. **Let us work for a revolution <u>not</u> of blood and armaments, but of hearts and minds.**

When I was inaugurated as America's President, I said that "the day of the dictator is over." But while such ideas may be imposed by force, far better that they fulfill themselves.

Our two nations continue to believe in the limitless human potential and progress first given voice in the Enlightenment. As we now commence a third century of this shared experiment, we must come to understand that in order for freedom and democracy to flourish, the best action... is example.

There is a middle way, where liberty is neither born in senseless violence -- nor stillborn in oppression -- but evolves from the steadfast, enduring efforts of free people everywhere.

There is a chance for us now, to move from revolution, to **evolution** -- through the will and works of people who believe that mankind **can** improve, that life **can** be better, that freedom **can** prosper: that people **can** and **must** continue to hope for a voice in their futures and their fates.

This is our prayer -- for Eastern Europe, for China, for Latin America: It is for a return to the power of the individual -- for the return of the key, to those still struggling for freedom.

Ancient regimes may live on, or rest in the texts of history. The dust of the dead may be reviled, or revered. But the ideas of freedom lived and fought for -- ideas that celebrate

the centrality and sanctity of humanity -- will never die, but always live, in the hearts and minds of the people.

To President Mitterand -- to the people of France -- but most of all, to all who yearn for democracy and are yet denied -- the key is in your hands. Bear it with courage, and with care.

Thank you. God bless you. May God bless America... and Vive la France!

# # #

Ann Johnson

Lafayette ~~story~~

~~about 8"~~ 7½" black

Ann Rauscher size of key - 1780-2000

storming of Bastille -

liberté, égalité, fraternité - how to call

WBUR
882-7195

motto of French Repub
battle cry of revolutionaries

Damien Leader
French desk
647-2633

SEQUOIA SEMPERVIRENS FROM CALIFORNIA
A GIFT FOR FRANCE

In 1989, France and the United States are celebrating the the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Citizen and the U.S. Bill of Rights, two documents that were signed within 30 days and are the base of our democracy. On this occasion, the American Committee on the French Revolution and the F.A. Bartlett Tree Company are donating to France 60 sequoia sempervirens. These trees are a gift from the American people to the people of France in recognition to the unfaltering friendship that unite France and the United States for over two hundred years.

The sequoia trees were selected because of their strength and their great age (ranging from 400 to 800 years), representing the symbol of the strong ties that exist between France and the United States. Over 30 different cities will be receiving a tree.

The inaugural ceremonies will be organized at different dates by the recipients. A souvenir marker will be placed next to the trees which reads as follows:

Sequoia sempervirens
provenance: Californie

Don du peuple américain
au peuple français
à l'occasion du bicentenaire de
la Déclaration des Droits
de l'Homme et du Citoyen et du
Bill of Rights of the United States
1789 - 1989

Témoignage de deux siècles d'amitié
offert par
l'American Committee on
the French Revolution
et la F.A. Bartlett
Tree Expert Company

3019

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN

The representatives of the French people, constituted as a National Assembly, considering that irgnorance, disregard or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunates and governmental corruption have resolved to set forth a solemn declaration of the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man: in order that this declaration, by being constantly present to all members of the social body, may keep them at all times aware of their rights and dutires; that the acts of both the legislative and executive powers, by being liable at every moment to comparason with the aim of all political institutions, may be the more fully respected; and that demands of the citizens, by being founded henceforward on simple and incontestable principles, may always redound to the maintenance of the constitution and the general welfare.

The Assembly consequently recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and the citizen:

1) Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinction may be based only on common utility.

2) The aim of all political association is to preserve the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.

3) The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation. No body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate from the nation expressly.

4) Liberty consists in the ability to do whatever does not harm another; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

5) Law may rightfully prohibit only those actions which are injurious to society. No hindrance should be put in the way of anything not prohibited by law, nor may any man be forced to do what the law does not require.

6) Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part, in person or by their representatives, in its formation. It must be the same for all whether it protects or penalizes. All citizens being equal in its eyes are equally admissible to all public dignities, offices and employments, according to their capacity, and with no other distinction than that of their virtuies and talents.

7) No man may be indicted, arrested or detained except in cases determined by law and according to the forms which it has prescribed. Those who instigate, expedite, execute or cause to be executed arbitrary orders should be punished; but any citizen summoned or seized by virtue of the law should obey instantly, and renders himself guilty by resistance.

8) Only strictly necessary punishments may be established by law, and no one may be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated before the time of the offense, and legally put into force.

9) Every man being presumed innocent until judged guilty, if it is deemed indispensable to keep him under arrest, all rigor not necessary to secure his person should be severely repressed by law.

10) No one may be disturbed for his opinions, even in religion, provided that their manifestation does not trouble public order as established by law.

11) Free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most precisous of the rights of man. Every citizen may therefore speak, write and print freely, on his own responsibility for abuse of this liberty in cases determined by law.

12) Preservation of the rights of man and the citizen requires the existence of public forces. These forces are therefore instituted for the advantage of all, not for the private benefit of those to whom they are entrusted.

13) For maintenance of public forces and for expenses of administration common taxation is necessary. It should be apportioned equally among all citizens according to their capacity to pay.

14) All citizens have the right, by themselves or through their representatives, to have demonstrated to them the necessity of public taxes, to consent to them freely, to follow the use made of the proceeds, and to determine the shares to be paid, the means of assessment and collection and the duration.

15) Society has the right to hold accountable every public agenmt of administration.

16) Any society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured or the spearation of powers not determined has no constitution.

17) Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one may be deprived of it except for an obvious requirement of public necessity, certified by law, and then on condition of a just compensation in advance.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The French Revolution began in 1789 with a demand for a written constitution. Louis XVI (reigned 1774-92) had been a reforming monarch, but his reign was plagued by a large public debt (much of which derived from France's participation in the American Revolution,) a crippling deficit, and chronic food shortages. Needed tax reforms were initially opposed by the aristocracy, which was exempt from most taxes (the clergy was exempt from all taxes.) To resolve these problems, Louis was forced to call the Estates General, a huge representative body elected by all classes of citizens, which had not met for 175 years. Traditionally, the three "estates"--clergy, aristocrats, and common people--each voted as a body, so that the two privileged orders always outvoted the "third estate." The third estate revolted against this system and in June 1789 swore to remain assembled until a constitution was written. The Estates General became the National Constituent Assembly, France's first constitutional convention.

The Assembly began work on a **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen,** which was to serve as a preamble for the constitution. A preliminary draft was presented by the Marquis de Lafayette on July 11. On July 14, 1789, citizens of Paris stormed the Bastille, the prison that symbolized the oppression of the old regime. By August 26, the Assembly had hammered out the final wording of the Declaration.

We meet on the eve... (July 13th)

Inspired by the American Revolution--particularly by the American states' bills of rights--and by Enlightenment philosophy, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was phrased in universal terms. It declared "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression" to be inalienable rights, recognized the sovereignty of the people, established proportional taxation and freedom of expression and religion, and declared individual legal rights such as the presumption of innocence.

Completed two years later, the **Constitution of 1791** dealt with more specific relationships of the individual Frenchman to the new state. France's first written constitution abolished hereditary aristocracy, established strict separation of powers, sanctioned the nationalization of church property, and organized the first government of the French Revolution as a constitutional monarchy. The king was no longer an absolute ruler whose power came directly from God; his power was delegated to him by the nation, which alone was sovereign. He was allowed a limited "suspensive" veto over the decisions of the Assembly, good for two sessions, after which it could be overridden.

Although this Constitution was more egalitarian than what has preceded it, it restricted the right to vote to "active" citizens--that is, men owning a ceretain amount of property. It also forbade "corporations," such as workmen's guilds, and the taking of religious vows.

In 1792 a bronze engraving of the Declaration and the manuscript of the Constitution were ceremonially buried in a

cedar box on the site of the Bastille. Less than a month later, on August 10, 1792, the artisans and shopkeepers of Paris, together with National Guards from the provinces, beseiged the king's residence. Louis XVI was overthrown and imprisoned. A republic was installed in September, and a new constitutional convention met to try the king and write a new, republican constitution. In January 1793 the king was executed, and the buried copies of the Declaration and the Constitution were unearthed. Condemned as "contrary to the general system of Liberty," the two documents were then crushed under a massive pile-driving machine called the mouton national.

The two documents were eventually transferred to the Armoire de Fer in the Archives Nationales, Paris. Soon to be on display in America for the first time, they are symbols of the struggle between reason and force in the quest for liberty. Testimony to France's first brave steps in representative democracy, they have been loaned by the French government to the Smithsonian Institution as part of the observation of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

Text written by Professor R. Emmet Kennedy, Jr., George Washington University

April 1989

The Marquis de Lafayette
March 17. 1780

7/7 read over the
Afore

Paris March the 17th 1780

My Dear General

It is With The Utmost Concern That I Hear My Letters
Have Not Come To Hand, and While I Lament The Misfortune
I Hope You Do Not Imputte it To Any Fault on My Part—
In These Times of Trouble, it Has Become More Difficult To
Know, or To Reach Opportunities, and How This Will Be
Carried I Fear To The Care of Mr Payne Who Goes To
London

Our Revolution is Getting on as Well as it Can With
a Nation That Has Staked up Liberty at one, and

it Just Take to Mistake Licentiousness for Freedom — The Minds
How Men Hated to The Ancient Syrian Have Experience on
The proper Organization of a New, and Constitutional Government —
The Ministers are Increasing The Cost of Power, and Afraid to
use Them which They Have — and as they Bring Has been
Destroyed and Are Much More Building it Yet More Ground
Now is Much Room for Critics and Calumnies
To This May be ADDED Time We Write are
Parted By Two Parties, The Aristocratic Party is Planning
for a Counter Revolution, and The Factions which Aims
at The Division of The Empire, and Destruction of The Authority
and Perhaps of The Life of The Reigning Branch, Both
of Which Parties are Fomenting Troubles
And after I Have Confided all This, My

Dear General, I will tell you with the same candour
that we have made an Admirable, and almost
incredible destruction of all arms, Ammunition, &c &c. that
every thing now directly useful to, or coming from the
people has been levied. That in the topographical, mor-
political situation of France we have made more chang-
in the Month than the most sanguine patriot could
have imagined — That our internal troubles and anarchy
are much exaggerated — and that upon the whole the
conclusion, in which nothing will be wanting but energy
& government such as is now in America, will propagate
democratic liberty and make it flourish throughout the
world. While we must wait for a convention in a
few years to mend some defects which are now
perceived by men just escaped from aristocracy and despotism

Yesterday and respectfully

Yesterday the National Assembly have adjourned the business
again, leaving every thing in the utmost State, whether the
Poor oppressed as we fear they have been to American Trade
But it was impossible, circumstanced as we are, to [illegible]
take a definitive Resolve on that Matter - the Ensuing Legisla
ture will more easily determine, after they have received the
Demands of the Colonies who have been invited to make them
particulary on the Object of Commerce

Give me leave, My dear General, to present you
with a picture of the Bastille just as it looked a few days
after I had ordered its Demolition, with the Main Key of
that Fortress of despotism - it is a tribute which I owe as
a Son to My Adoptive Father, as an aid de Camp to My
General, as a Nutimary of Liberty to its Patriarch

Adieu, My Beloved General, My most affectionate
Respects to Mrs Washington, present me most affectionately
to George, to Hamilton, Knox, Humphreys, Jay, Lear and friends

07/07/89 14:51 ☎17037802000 256 MOUNT VERNON 002

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207
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L185

THE LETTERS OF Lafayette TO Washington

1777-1799

Edited by
LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

Privately Printed by
Helen Fahnestock Hubbard
New York 1944

07/07/89 14:52 ☎17037802000 256 MOUNT VERNON 003

My dear General Paris March the 17th 1790

It is with the utmost concern that I hear my letters have not come to hand, and while I lament the miscarriage, I hope you do not impute it to any fault on my part--In these times of troubles, it has become more difficult to know, or to reach opportunities, and how this will be carried I leave to the care of Mr Payne who goes to London.

Our revolution is getting on as well as it can with a Nation that has swalled up liberty all at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom--The Assembly have more hatred to the ancient system than experience on the proper organization of a new and constitutional governement--The ministers are lameting the loss of power, and affraid to use that which they have--and as every thing has been destroied and not much new building is yet above ground, there is much room for critics and calomnies.

To this may be added that we still are pestered by two parties, the Aristocratic that is panting for a counter revolution, and the factious which aims at the division of the Empire, and destruction of all authority and perhaps of the lifes of the reigning branch, both of which parties are fomenting troubles.

And after I have confessed all that, my dear General, I will tell you with the same candour that we have made an admirable, and almost incredible destruction of all abuses, prejudices, etc. etc. that every thing not directly useful to, or coming from the people has been levelled--that in the topographical, moral, political situation of France we have made more changes in ten month than the most sanguine patriot could have imagined--that our internal troubles and anarchy are much exagerated--and that upon the whole this Revolution, in which nothing will be wanting but energy of governement just as it was in America, will propagate implant liberty and make it flourish throughout the world, while we must wait for a Convention in a few years to mend some defects which are not now perceived by men just escaped from aristocraty and dispotism.

You know that the Assembly have adjourned the Westindia affairs, leaving every thing in the actual state, viz. *the ports oppened* as we hear they have been to American trade. But it was impossible, circumstanced as we are, to take a definitive resolve on that matter --The ensuing legislature will more easely determine, after they

have received the demands of the Colonies who have been invited to make them, particularly on the object of *victualling*.

Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main kea of that fortress of despotism—It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adoptive father, as an aid de camp to my General, as a Missionary of Liberty to its Patriarch.

Adieu, my beloved General, my most affectionate respects wait on Mrs. Washington, present me most affectionately to George, to Hamilton, Knox, Harrison, Jay, Humphrey and all friends Most tenderly and respectfully

Your most affectionate and filial friend
Lafayette

[211]

My dear General Paris August the 23rd 1790

What would have been my feelings, had the news of your illness reached me before I knew my beloved General, my adoptive father was out of danger! I was struck with horror at the idea of the situation you have been in, while I, uninformed, and so distant from you, was anticipating the long waited for pleasure to hear from you, and the still more endearing prospect to visit you, and present you with the tribute of a Revolution, one of your first offsprings. For God's sake, my dear General, take care of your health, don't devote yourself to much to the cabinet, while your habit of life has from your younger years, accustomed you to a constant exercice—Your preservation is the life of your friends, the salvation of your country —it is for you a relligious duty not to neglect any thing that may concern your health. I beg you will let me oftener hear from you. I write when an opportunity offers. And to my great sorrow I hear my letters must have miscarried, or been detained. But as our correspondance can have no other bounds but the opportunities to write, it was not a reason, give me leave to say, for you to miss any that may have offered—and you may easly guess what I am exposed to suffer, what would have been my situation had I known your illness before the news of your recovery had comforted a heart so affectionately devoted to you.

This letter will be delivered by two gentlemen, one of them

NEWS RELEASE

MOUNT VERNON
The Home of George Washington

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
Mount Vernon, Virginia 22121
(703) 780-2000

For release: Immediate

Contact: Ann M. Rauscher

MOUNT VERNON TO LEND HISTORIC BASTILLE KEY FOR FRENCH CELEBRATION

Just as the Marquis de Lafayette gave the famous key to the Bastille to George Washington nearly 200 years ago, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association will continue two centuries of friendship between France and the United States of America by lending the historic key to the government of France for their celebration of the bicentennial of the French Revolution.

President George Bush will turn over the key to French President Francois Mitterand in Paris on July 13, 1989. The following day, Bastille Day, the key will go on public display at the new Opera de la Bastille, which is adjacent to the site of the famous fortress that was stormed on July 14, 1789. The doors to the new opera house will open to the public for the first time on Bastille Day, and the key will remain on display there through July 22.

Representing Mount Vernon at the presentation ceremony will be Mrs. Robert Channing Seamans, Jr., (Eugenia Seamans), Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, the private, non-profit organization that has owned and operated the home of George Washington since 1858. After transferring the key to President Bush, Mrs. Seamans and her husband will remain in Paris while the key is on exhibition to take part in the Bastille Day celebrations.

-more-

In a note that accompanied "the main key of the fortress of despotism," Lafayette described the gift as "a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aide de camp to my General, as a Missionary of liberty to its patriarch." Paine added his own letter, concluding, "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the Key comes to the right place."

The key was presented to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in 1858 by John A. Washington, Jr., great-grandnephew of George Washington and the last private owner of the estate. In the 131 years that Washington's home has been open to the public, the key has been seen by an estimated 60 million visitors from around the world.

Other souvenirs of the French Revolution on display at Mount Vernon are a model of the Bastille carved from one of the actual stones of the prison and the original sketch of the Bastille sent by Lafayette. The sketch left Mount Vernon in 1859 and disappeared after being sold at auction in 1891. Remarkably, the long-lost drawing turned up recently in an estate in Connecticut. Through a loan agreement with the estate's heirs, the sketch was returned to Mount Vernon and rehung in its original location in February of this year.

The key to the Bastille will return to Mount Vernon after its exhibition in Paris and is expected to be back in place in the Mansion by the first of August.

-30-

The loan of the historic artifact to the French Ministry of Culture was arranged with the cooperation of the American Embassy in Paris and the United States Information Agency. Security and insurance for the key have been underwritten by AmBase and its subsidiary, the Home Insurance Company. The journey to France will mark the first time that the key has left George Washington's estate in Virginia since 1797.

A symbol of freedom around the world, the key to the Bastille was originally sent to Washington in New York by Lafayette in 1790, the second year of Washington's presidency. The young Frenchman had served with distinction as a general under Washington's command in the American Revolution, and by 1790 the 32-year-old Marquis had assumed a leadership role in his own country's struggle for liberty. The large iron key had been turned over to Lafayette shortly after the overthrow of the Bastille, and he asked Thomas Paine, another prominent figure during the American Revolution, to take the key to London on the first leg of its journey to America, along with a sketch depicting the ruins of the Bastille after its destruction.

In London, Paine entrusted the gifts to John Rutledge, Jr., of South Carolina, who presented them to Washington upon arriving in New York. The chief executive displayed the celebrated souvenirs in the presidential households in New York and Philadelphia, the two cities that served as the nation's capital in the 1790s. Shortly before retiring to Mount Vernon at the end of his second term as president, Washington sent the key and the sketch back to Virginia, where they were given a place of honor on the wall in the central passage of his home.

-more-

OFFICE OF
PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

COVER PAGE

TO: Dan McGroarty

FROM: Peggy Dooley

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 13
(including cover page)

DATE: 7/11/89

TIME: 2:50 pm

MESSAGE:

more to come...

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSMISSION PLEASE CALL.

TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

made the application. It is upon this ground I am giving you this trouble. In whatever manner the investigations may result, I request that you will return the Certificate as early as may be in a letter addressed to me, in order that I may answer the letter which I have received from Mrs. Bland. I am etc.

P. S. As I shall send your answer to Mrs. Bland, write the letter accordingly.[46]

[H. S. P.]

To THOMAS PAINE

New York, August 10, 1790.

Dear Sir: I have received in their due order, and have to acknowledge at this time my obligations for your three agreeable letters, in date October 16th, 1789, May 1st. and May 31st.[47] of the present year. With the last I had also the pleasure to receive the Key of the Bastile;[48] in acknowledgment of which I write to the Marquis de la Fayette by this conveyance.

It must, I dare say, give you great pleasure to learn by repeated opportunities, that our new government answers its purposes as well as could have been reasonably expected, that we are gradually overcoming the difficulties, which presented themselves in its first organization, and that our prospects in general are growing daily more favourable. To detail the facts and circumstances, comprised under this general view of our affairs, would require more leisure than I have it in my power to devote to the subject at this period. Fortunately for me, Colo. Humphreys, with whom you are acquainted and who will probably have the pleasure of delivering this letter to you, will be able to explain our situation fully. To him, therefore, I refer you for all particulars: being with great esteem, dear Sir, &c.[49]

[46] In the writing of David Humphreys. The P. S. is in the writing of Washington.
[47] Paine's letter of this date and the key of the Bastile were delivered to Washington by John Rutledge, jr. The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.
[48] The key is at Mount Vernon.
[49] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

ction is still necessary for
istration. Fortunately the
ı us, and all things hitherto
ıes. In the meantime pop-
ımmerce extended, manu-
ıs with favorable seasons

teem etc.[54]

LUZERNE

York, August 10, 1790.
e of addressing a letter to
elt pretty copiously on the
time. Since then nothing
o great questions of fund-
vernment have been agi-
eal of warmth as well as
ed by me as questions of
e which could possibly be
ıore in danger of having
any other points. I hope
a manner as could have
rospect of enjoying peace
ngress is just on the point
to go to pass some time at

he honor of putting this
ry particular intelligence
nds in it, on whose num-
the greatest confidence.

on Papers.

For it is a serious truth, all classes of people in America remember your residence among them with a friendly mixture of satisfaction and regret the former for your good Offices and agreeable society, the latter for your absence and a despair of ever having the pleasure of seeing you again.

The acquaintance you have had with Colo. Humphreys, first in America and afterwards in France, supersedes the necessity of any introduction or recommendation from me. As you know fully the manner in which that Gentleman has been in my family and connected with me for many years, I will say nothing more on his subject, than that he expects to travel in several parts of Europe; and that, if it should be convenient to your excellency to give him letters to any characters of your nation in the Countries or Courts which he may happen to visit, I shall consider the interest you take on his behalf in a very acceptable and obliging point of light.

I would not forego so favorable an opportunity of renewing the professions of real esteem and consideration with which I have the honor etc.[55]

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

New York, August 11, 1790.

My dear Marquis: I have received your affectionate letter of the 17 of March[56] by one conveyance, and the token of victory[57] gained by Liberty over Despotism by another: for both which

[55] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[56] Sparks prints this letter, which is not now found in the *Washington Papers:* "Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aid-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch." The picture was sold at auction in Philadelphia in 1871.

[57] Key to the Bastile and picture of the fortress.

testimonials of your friendship and regard I pray you to accept my sincerest thanks.

In this great subject of triumph for the new World, and for humanity in general, it will never be forgotten how conspicuous a part you bore, and how much lustre you reflected on a country in which you made the first displays of character.

Happy am I, my good friend, that, amidst all the tremendous benefits which have assailed your political Ship, you have had address and fortitude enough to steer her hitherto safely through the quick-sands and rocks, which threatened instant destruction on every side; and your young King in all things seems so well disposed to conform to the wishes of the Nation. In such an important, such a hazardous voyage, when every thing dear and sacred is embarked, you know full well my best wishes have never left you for a moment. Yet I will avow the accounts we received through the English papers (which were sometimes our only channels for information) caused our fears of a failure almost to exceed our expectations of success.

How much will the *Concerned* be indebted to the exertions of the principal Pilot, when the Ship shall, at the end of her dangerous course, be securely harboured in the haven of national tranquility, freedom, and glory, to which she is destined, and which I hope she is near attaining.

Congress, after having been in session ever since last fall are to adjourn in two or three days. Though they have been much perplexed in their proceedings on some questions of a local and intricate nature; yet they have done a great deal of important business, and will leave the public affairs in as satisfactory a state as could reasonably have been expected. One of the last acts of the executive has been the conclusion of a treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Creek Nation of Indians, who have been considerably connected with the Spanish Provinces and

hostile to the Georgian frontiers since the war with Great Britain. McGillivray and about thirty of the Kings and Head Men are here: This event will leave us in peace from one end of our borders to the other; except where it may be interrupted by a small refugee banditti of Cherokees and Shawanese, who can be easily chastised or even extirpated if it shall become necessary: But this will only be done in an inevitable extremity; since the *basis* of our proceedings with the Indian Nations has been, and shall be *justice,* during the period in which I may have any thing to do in the administration of this government.

Our negotiations and transactions, though many of them are on a small scale as to the objects, ought to be governed by the immutable principles of equity, as much as your European politics, which are more extended in their compass. How your wars proceed in the North or in whose favor they are likely to terminate; what probability there may be that the misunderstandings between Britain and Spain should issue in an open rupture, and what other powerful Nations, in that event, will be drawn in to take an active part on one side or the other, are subjects of vast magnitude, on which we, in these distant regions, must abstrain from deciding positively even in our own minds, until we shall have more unequivocal data to go upon. It seems to be our policy to keep in the situation in which nature has placed us, to observe a strict neutrality, and to furnish others with those good things of subsistence, which they may want, and which our fertile land abundantly produces, if circumstances and events will permit us so to do. This letter is committed to Colonel Humphreys to carry to London, whither he is going. Should he, by any accident be in France, he will be able to give you a full state of our affairs and prospects. Gradually recovering from the distresses in which the war left us, patiently advancing in our task of civil government, unentangled

in the crooked politics of Europe, wanting scarcely any thing but the free navigation of the Mississipi (which we must have and as certainly shall have as we remain a Nation) I have supposed, that, with the undeviating exercise of a just, steady, and prudent national policy, we shall be the gainers, whether the powers of the old world may be in peace or war, but more especially in the latter case. In that case our importance will certainly encrease, and our friendship be courted. Our dispositions would not be indifferent to Britain or Spain. Why will not Spain be wise and liberal at once? It would be easy to annihilate all causes of quarrels between that Nation and the United States at this time. At a future period that may be far from being a fact. Should a war take place between Great Britain and Spain, I conceive from a great variety of concurring circumstances there is the highest probability that the Floridas will soon be in the possession of the former. Adieu, my dear Marquis! Believe me to be assuredly and affectionately Your etc.

P. S. Not for the value of the thing, my dear Marquis, but as a memorial and because they are the manufacture of the City, I send you herewith a pair of shoe buckles.[58]

To THE SENATE

United States, August 11, 1790.

Gentlemen of the Senate: Although the treaty with the Creeks[59] may be regarded as the main foundation of the southwestern frontier of the United States, yet in order fully to effect so desirable an object the treaties which have been entered into with the other tribes in that quarter must be faithfully performed on our parts.

[58] From the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*.

[59] The ratification of the Creek Treaty is dated August 13, and on August 14 Washington issued his proclamation announcing the treaty in effect. A broadside of this proclamation is in the Virginia State Library. (See p. 92, *post*.)

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THE LETTERS OF Lafayette TO Washington

1777-1799

Edited by
LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

Privately Printed by
Helen Fahnestock Hubbard
New York 1944

My dear General Paris March the 17th 1790

It is with the utmost concern that I hear my letters have not come to hand, and while I lament the miscarriage, I hope you do not impute it to any fault on my part—In these times of troubles, it has become more difficult to know, or to reach opportunities, and how this will be carried I leave to the care of Mr Payne who goes to London.

Our revolution is getting on as well as it can with a Nation that has swalled up liberty all at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom—The Assembly have more hatred to the ancient system than experience on the proper organization of a new and constitutional governement—The ministers are lamenting the loss of power, and affraid to use that which they have—and as every thing has been destroied and not much new building is yet above ground, there is much room for critics and calomnies.

To this may be added that we still are pestered by two parties, the Aristocratic that is panting for a counter revolution, and the factious which aims at the division of the Empire, and destruction of all authority and perhaps of the lifes of the reigning branch, both of which parties are fomenting troubles.

And after I have confessed all that, my dear General, I will tell you with the same candour that we have made an admirable, and almost incredible destruction of all abuses, prejudices, etc. etc. that every thing not directly useful to, or coming from the people has been levelled—that in the topographical, moral, political situation of France we have made more changes in ten month than the most sanguine patriot could have imagined—that our internal troubles and anarchy are much exagerated—and that upon the whole this Revolution, in which nothing will be wanting but energy of governement just as it was in America, will propagate implant liberty and make it flourish throughout the world, while we must wait for a Convention in a few years to mend some defects which are not now perceived by men just escaped from aristocraty and dispotism.

You know that the Assembly have adjourned the Westindia affairs, leaving every thing in the actual state, viz. *the ports oppened* as we hear they have been to American trade. But it was impossible, circumstanced as we are, to take a definitive resolve on that matter —The ensuing legislature will more easely determine, after they

have received the demands of the Colonies who have been invited to make them, particularly on the object of *victualling*.

Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main kea of that fortress of despotism—It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adoptive father, as an aid de camp to my General, as a Missionary of Liberty to its Patriarch.

Adieu, my beloved General, my most affectionate respects wait on Mrs. Washington, present me most affectionately to George, to Hamilton, Knox, Harrison, Jay, Humphrey and all friends Most tenderly and respectfully Your most affectionate and filial friend

Lafayette

[211]

My dear General Paris August the 23rd 1790

What would have been my feelings, had the news of your illness reached me before I knew my beloved General, my adoptive father was out of danger! I was struck with horror at the idea of the situation you have been in, while I, uninformed, and so distant from you, was anticipating the long waited for pleasure to hear from you, and the still more endearing prospect to visit you, and present you with the tribute of a Revolution, one of your first offsprings. For God's sake, my dear General, take care of your health, don't devote yourself to much to the cabinet, while your habit of life has from your younger years, accustomed you to a constant exercice—Your preservation is the life of your friends, the salvation of your country—it is for you a relligious duty not to neglect any thing that may concern your health. I beg you will let me oftener hear from you. I write when an opportunity offers. And to my great sorrow I hear my letters must have miscarried, or been detained. But as our correspondance can have no other bounds but the opportunities to write, it was not a reason, give me leave to say, for you to miss any that may have offered—and you may easly guess what I am exposed to suffer, what would have been my situation had I known your illness before the news of your recovery had comforted a heart so affectionately devoted to you.

This letter will be delivered by two gentlemen, one of them



THE PASSAGE

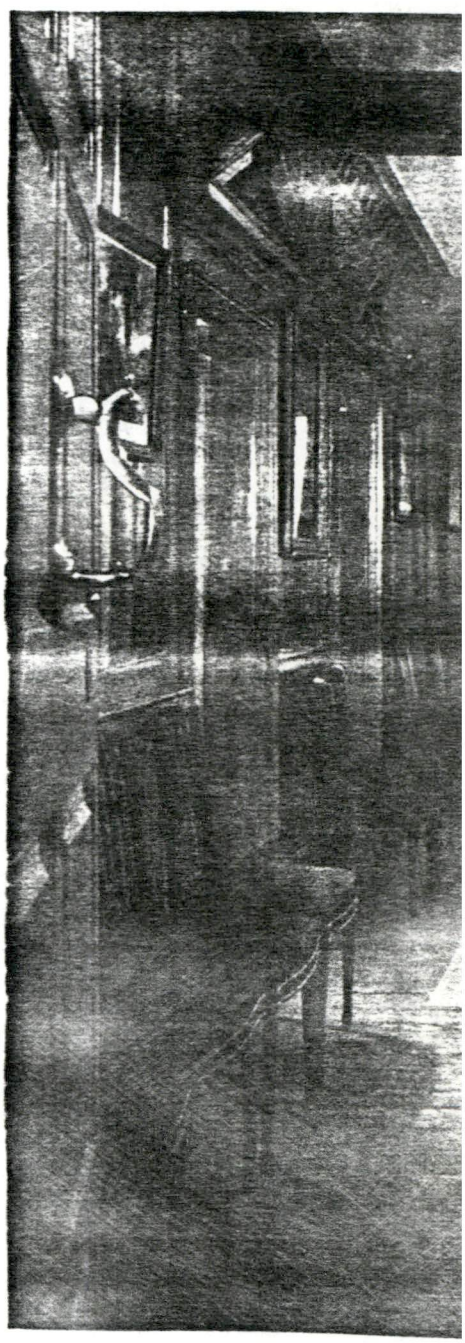
The passage, or central hall, as it was sometimes designated in early records, extends the full width of the house from the front door on the courtyard side to the piazza overlooking the river. During the warm season of the year, it was the most comfortable room in the house, and the journals of General and Mrs. Washington's visitors indicate that much of the informal social life of the home centered here. Under present-day conditions the passage serves as a point of vantage from which the visitor views the four adjoining rooms.

Between the doorways to the downstairs bedroom and the dining room hangs a key of the Bastille, a present from General Lafayette in 1790. In an accompanying letter the donor wrote:

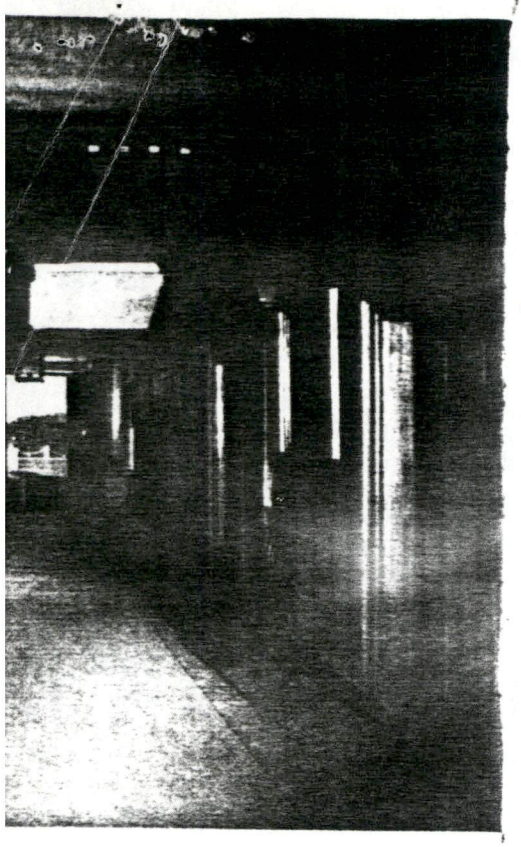
Give me leave, my dear general, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it looked a few days after I ordered its demolition, with the main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adoptive father—as an aide-de-camp to my general—as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch.

I can truly say I had rather be at home at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the seat of government by the officers of State and the representatives of every power in Europe.

George Washington to David Stuart, June 15, 1790



ABOVE: THE PASSAGE WHERE THE W
DETAIL OF A PLASTER LION, ONE OF



ABOVE: PASSAGE LOOKING WEST. WASHINGTON'S FONDNESS FOR LANDSCAPES IS EXPRESSED IN THE NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS HUNG IN THIS AREA.

LEFT: UPPER AND LOWER PASSAGES FROM THE LANDING

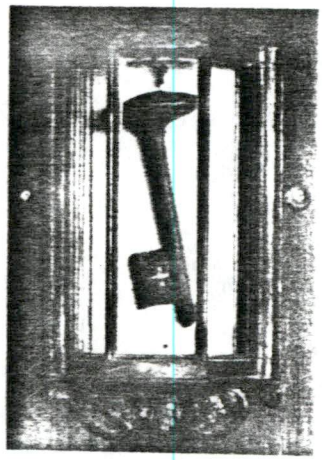
The key was transmitted by Thomas Paine, who added his own endorsement of the gift in the following words:

I feel myself happy in being the person through whom the Marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the spoils of despotism, and the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted into Europe, to his great master and patron. . . . That the principles of America opened the Bastile is not to be doubted, and therefore the key comes to the right place.

The key was presented to the Association by Colonel John A. Washington, Jr., last private owner of Mount Vernon. It is believed to have remained continuously where it is now displayed, because it was hung there by General Washington. The case is probably contemporary. The sketch to which Lafayette referred disappeared many years ago but is represented by a copy made from an early photograph of the drawing.

Over the double doors leading to the piazza are two plaster lions, which are authenticated by Washington descendants and identified as the "two Lyons" listed in an invoice of articles received from England in 1757. The lantern and three of the prints hanging on the walls of the lower passage are identified as original objects. The other prints are duplicates of the originals that hung here in George Washington's lifetime. The fourteen chairs arranged around the walls substitute for those listed in the inventory. They might also have provided additional seating in the rooms opening off the passage.

In 1797, Washington enhanced the passage by having it painted or grained to resemble mahogany. The technique consisted of applying a base coat of a designated color over which a glaze of the desired wood color was applied in such a way that the wood grain was simulated. The pattern for this graining was found under multiple coats of paint on the door to the blue bedroom above.



DETAIL OF THE KEY TO THE BASTILLE

U.S. Information Service - American Embassy - 2, rue Saint-Florentin 75042 Paris Cedex 01 - Tél. 42.96.12.02, Ext. 2138

for the press

ISSN 0224-313X

EMBARGOED UNTIL OCTOBER 6, 1988, 6:30 P.M.

LOAN OF BASTILLE KEY FROM MOUNT VERNON TO THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE

During the taking of the Bastille, on July 14, 1789, General La Fayette carried away one key of the great entrance gate which he later asked Thomas Paine to deliver on his behalf to General George Washington. This key is the property of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union and has been on display at Mount Vernon ever since General Washington himself hung it on the wall inside his house.

On the occasion of the Bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, Ambassador Rodgers requested the Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, Mrs. Robert Channing Seamans, Jr., to lend this key to France as a symbolic gesture to mark the more than two centuries of friendship that unite the two countries.

The Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union graciously and enthusiastically agreed, and the key will be presented to the Government of France next year for display at a site to be determined.

NEWS RELEASE

MOUNT VERNON
The Home of George Washington

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
Mount Vernon, Virginia 22121
(703) 780-2000

Contact: Ann M. Rauscher

For release: Immediate

MOUNT VERNON TO LEND HISTORIC BASTILLE KEY FOR FRENCH CELEBRATION

Just as the Marquis de Lafayette gave the famous key to the Bastille to George Washington nearly 200 years ago, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association will continue two centuries of friendship between France and the United States of America by lending the historic key to the government of France for their celebration of the bicentennial of the French Revolution.

President George Bush will turn over the key to French President Francois Mitterand in Paris on July 13, 1989. The following day, Bastille Day, the key will go on public display at the new Opera de la Bastille, which is adjacent to the site of the famous fortress that was stormed on July 14, 1789. The doors to the new opera house will open to the public for the first time on Bastille Day, and the key will remain on display there through July 22.

Representing Mount Vernon at the presentation ceremony will be Mrs. Robert Channing Seamans, Jr., (Eugenia Seamans), Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, the private, non-profit organization that has owned and operated the home of George Washington since 1858. After transferring the key to President Bush, Mrs. Seamans and her husband will remain in Paris while the key is on exhibition to take part in the Bastille Day celebrations.

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The loan of the historic artifact to the French Ministry of Culture was arranged with the cooperation of the American Embassy in Paris and the United States Information Agency. Security and insurance for the key have been underwritten by AmBase and its subsidiary, the Home Insurance Company. The journey to France will mark the first time that the key has left George Washington's estate in Virginia since 1797.

A symbol of freedom around the world, the key to the Bastille was originally sent to Washington in New York by Lafayette in 1790, the second year of Washington's presidency. The young Frenchman had served with distinction as a general under Washington's command in the American Revolution, and by 1790 the 32-year-old Marquis had assumed a leadership role in his own country's struggle for liberty. The large iron key had been turned over to Lafayette shortly after the overthrow of the Bastille, and he asked Thomas Paine, another prominent figure during the American Revolution, to take the key to London on the first leg of its journey to America, along with a sketch depicting the ruins of the Bastille after its destruction.

In London, Paine entrusted the gifts to John Rutledge, Jr., of South Carolina, who presented them to Washington upon arriving in New York. The chief executive displayed the celebrated souvenirs in the presidential households in New York and Philadelphia, the two cities that served as the nation's capital in the 1790s. Shortly before retiring to Mount Vernon at the end of his second term as president, Washington sent the key and the sketch back to Virginia, where they were given a place of honor on the wall in the central passage of his home.

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In a note that accompanied "the main key of the fortress of despotism," Lafayette described the gift as "a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aide de camp to my General, as a Missionary of liberty to its patriarch." Paine added his own letter, concluding, "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the Key comes to the right place."

The key was presented to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in 1858 by John A. Washington, Jr., great-grandnephew of George Washington and the last private owner of the estate. In the 131 years that Washington's home has been open to the public, the key has been seen by an estimated 60 million visitors from around the world.

Other souvenirs of the French Revolution on display at Mount Vernon are a model of the Bastille carved from one of the actual stones of the prison and the original sketch of the Bastille sent by Lafayette. The sketch left Mount Vernon in 1859 and disappeared after being sold at auction in 1891. Remarkably, the long-lost drawing turned up recently in an estate in Connecticut. Through a loan agreement with the estate's heirs, the sketch was returned to Mount Vernon and rehung in its original location in February of this year.

The key to the Bastille will return to Mount Vernon after its exhibition in Paris and is expected to be back in place in the Mansion by the first of August.

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Library

LAFAYETTE'S ASSOCIATIONS WITH MOUNT VERNON

The Marquis de Lafayette's associations with the Washington and Custis families cover a period of over fifty years, from his first meeting with General Washington at Headquarters in 1777 until his death in 1834. His first recorded visit to Mount Vernon was made in the summer of 1784, his last in 1824. There is a possibility that he first saw Mount Vernon in the spring of 1781 when Virginia was the principal theatre of war and the plantations along the Potomac were being ravaged by British men-of-war and partisan privateers. This was a period of bitter travail for all of Tidewater Virginia. Lafayette had been dispatched southward with a small army to oppose Cornwallis. He chanced to be in Alexandria in late April, just after a British warship had raided the shores of the Potomac, burning and pillaging the exposed homes on both sides of the river almost to Alexandria. He was dismayed to learn that Lund Washington, the General's cousin and plantation manager, had gone aboard the warship and made a voluntary offering of provisions. Mount Vernon had been spared with the loss only of a small boat and eighteen slaves. Less fortunate neighbors who had refused to cooperate had seen their homes burned. Here is the text of Lafayette's letter to his General on this occasion:

> "Great happiness is derived from friendship, and I do particularly experience it in the attachment which unites me to you. But friendship has its duties, and the man that likes you the best will be the forwardest in letting you know every thing where you can be concerned.
>
> "When the enemy came to your house many Negroes deserted to them. This piece of news did not affect me much as I little value those concerns but you cannot conceive how

Future

American Revolution Room

Adrian Rock

unhappy I have been to hear that Mr. Lund Washington went on board the enemy's vessels and consented to give them provisions. This being done by the gentleman who in some measure represents you at your house will certainly have a bad effect, and contrasts with spirited answers from some neighbours that had their houses burnt accordingly.

"You will do what you think proper about it, my dear General, but, as your friend, it was my duty confidentially to mention the circumstances . . . . ."

Lund Washington had already reported his version of the incident to his employer and General Washington sent Lafayette a copy of his reply, in which he had written: "I am very sorry to hear of your loss; I am a little sorry to hear of my own; but that which gives me most concern, is, that you should go on board the enemys Vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me, to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my House, and laid the Plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration." George Washington had long been resigned to the destruction of his home and in this letter to Lund (too long to be quoted full text) he asked only that movable property of value be evacuated inland.

It would be an oversimplification to assume, on the basis of this correspondence, that Mount Vernon was spared because of Lund's indiscretion. Tender of a few provisions could scarcely have deterred an enemy had he wished to injure the leader of the patriot cause. We prefer to think that his restraint was inspired by sincere respect for the character of the master of

Mount Vernon.

In September, 1781, General Washington spent three nights at Mount Vernon, after an unbroken absence of more than six years. He was joined here by Generals Rochambeau and Chastellux and their military families. This was probably the most colorful and dramatic incident in the history of Mount Vernon, but Lafayette was pressingly detained before Yorktown. Nor do we find his name recorded among those distinguished foreign officers who visited Mount Vernon when the French Army moved northward from Williamsburg the following year.

Barring the possibility that Lafayette made an unrecorded visit to Mount Vernon during the summer of 1781, we are left with the assumption that he was first here in 1784. The record of his two visits in that year is disappointingly fragmentary. We know that he came first on August 17, 1784, and remained twelve days, but General Washington's diary for that period is, in the words of Dr. Fitzpatrick, "missing or not kept". He returned on November 24th and remained until the twenty-eighth. Once again there is no diary account. Other potential sources of information are almost equally barren. In imagination we may picture Mount Vernon during these visits as a colorful setting for happy social gatherings, but prudence dictates that our speculations be not committed to paper. The associations of General Washington and Lafayette have already been too much embellished with undocumentary fancies. We know that in anticipation of this second visit General Washington met Lafayette and his two companions, Grandchain and Caraman, in Richmond, and that on their departure he escorted them to Annapolis. Upon his return to Mount Vernon he wrote a letter of farewell to his departed guest which defines their relationship for us. I quote two relevant paragraphs:

"In the moment of our separation upon the road as I

travelled, and every hour since, I felt all that love, respect and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connexion and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages distended, whether that was the last sight, I ever should have of you? And tho' I wished to say no, my fears answered yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill, I had been 52 years climbing, and that tho' I was blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the dreary mansions of my father's. These things darkened the shades and gave a gloom to the picture, consequently to my prospects of seeing you again: but I will not repine, I have had my day.

"It is unnecessary, I persuade myself to repeat to you my Dr. Marqs. the sincerity of my regards and friendship, nor have I words which could express my affection for you, were I to attempt it. My fervent prayers are offered for your safe and pleasant passage, happing meeting with Madame la Fayette and family, and the completion of every wish of your heart, in all which Mrs. Washington joins me, as she does in complmts. to Capt. Grandchean and Chevr. of whom little Washn often speaks. With every sentimt. wch. is propitious and endearing, I am . . . ."

These paragraphs speak for themselves. I would only remind you that in all of George Washington's writings there is no evidence of an equal affection for any other friend. One of Lafayette's biographers has remarked

that the younger man compelled this affection. Certainly it was a unique relationship on the part of the older man. The nature and degree of compulsion on the part of the younger would be debatable.

General Washington's gloomy premonition that he would not again see his young friend was correct, but the ties that bound the Lafayette and Mount Vernon families were to grow stronger through the years; to be strengthened by adversity. It is beyond the scope of our present story to relate the events which brought Lafayette's young son, George Washington Lafayette, to the shores of America in 1795, while his mother traveled to share the confinement of the father in his Austrian prison. The young man, sixteen years old at the time, was accompanied by his tutor, Monsieur Frestel. Political considerations (also foreign to our present theme) prevented President Washington from taking these young refugees into his family at the time, but they joined him on his journey to Mount Vernon ~~upon his retirement from office in March~~, 1796 and remained here until the following October. This lengthy visit cemented lifelong ties of friendship between young Lafayette and the younger members of the Washington and Custis families whom he met here. He became closely attached to Mrs. Washington's younger grandchildren, Nelly and George Washington Parke Custis, who were members of the Mount Vernon household. Nelly was a young lady of eighteen years and George Washington Parke Custis, who had been nicknamed "Squire Tubb" by the elder Lafayette, was a youth of sixteen years.

Washington still President

When Lafayette made his last visit to America in the middle twenties his itinerary included Mount Vernon. He came by water with George Washington Lafayette and the other members of his suite, escorted by George Washington Parke Custis, John C. Calhoun and a numerous company. In the absence of Bushrod Washington he was received by Lawrence Lewis of Woodlawn. At the Tomb Custis

presented the General with a ring containing a lock of General Washington's hair and delivered a brief oration in the best tradition of the period.

In the next room we have spread a display of documents, pictures and memorabilia relevant to our present theme. Other material of interest will be pointed out in the course of our tour. I will not detain you now with an enumeration.

There is here a symbol of that unity of ideals so prominent in the relationship of the two men which is worthy of special note. I refer to the Key of the Bastile, which Lafayette sent to George Washington in 1790. It hangs conspicuously in the central hall of the Mansion where General Washington placed it. With it came a letter of presentation from which I quote:

> "Give me leave, my dear general, to present you with a picture of the Bastile, just as it looked a few days after I ordered its demolition, with the main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adopted father - as an aide-de-camp to my general - as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch."

Recently it was suggested by one of the Nation's leading journalists that this key be returned to France, but we feel that so long as France and America continue to share the ideals which inspired the donor in his presentation, the key has no more appropriate sanctuary than Mount Vernon. We hope that George Washington continues to be a patriarch of liberty in the minds of the French people and that they will always share the American people's vision of Mount Vernon as a shrine and a symbol of freedom for all peoples of the earth. The American Friends of Lafayette could have no higher goal, and none more timely, than the furtherance of this mutual concept of freedom which united the two men we honor here today.

NEWS RELEASE

MOUNT VERNON
The Home of George Washington

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
Mount Vernon, Virginia 22121
(703) 780-2000

For release: Immediate

Contact: Ann M. Rauscher

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2 Key. 1932 @ Paris Exposition, Washington's 50th

A symbol of freedom around the world, the key to the Bastille was originally sent to Washington in New York by Lafayette in 1790, the second year of Washington's presidency. The young Frenchman had served with distinction as a general under Washington's command in the American Revolution, and by 1790 the 32-year-old Marquis had assumed a leadership role in his own country's struggle for liberty. The large iron key had been turned over to Lafayette shortly after the overthrow of the Bastille, and he asked Thomas Paine, another prominent figure during the American Revolution, to take the key to London on the first leg of its journey to America, along with a sketch depicting the ruins of the Bastille after its destruction.

In London, Paine entrusted the gifts to John Rutledge, Jr., of South Carolina, who presented them to Washington upon arriving in New York. The chief executive displayed the celebrated souvenirs in the presidential households in New York and Philadelphia, the two cities that served as the nation's capital in the 1790s. Shortly before retiring to Mount Vernon at the end of his second term as president, Washington sent the key and the sketch back to Virginia, where they were given a place of honor on the wall in the central passage of his home.

-more-

In a note that accompanied "the main key of the fortress of despotism," Lafayette described the gift as "a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aide de camp to my General, as a Missionary of liberty to its patriarch." Paine added his own letter, concluding, "That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, and therefore the Key comes to the right place."

The key was presented to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in 1858 by John A. Washington, Jr., great-grandnephew of George Washington and the last private owner of the estate. In the 131 years that Washington's home has been open to the public, the key has been seen by an estimated 60 million visitors from around the world.

Other souvenirs of the French Revolution on display at Mount Vernon are a model of the Bastille carved from one of the actual stones of the prison and the original sketch of the Bastille sent by Lafayette. The sketch left Mount Vernon in 1859 and disappeared after being sold at auction in 1891. Remarkably, the long-lost drawing turned up recently in an estate in Connecticut. Through a loan agreement with the estate's heirs, the sketch was returned to Mount Vernon and rehung in its original location in February of this year.

The key to the Bastille will return to Mount Vernon after its exhibition in Paris and is expected to be back in place in the Mansion by the first of August.

-30-

THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNION
MOUNT VERNON, VIRGINIA 22121

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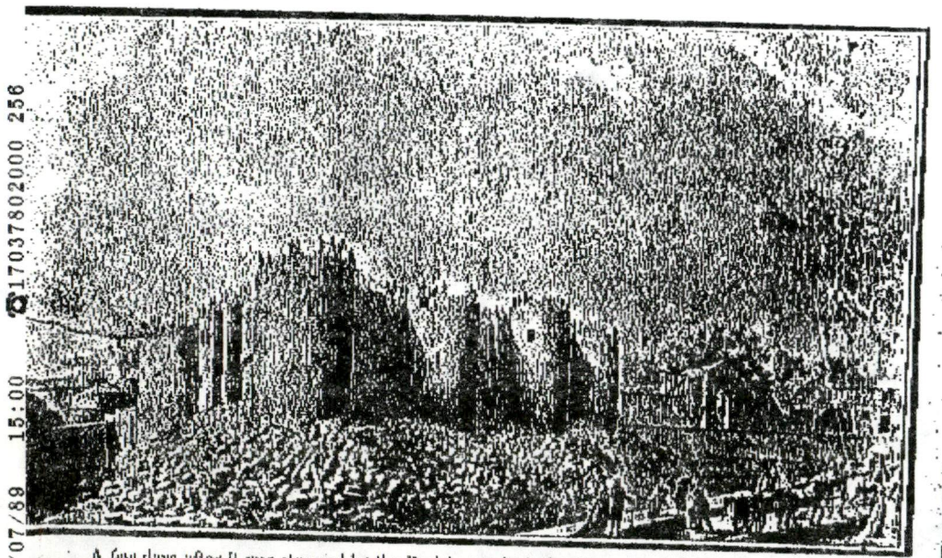
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Souvenir of the French Revolution

A RARE SKETCH of the Bastille by Cathala, the architect responsible for its demolition, is now back at Mount Vernon after an absence of 126 years. For more than 60 years it had hung in the Mansion at Mount Vernon beneath the principal key of that infamous prison in the location selected by George Washington for display of these famous souvenirs from the Marquis de Lafayette. Separated in 1859, the key remained in its accustomed place while the sketch began an odyssey that took it from Virginia to Pennsylvania, New York and finally to a small Connecticut town where it was rediscovered in a mobile home in 1985.

The first indication that the long-lost sketch might have survived was a brief message sent to Mount Vernon in the spring of 1985, "If you are still searching for this picture...I think I can help you...." Enclosed with it was a copy of a *New York Times* clipping dated February 23, 1958, which featured the sketch captioned with a plea from the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association for information leading to its recovery. As one of the most interesting of all the gifts presented to George Washington, the mysterious disappearance of the Bastille sketch had long puzzled those responsible for the restoration of Mount Vernon and recovery of its original furnishings. The hint of its possible reappearance was met with shock, skepticism, hope and a thorough review of all information relating to the sketch.



A few days after it was stormed by the Parisian mob, Lafayette ordered the destruction of the Bastille, a symbol of royal despotism. Its orderly demolition was accomplished under the supervision of Cathala, an architect who produced this drawing in August, 1790.

There was nothing mysterious about the early history of the Bastille sketch and key. Their transmittal from Lafayette to Washington in the summer of 1790 was a matter of record that began when the main prison key was turned over to Lafayette shortly after the Bastille was stormed on July 14, 1789, by angry citizens rioting in the streets of Paris.

With his military experience in the American Revolution, the 32-year old Marquis quickly assumed a prominent role in the opening chapter of the French Revolution. After the Bastille fell, he was placed in command of a local national guard of which a number were formed to keep order throughout France. Tradition states that the Bastille key was carried from the prison to the town hall in Paris where it was presented to Lafayette.

Long a symbol of royal despotism, the Bastille was a natural target when violence erupted after severe shortages of bread led the populace into the streets. Erected in 1370, it was originally a fortified gate in a wall built around Paris by Charles V. With its eight towers, each 100 feet high, and surrounded by an 80-foot-wide moat, the Bastille occupied a conspicuous position on the Parisian cityscape. Cathala's detailed sketch graphically illustrates its formidable size by his placement of tiny figures of workmen atop the walls and sight-seers grouped in the right foreground. During the 17th century the Bastille became the place of imprisonment for intellectuals and political activists in opposition to the French monarchy. The intent of the mob was to capture the prison's arsenal and release its prisoners. Although accounts differ, only seven prisoners were said to have been found within its cells. Duplicity on the part of the prison officials enraged the revolutionaries. The savagery of the assault on this and other places in Paris prompted Thomas Jefferson, then minister to Paris, to write ... *The cutting off heads is become so much a la mode, that one is apt to feel of a morning whether there own is on their shoulders....*

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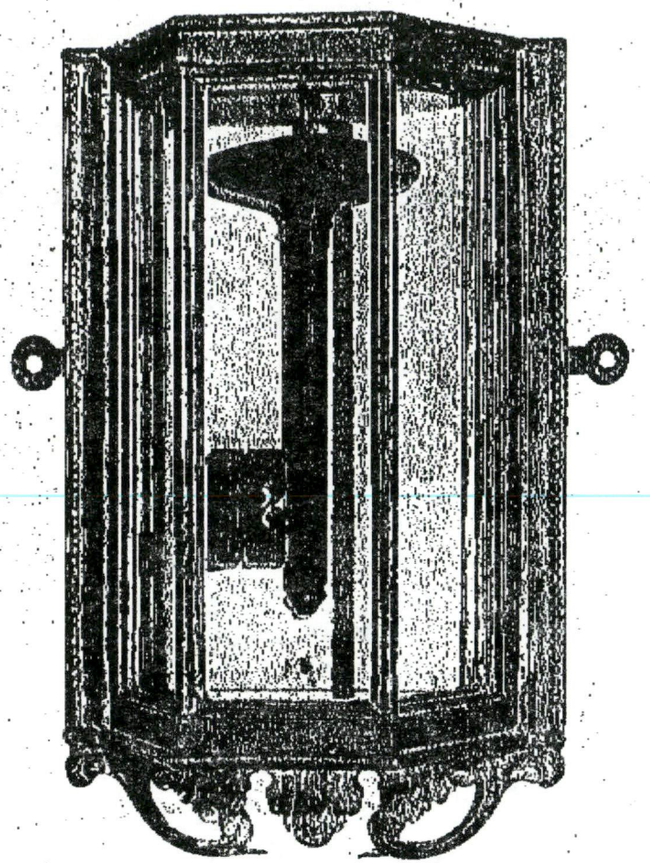
Despite the initial horror of events in Paris, Lafayette was feeling optimistic when he prepared to ship the Bastille key and drawing to President Washington in March, 1790. By then the situation had tempered to the point where he could boast that the French revolution . . . *will implant liberty and make it flourish throughout the world.* In time Lafayette would flee for his own life, but in the immediate euphoria of success he dispatched his trophies to his "adopted father."

> *Give me leave, My dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the Main Kea of the fortress of despotism- It is a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aide de camp to my General, as a Missionary of liberty to its patriarch* (Paris, March 17, 1790)

Several months would pass before these gifts finally arrived at their destination. On the first leg of the journey Lafayette entrusted them to Thomas Paine, well-known for his participation in the American Revolution. His letter to Washington of May 1, 1790, eloquently expresses the patriotic fervor of all who took part in the long journey of these relics from the Bastille in Paris across the English Channel to London and from there by sea to the American President's residence in New York.

> *Our very good Friend the Marquis de La Fayette, has entrusted to my care the Key of the Bastile, and a drawing, handsomely framed, representing the demolition of that detestable prison, as a present to your Excellency, of which this letter will more particularly inform. -I feel myself happy in being the person thru' whom the Marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the Spoils of Despotism and -the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted into Europe -to his great Master and Patron. . . . That the principles of America opened the Bastile is not to be doubted, and therefore the Key comes to the right place.*

The actual presentation to George Washington, late in the summer of 1790, was an honor that fell to John Rutledge, Jr., a South Carolinian returning to the United States from London.



The principal key to the Bastille which accompanied the sketch sent by Lafayette to President Washington in 1790. Made of cast iron, it weighs one pound, three ounces and hangs in its original case.

Washington's prominent display of these celebrated souvenirs in the presidential household is taken as a mark of his appreciation to his French pupil and a recognition of their symbolic importance in America. Shown first at a presidential levee in New York in August, they continued to be "showcased" in Philadelphia when the seat of government moved there in the fall of 1790. It was there that the Viscount de Chateaubriand reacted to them with considerable contempt:

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. . . those keys of the Bastille were but silly playthings which were about that time distributed over the two worlds. Had Washington seen like me the Conquerors of the Bastille in the kennels of Paris, he would have had less faith in the relic.

Other Bastille keys have been reported in Canada, at Madam Tussaud's in London and elsewhere. They are smaller, most likely cell and room keys, and none resembles the one sent by Lafayette to Washington. The American press picked up on the novelty of Lafayette's gift and representations of the Bastille key were illustrated in several popular periodicals of the day. As might be expected the key with its three-dimensional quality and higher visibility has taken on a greater significance than the sketch. Washington, however, welcomed both. With customary politeness, he acknowledged receipt of the gifts on August 11, 1790. In return for Lafayette's . . . *testimonials of. . . friendship and regard,* the President reciprocated with a small token of his own affection and respect for Lafayette's achievements:

Not for the value of the thing, my dear Marquis, but as a memorial, and because they are the manufacture of this city, I send you here with a pair of shoe-buckles.

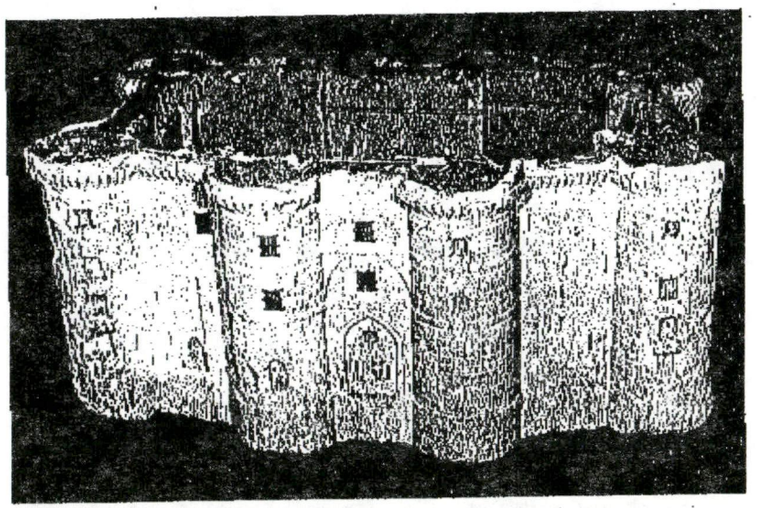
Shortly before Washington's retirement from the presidency in 1797, the key and sketch were taken to Mount Vernon and given a place of honor in the first floor passage. It was here that Julian Niemcewicz saw them in 1798. His account, important for its reference to a model of the Bastille, is one of many recorded in the journals of Mount Vernon visitors.

A kind of small crystal lantern contains the actual key of the Bastille. This relic of despotism was sent to the Gl. by the Marquis de Lafayette. Underneath is a drawing representing the demolition of this formidable castle. Furthermore on the piazza one sees a model of it, wholly of stone which was part of the Bastille; it is a foot and a half high, made with the greatest detail and exactness. It is a pity that the children have already damaged it a little. . .

Who among George Washington's youthful guests could have resisted the temptation to "storm" the miniature prison as it sat defenseless on the stone floor of his piazza?

The stone of which the model was carved had indeed been used to build the Bastille and, as Cathala's sketch attests, there were quantities of them. After the demolition of the prison the French National Assembly ordered models made for each of the Departments of France. An Englishman named Slade, in Paris at the time, had one of the stones modeled for himself . . . *by the same hand that was employed in making those for the 83 departments.* On seeing it, his American friend, Samuel Bayard, asked to have it copied for President Washington, but Slade generously presented Washington with his own original as *testimony of his respectful and sincere regard.* The Bastille model eventually passed to George Washington Parke Custis, Martha Washington's grandson, and was exhibited by him first in an Alexandria museum and later at the Patent Office in Washington. It was returned to Mount Vernon in 1870 and may be seen on the floor of a small closet off Washington's study.

Washington's death in 1799 brought little disturbance of the Mansion's interior, but all that changed when Martha Washington died in 1802. With her passing, only a few original furnishings, those acquired by Bushrod Washington, were left Mount Vernon. The key and sketch remained in place in the passage during the next three



This model of the Bastille, carved from an original stone of the prison, was presented to Washington by an English admirer. Documentary and physical evidence suggest that it was heartily enjoyed as a plaything by the Custis grandchildren.

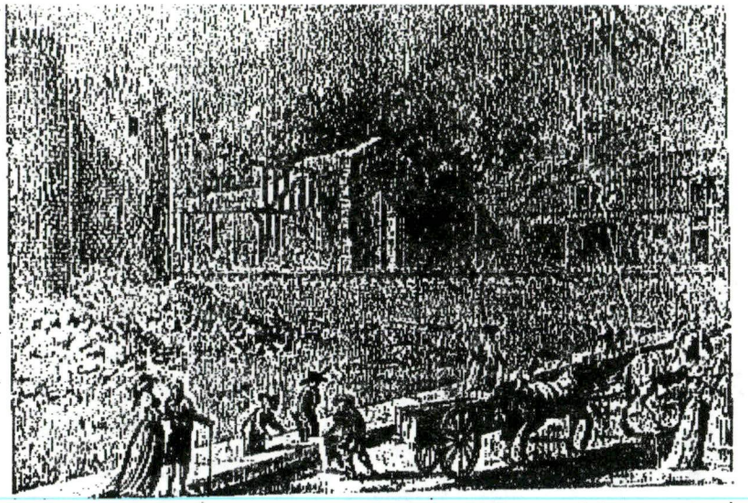
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generations of Washingtons who occupied Mount Vernon. They continued to evoke curiosity and comment from 19th century visitors to George Washington's home.

In 1824 a special reunion took place before the Bastille relics. The Marquis de Lafayette and his son, George Washington Lafayette, had begun a year-long tour of the United States. At Mount Vernon they... *found, in the place where Washington himself had left it, the principal key of the Bastile* so familiar to both men, the father who had given it and the son who had lived at Mount Vernon when hostile French factions had driven the Marquis to exile in Austria and Washington took the young man into his household. For Lafayette, "the hero of two worlds," it was a highly charged moment of sentimental reflection on past events of international significance and personal triumph.

Lafayette and his son were but two of the thousands of pilgrims who made their way annually to Mount Vernon to view the home and tomb of the great Washington. This tribute to the principal Founding Father was in fact an ever-increasing burden to the Washington family who frequently accommodated their domestic comfort to visitors' schedules. In 1858, John A. Washington III, the last of the family to reside at Mount Vernon, sold the property to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. His gift to the Association of more than a dozen objects once owned by George Washington included the key, but not the drawing of the Bastille. That went with him and remained with his descendants until 1891 when sold by them at auction.

Billed as "The Final Sale of the Relics of George Washington," this important auction attracted dealers and collectors to the auction house of Thos. Birch's Sons in Philadelphia in April, 1891. The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association was represented among the bidders. Prominent among the dealers were Walter and William Benjamin. The two brothers were well-known at Mount Vernon and some of Walter's correspondence is preserved among the early records of the Association. Writing of an auction of Washington memorabilia held several months earlier in December 1890, he cites William Randolph Hearst's agents as keen competitors against whom he "gave up in despair." He predicted that "these crazy prices" paid for Washington memorabilia could not last.



In the days following its fall, the Bastille became a symbol of the revolutionary movement in France attracting many curiosity-seekers to its site. In this detail, the artist shows several well-dressed ladies among the sight-seers.

Contrary to Walter Benjamin's optimistic prediction, the Washingtoniana sold in April, 1891, went for even higher prices, but the brothers had come prepared. Between them they bought a sizeable portion of the memorabilia and rare Americana sold over three days of intense bidding. Lot #268, "Original India Ink Drawing of the Destruction of the Bastile," sold for $450, placing it eleventh among the top money makers, and went to William E. Benjamin. It is not known if Mount Vernon offered a competitive bid. The Association's Minutes for 1891 record only the new acquisitions from that sale and make no mention of anything else that was sold. It was after the auction that the Bastille sketch dropped from sight and would remain in limbo for nearly a century. Leads pursued over the ensuing years came to nothing. As far as anyone at Mount Vernon knew, the Bastille sketch could be counted among the permanently missing. In 1958 Charles C. Wall, now Director Emeritus, revived the search for the missing sketch, but he would have to wait 27 years before learning that the story published in the *New York Times* had attracted the attention of the man who at that moment had the

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Bastille sketch in his possession. Alan Carswell could not then come forward without exposing himself to considerable personal embarrassment, but he saved the *Times* clipping and 20 years later confided his remarkable story to a neighbor, Chester Norback.

Mr. Norback first saw the sketch in Alan Carswell's mobile home in Killingworth, Connecticut, about 1975. Intrigued by the faded drawing he pressed his host for information about its history. Mrs. Carswell produced the *New York Times* clipping and Chester Norback heard from Carswell himself the fascinating tale of how he had come to possess this long-missing treasure. Alan Carswell died in 1979 without any public mention of the Bastille sketch. Not long after Mrs. Carswell's death in 1984, Chester Norback notified the Association of its existence. Concern for its future prompted his cryptic message of April, 1985, that broke a century-long silence and led to the return of the Bastille sketch.

According to Alan Carswell's testimony, as related by Chester Norback, he encountered the long-lost Bastille sketch in a warehouse in Brooklyn, New York, sometime after World War II. A talented stonemason, he had been hired to work on a disassembled Spanish monastery imported by William Randolph Hearst in the 1920s. A collector of nearly everything, Hearst's passion for ancient European structures and architectural elements found eclectic expression in San Simeon, his California castle overlooking the Pacific Ocean.

Financial reverses after the 1929 stock market crash prevented Hearst from carrying out his plan to reconstruct the monastery in California. For nearly a quarter century it remained in the Brooklyn warehouse apparently in great disorder after the imported crates and straw padding were burned to prevent the spread of hoof and mouth disease in the United States. Sometime after Hearst sold the monastery Alan Carswell was brought in, probably by the new owners, to reorganize and mark the stones before shipment to Florida where they were reconstructed in 1952 as the Monastery of St. Bernard de Clairvoux in North Miami Beach. William Randolph Hearst died in 1951 without seeing the reconstructed monastery.

Among the hundreds of objects stored in the warehouse was George Washington's sketch of the Bastille. Hearst had been collecting Washington memorabilia at least since 1890, inspired perhaps by his mother's appointment in 1889 to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association as Vice Regent for California. Phoebe Apperson Hearst's philanthropies to Mount Vernon and elsewhere mark her as a woman of compassion, intelligence and great generosity. Through the years by purchase and gift from the Hearst family some of his Washingtoniana has come back to Mount Vernon.

With agents all over the world buying for him, it is doubtful that William Randolph Hearst knew at any given time exactly how large his collection was. Although William E. Benjamin's papers gave no hint of what happened to the sketch, it is possible, considering the traditionally close-knit community of dealers and collectors, that he sold it to Hearst after the 1891 sale. However acquired, it proved an irresistible temptation to Alan Carswell.

As might be expected, the circumstances of Carswell's acquisition of the purloined drawing are sketchy at best. Perhaps, as he claimed, it was passed on by a friendly night watchman at the warehouse. Maybe not, but it is easy to see how the sketch of the Bastille standing amid the rubble of its destruction attracted Carswell, the stonemason, then engaged in sorting the stones from Mr. Hearst's monastery. Too little is known of the picture's condition at that time to be certain if Carswell knew it had belonged to George Washington. If unframed, an inscription at the top, *from the M. de Lafayette to [General] Washington* would have left no doubt about its origins. Otherwise, he may have been unaware of its historic associations until 1958 when a photograph taken from the 1891 auction catalogue appeared in the *New York Times*.

Alan Carswell died without coming forward but it was generally understood that Mrs. Carswell hoped the Bastille sketch would someday return to Mount Vernon. During the settlement of her estate, Chester Norback and Florence Marrone, Probate Judge for the District of Killingworth, Connecticut, worked tirelessly to that end. Because of their concern and dedicated interest, a singular piece of Washington memorabilia can be restored to its rightful location beneath the key from which it was separated more than a century ago.

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The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association is grateful to them and to Mrs. Carswell's heirs, the Masonic Charity Foundation of Connecticut and the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children, for their generous loan of George Washington's sketch of the Bastille.

Christine Meadows
Curator

ACCESSION POLICY

Since 1860 the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association has pursued a policy of collecting based upon the recovery of original furnishings and the personal possessions of General and Mrs. Washington. By gift, loan, and purchase authentic items are being assembled, while information on memorabilia not in the Mount Vernon collection is gathered and evaluated. Gifts of memorabilia as well as cash donations to the Special Collections Funds established by the Association for this purpose qualify as charitable contributions under the provisions of the Federal Income Tax Law.

The Mount Vernon Blacksmith Shops

BLACKSMITHING was an important craft activity at Mount Vernon throughout most of the Washington family's ownership of the plantation. The earliest known documentary reference to a shop dates to 1755 and refers to a chimney being constructed "in my Smith's shed." It is not certain where that shed was located, but it may well have been north of the Mansion in an area now known as the north grove. A blacksmith shop is shown there on a 1787 plan of the estate drawn by Samuel Vaughan and a structure thought to be the shop also is depicted in a 1792 painting of the east front of the Mansion and north lane dependencies. That shop was demolished circa 1793 and a new shop was built elsewhere on the plantation. It is not certain where the subsequent shop (or shops) was situated; but one possible site is in the laundry yard off the south lane and across from the stable. Another shop is alluded to in Benson Lossing's 1858 observation that, by then, the blacksmith was located "near the conservatory."

The Association has had a long-standing interest in unravelling the story of blacksmithing at Mount Vernon. In 1936, archaeological excavations in the north grove were conducted by Morley J. Williams, then Director of Research and Restoration, at the site of the shop indicated on the Vaughan Plan. He succeeded in revealing a fragmentary rectangular brick foundation, a number of post holes, and ample material evidence of blacksmithing—black, ashy soils and iron waste, slag, and tool fragments. Williams interpreted the foundation as a forge base and the post holes as supports for a fenced yard south of the shop. Williams also revealed a portion of brick foundation abutting the shop, which indicates that when the north ha-ha wall was restored in 1896, brick from the original wall was removed and used to reroute the wall to the south to terminate at the corner of an existing 19th-century ice house. Additional investigation of the site was carried out by Walter Macomber in the 1950s in the hope that sufficient evidence to reconstruct the shop could be gathered. Unfortunately, the site had been substantially disturbed by construction of the ice house and later utility lines, and the decision was made not to reconstruct the shop.

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John Andres
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Nissan 2556

Simon Schama
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Stanley Hoffman

WBUR
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bridge 1776 – 1789 –

~~Also involved in~~

Fr involved in Am Rev/mil mem

how Lafayette got key?
Was Lafayette there? Order?

Key to main gate

Lafayette & Jefferson – ~~Montbello~~ over dinner

summer of 89 – Jefferson –

1932 Sculpture of GW's B-day, Key west Paris @ Paris Exposition

a Mt. Vernon on the Seine

the key has been back once before

Lafette to G. W.

Jarrett Sparks Vol. 10 appears in August

We have made an admis o more △s in 10 months than our internal troubles much exaggerated. destruction of all abuses

Lafayette triple-headedly ordered destruction of Bastille.

Paine

Voltaire

Montesquieu

Montaigne

} what we got from them.

Adrian Koch, The American Enlightenment

see INTRODUCTION

Am. principles bringing Fr. Rev.

Fr. Rev. forged last Key

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11 260 0 New York, $b G. Braziller $c [c1965]
12 300 669 p. $c 24 cm.
13 504 "Sources": p. 660-667. "For further reading": p. [668]-669.
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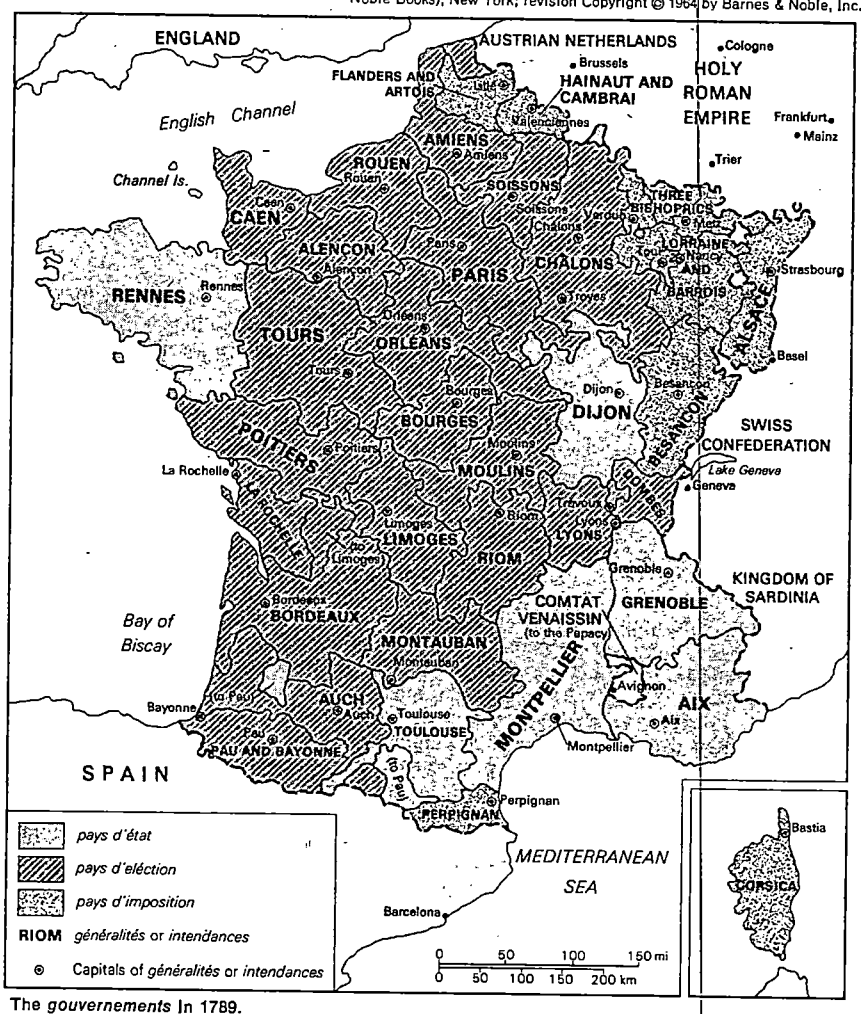
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quickly polarized on the question of the composition of the estates. Should it meet in three groups, as it had in 1614, or should the members meet together (in which case the liberal minorities of the first two orders—clergy and nobility—could combine with the third and enact liberal measures)? The Parlement of Paris, which had returned in triumph on September 23, 1788, decided on September 25 that it would meet as it had before. At once the popularity of the *parlementaires* collapsed. On September 23 they were seen by the reformists as victims of royal oppression; but two days later they had become again what they in fact had always been: the defenders of the traditional social and political fabric of the *ancien régime*. In a last and fitful assertion of authority, at the behest of Necker, once again minister, the crown decided on December 27 to overrule the Parlement. The estates, it resolved, would meet separately, but the Third Estate would have as many deputies as the other two orders combined. The stage was now set for the coming Revolution.

The beginning of the Revolution. The first phase of the Revolution had opposed various groups in French society to the French state. The second phase would be characterized by a struggle between the traditionalists and the urban reformists as a whole. Subsequently, and under the pressure of events, the unity of revolutionary reformist fervour would break up, very often along those same lines of social class—economic, psychological, and moral—that had become increasingly visible after 1750. But in 1788–90 the political problem did not yet revolve around those issues. The sequence of events in those months is therefore to be seen as the assertion, against the privileged, traditionalist order and against the state, of the united power of the reformists, some of them bourgeois, some of them nobles, many of them of indeterminate social status. July 14, 1789, is only the vibrant and vivid symbol of the defeat of the *ancien régime*. By that date the revolutionary movement had been developing for more than a year. The aristocratic Fronde against the state had begun in the 1750s, and the revolution of the urban reformists against state and privilege was already a fact in late 1788.

The tasks of the reformists were much facilitated in the early months of 1789 by a gradual erosion of law and order in the countryside. The motives that drove the peasants to revolt were far different from those of the reformists. Both were interested in the problem of taxation; but, although the city dweller was concerned about efficiency and irrational expenditure, the peasants were simply interested in paying less. The peasants were keen also to destroy the feudal dues, which the reformers disliked abstractly but from which the peasants suffered concretely. Indeed, since thousands of city dwellers were also rural landlords and owners of feudal dues, there were many instances of armed conflict between urban militias and peasant bands in the late summer of 1789. After 1789, during the decade of revolution, these conflicts of material interests did at times become crucial. In the Vendée, for example, in 1793, the peasants even took sides for the aristocracy and against the reformist, urban bourgeoisie. But in the spring and summer of 1789, the great majority of Frenchmen—peasants, bourgeois, and reformists of all sorts—were able to compose their differences and to unite for a single political purpose: the destruction of the feudal, "privileged" establishment of church, state, and noble. In April and May there were numerous rural riots and attacks on convoys of grain, caused largely by an extraordinary and unusual rise in the price of bread. When the Estates-General met on May 5, the defenders of the *ancien régime* were thus in total

From W. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, Harper & Row, Publishers (Barnes & Noble Books), New York; revision Copyright © 1964 by Barnes & Noble, Inc.



The *gouvernements* in 1789.

disarray. The crown was devoid of prestige, and the debris of its authority was still resented by the privileged orders, themselves unable to rely on peasant support because of the rural disorders. The victory of the reformists was therefore assured.

What followed in June and July was, if not inevitable, at least predictable. On June 17 the Third Estate declared itself to be a national assembly, and in the following days it was joined by individual reformist members of the clergy and nobility. Three days later, after having been denied admission to their usual place of meeting, the reformists met in the royal tennis court and swore an oath never to dissolve until France had secured a constitution. On June 23, in a final spasm, the crown in order to survive now sided openly with the privileged *parlementaires* and great nobles it had so recently tried to curb and made a last effort to stem the reformist tide. The King reasserted the divisions of the estates in three orders and declared null and void all the decisions taken by the Third Estate since June 17. On June 27, the crown seemed to have veered back to moderation, but in fact it persisted for some time in its attempts at resistance. Some 20,000 troops were marched in from the provinces, and it appeared that a military coup was in the offing. On July 11 the less reactionary members of the royal council were dismissed, as was Necker himself who was ordered into exile.

But this show of force was to no avail. The crown was too discredited; the army, too disloyal. Most importantly, the social forces that would traditionally have rallied to its support—traditionalist aristocrats and obtuse peasants—were too weak and indeed divided one against the other. A show of force from the side of the reformists would easily end this last-ditch effort of the *ancien régime*, and this force was provided by the Parisian crowd. Until then the political struggle had included the state, the traditionalists, and the literate reformists—some of them noble, many of them bourgeois. But now the mass of the urban population entered the political arena. In April a mob had attacked the factory of a textile manufacturer accused of starving the poor; and in early July there had been other food riots on the outskirts of Paris. By mid-July, however, the dissatisfaction of the urban poor was focussed on a more political purpose. In a show of revolutionary unity, the sans-culottes—the people of Paris who would later demand the blood of Lafayette, Brissot, Danton, and Robespierre himself—rose up to defend the liberal reformist cause, and, in so doing, brought down the *ancien régime* in ruins. On July 14 a crowd surged around the Bastille—that hated, though largely unused, symbol of absolutist oppression. Only seven people were imprisoned there, and two of them were mad. But, as a symbol, the fall of the Bastille could not be equalled. It sapped the will of the King to resist. On July 17 he recalled Necker and became in fact a constitutional monarch. The *ancien régime* was a thing of the past.

There were those who would say, with Edmund Burke, that now the glory of Europe was gone forever; and others who would herald instead the dawn of a new age of liberty, equality, and fraternity. What was certain, however, was that France and the world would never again be as they had been before. (P.Hi.)

V. The French Revolution and Napoleon, 1789–1815

THE INITIAL REVOLUTIONARY REFORMS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

The Revolution of 1789. No sooner had the Estates-General entered into session at Versailles than the conflict between the orders declared itself: the Third Estate demanded that powers be verified in common, which implied that the estates should vote as one assembly; this would give the Third Estate an advantage, because it was the most numerous. The question was important: either the aristocracy had to yield (which meant the end of its privileges) or the Third Estate would have to acknowledge defeat (which meant the survival of the *ancien régime*). In the words of the reformist nobleman the Comte de Mirabeau, the deputies of the Third Estate understood that they had only "to remain immovable in order to present a formidable danger to their enemies."

On June 12, 1789, the Third Estate began a roll call of all deputies on the question of the common verification of powers. The privileged bloc began to disintegrate. On June 13 only three parish priests answered to their names, on the next day, six. Foreseeing victory, the Third Estate pressed on. On June 17 it proclaimed itself the National Assembly. On June 19 the clergy decided to ally itself with the Third Estate.

Creation of the National Assembly

Encouraged by the nobility, Louis XVI decided to resist and ordered the meeting place of the estates closed. On June 20, 1789, the deputies of the Third Estate, finding the doors shut, moved to the nearby royal tennis court. There, under the presidency of the old astronomer Jean-Sylvain Bailly, the delegates swore not to adjourn until they had produced a constitution for France.

On June 23, 1789, the King held a "royal session" of the Estates-General, for the purpose of annulling the decisions of the Third Estate. He himself offered a program of reforms, one that maintained the feudal rights of the nobility. Louis threatened the deputies: "If you abandon me in this great enterprise I will work alone for the welfare of my peoples. . . . I command you to separate at once."

The King's attempt ended in failure. The commons did not budge, though the nobility and a part of the clergy withdrew. The body confirmed its earlier decrees and declared that its members were inviolable. When the royal bodyguard was ordered to disperse the deputies, the representatives of the nobility who had sided with the Third Estate objected, and the Marquis de Lafayette and others put their hands on their swords. Louis backed down.

From then on, the triumph of the Third Estate gained momentum. On June 24 the majority of the clergy sat beside it in the National Assembly. On the 27th the King, deciding to sanction what he had been unable to prevent, wrote to the minority of the clergy and the majority of the nobility, inviting them to rejoin the National Assembly. On July 9, 1789, that body proclaimed itself the National Constituent Assembly.

Thus far, the judicial revolution had been accomplished without violence. But just at the moment when the King and the aristocracy appeared ready to accept the accomplished fact, they decided, instead, to use force to bring the Third Estate back to obedience. The King clandestinely called in 17 regiments, most of them trusted Swiss or German mercenaries, ostensibly to protect property in case of mob violence in Paris, but in reality to intimidate the Constituent Assembly.

Thus, the judicial and peaceful revolution had finally miscarried. The King's appeal to the military emphasized the refusal of the aristocracy to make any concessions. But this was to leave the urban and rural masses out of account. In the summer of 1789, the storming of the Bastille in July and the so-called Great Fear that began July 20 unleashed a popular revolution and brought about the downfall of the *ancien régime*.

The economic crisis had already brought numerous mass disturbances that laid the groundwork for revolution. As early as April, a gunpowder factory and a wallpaper factory in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in Paris had been sacked and pillaged. Earlier still, the harvest of 1788 had been a particularly bad one. Outbreaks at markets, looting of shipments of grain. and attacks on customs barriers multiplied. All this was taking place as the convocation of the Estates-General was raising immense hopes among the masses. Against this background, the action of the King and aristocrats in calling up the military and preventing a renewal of resistance logically gave rise to the notion of an "aristocratic conspiracy" and led the people to decide to act before the aristocrats could attack. Popular feeling intensified and spread, unnerving the troops and the mounted constabulary, inflaming the atmosphere of the cities. On the eve of the harvest of 1789 the crisis reached its peak. The idea of an aristocratic conspiracy and the fact of economic crisis became united in the popular mind. The people were no

longer in doubt that the King meant to use force to disperse the National Assembly, in which lay all their hopes.

On the afternoon of July 12, 1789, the news of the King's dismissal of Jacques Necker, who was thought of as a reformer, became known in Paris. The theatres closed, and there were spontaneous street demonstrations. On July 13 the electors of the Third Estate ordered the creation of a "civic militia," in theory to guard the public safety but, in fact, to be a "bourgeois militia," directed against the excesses of the royal power and its regular troops on the one hand and the threat from social categories considered dangerous on the other.

Fall of the Bastille

On July 14, 1789, after pillaging the armory at the Invalides, a mob made its way to the Bastille, an old fortress on the east side of Paris that had come to symbolize the despotism of the *ancien régime*. Artisans and journeymen of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, reinforced by members of the bourgeois militia and by two detachments of French guards, forced the governor, Bernard Jordan, marquis de Launay, to capitulate. He ordered the drawbridge lowered, and the people rushed in.

Interestingly, the monarchy emerged from these July days singularly disabled. The King recalled Necker and on July 17 went to Paris to sanction the appointment of Bailly as mayor and Lafayette as commandant of a bourgeois municipality and national guard. The Parisian bourgeoisie had thus taken advantage of the popular victory to assume the administration of the capital.

In the provinces, the Parisian revolution of July 14 had counterparts in various actions of the so-called municipal revolution: during the weeks of July and August 1789 the old municipal governments, in fact, disappeared; the administrators abandoned their offices; the collection of taxes was suspended; and the royal power vanished. New municipal governments were established, and local life had a rebirth. France was "municipalized."

The Great Fear

At this point the peasants entered the scene. Famine and unemployment having vastly increased the number of vagabonds, roving bands appeared in numbers in the countryside in the spring of 1789; and the "fear of brigands" was thus added to the fear of the "aristocratic conspiracy." Local incidents brought on a series of panics—the so-called Grande Peur, or Great Fear—which, from July 20 to August 6, 1789, shook the entire country. The fear triggered a "defensive reaction," and the peasants armed themselves. Though the groundlessness of these popular terrors soon became apparent, the mechanisms of collective psychology worked so as to convert a "defensive reaction" to a "punitive will." Abandoning the pursuit of imaginary brigands, the peasants turned instead to the castles and burned the records of their manorial debts and feudal obligations. In only a few days the feudal regime had been overthrown.

The abolition of feudalism. The Constituent Assembly, during this course of events, was powerless and helpless. The majority of its members were men of property, reluctant either to sanction the peasants' actions or to widen the gulf between themselves and the peasantry and put themselves at the mercy of the King and the aristocracy.

The Assembly had no doubts at all concerning the significance of the insurrection in the countryside; breaking out at the height of the harvest season, the insurrection challenged the collection of feudal dues and the very existence of feudal rights and of tithes. Though, in principle, the bourgeoisie opposed these feudal remnants as an obstacle to the capitalistic transformation of agriculture and of the entire economy, in practice the majority of the deputies were jurists who, as such, regarded seigneurial rights as a form of legitimate individual property that could not be abolished without imperilling the social order itself. It was necessary, therefore, either to suppress the agrarian revolts or to make some immediate concessions.

Session of August 4–5

The Third Estate hesitated but finally concluded an alliance with the liberal nobility. At the beginning of a memorable session on the night of August 4, 1789, Louis-Marie, vicomte de Noailles, proposed that all feudal rights should be made redeemable in money or exchanged "at the rate determined by an equitable evaluation." Armand, duc d'Aiguillon, one of the greatest landowners in the country, next insisted that "the rights in question are a form of property" and that "all property is sacred." Hence, the "proprietors of fiefs," the "lords of estates," could not be asked to accept the pure and simple renunciation of their feudal rights, unless they were granted an equitable indemnity. Having thus safeguarded their essential interests, the deputies allowed popular enthusiasm to take over: the feudal privileges of individuals and orders were abolished, together with those of the provinces and the cities.

The "abolition" of feudalism by the Constituent Assembly, however, was more apparent than real. Subsequent decrees (those of August 5–11, 1789, and March 15, 1790) passed in pursuance of the decisions taken on the night of August 4 showed how dubious the unanimity of that night of calculated enthusiasm was and how superficial the sacrifices made by the aristocracy. Feudalism, destroyed only in its institutional and legal form, lived on as an economic reality. In this regard, a distinction between "dominant" and "contractual" feudalism had come into play. The former (*i.e.*, the right to administer justice, serfdom, forced labour and *banalités*, tolls, and hunting and fishing rights) had been abolished; the latter (*i.e.*, quitrents, ground rents, and annual dues, etc.) had been declared redeemable. A further decree of May 3, 1790, set redemption at a very high rate: 20 times the annual fee for dues in money, 25 times for dues in kind—a heavy burden for the majority of the peasants, who had no reserves.

The redemption of feudal rights constituted the economic basis of the compromise with the aristocracy that a segment of the bourgeoisie had sought since 1789—a compromise that greatly favoured the feudal lord. Only the wealthier class of peasant proprietors (peasants who owned land) benefitted economically from the abolition of feudal dues. For the mass of lesser peasants, the abolition of feudalism was, in the words of Georges Lefebvre, "a bitter deception." To obtain complete enfranchisement of the soil, the peasant revolution continued in many forms until 1792 and in some regions until 1793—constituting nothing short of a masked civil war.

The reforms of the Constituent Assembly. On the night of August 4 the Constituent Assembly had made a clean sweep: henceforth all Frenchmen were equal, the territory of France was unified. The next step was one of reconstruction. But if the principles were solemnly proclaimed, they were nevertheless infringed with the same realism that had governed the working out of the compromise on feudalism.

From the beginning of August the Constituent Assembly addressed itself to the task of reconstruction. It was decided that the new constitution being prepared by the Constituent Assembly must be preceded by a declaration of rights; some wanted to supplement it by a declaration of duties, and the discussion proceeded slowly. Finally, on August 27, 1789, the Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The great desideratum of the constituent bourgeoisie was "freedom," in its public and political aspects. According to the Declaration, freedom is an inalienable natural right limited only by the freedom of others. Freedom is seen first of all as freedom of the person: individual freedom, protected from arbitrary accusations and arrests and safeguarded by the presumption of innocence. Masters of their person, men were to be able to speak and write, print and publish freely, on condition only that the expression of opinions not disturb the order established by law, and subject to responsibility for any abuse of the freedom. The article on freedom of worship had been debated at length prior to adoption, the clergy insisting that the Assembly should confirm the existence of a state religion and Mirabeau protesting vigorously in favour of freedom of conscience and worship. In the end, the state church was recognized; but dissident cults were to be tolerated.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

With freedom the declaration closely associated equal-

freedom to own (& security of) property
religious toleration, equality under law

ity, demanded by the bourgeoisie in opposition to the aristocracy and by the peasants in the face of the feudal lords. The declaration held that the law was to be the same for everyone, and all citizens were equal in its eyes. Dignities, offices, and employments had to be equally open to all, without distinction of birth—social distinctions were to be based only on common usefulness, on virtues and talents; taxation was to be equally distributed among all citizens, in proportion to their ability to pay.

On the political plane, the liberalism of the Constituent Assembly found expression in the Constitution of 1791, as it is called, though its principal stipulations actually had been voted as early as the end of 1789. On the basis of national sovereignty and the separation of powers, the Constitution organized a representative system characterized by the predominance of the Legislative Assembly. Political equality, however, was distorted by limiting suffrage on the basis of taxation. By the law of December 22, 1789, political rights had been reserved to a minority of property owners divided into three hierarchized categories according to the amount of taxes they paid: (1) "active" citizens grouped in primary assemblies; (2) "electors" who made up departmental electoral assemblies, and (3) citizens "eligible" for the Legislative Assembly. "Passive" citizens were excluded from the right of suffrage because they did not reach the prescribed level of taxation.

Other work of the Assembly—administrative decentralization, judicial reform, new fiscal organization, and even the reorganization of the church by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 12, 1790)—was in accordance with the same preoccupation with liberalism. In the same vein, the Assembly undertook a complete administrative reorganization of the country into departments, districts, cantons, and communes, in which all administrators were elected, even bishops.

Economic freedom was not mentioned in the Declaration of Rights of 1789 or the Constitution of 1791—presumably because it was taken for granted by the members of the Constituent Assembly and also because the popular masses were profoundly attached to the old system of production and exchange, which, through regulation and taxation, to a certain extent guaranteed their conditions of life. From 1789 this attitude of laissez-faire, or "hands off," provided the foundation for the new economic and social institutions. Freedom of property followed from the abolition of feudalism. Freedom of agriculture heralded the triumph of agrarian individualism, even though a rural code of 1791 maintained—not without contradiction—the old medieval right of villagers to graze their animals on common land if the right was founded on custom. Freedom of production was generalized by the abolition of monopolies and guilds. The Allarde Law of March 2, 1791, abolished journeymen's associations, guilds, and secret societies, and privileged manufactures as well. The national market was unified by the abolition of customs dues and tolls.

Finally, there was freedom of work, indissolubly connected with freedom of enterprise: the Le Chapelier Law of June 14, 1791, though it guaranteed the right of association and of public meetings, prohibited *coalition* (collective resistance) and strikes. The free individual was also free to create and produce, to pursue profit and to employ it as he desired.

The new social and political order was reinforced by two closely connected extreme reform measures enacted to solve the financial crisis. On November 2, 1789, the property of the clergy was confiscated and put "at the disposal of the nation." On December 19, some 400,000,000 livres worth of these confiscated properties were put on sale, represented by an equal amount in assignats, 5 percent bonds constituting an obligation of the state and repayable in ecclesiastical properties. The operation failed, and on August 27, 1790, the assignat became a banknote. The depreciation of this paper currency, inflation, and the high cost of living rekindled social agitation and at the same time struck a hard blow at established wealth. Through the sale of national properties, which the assignat encouraged, the Revolution next moved toward a new redistribution of landed wealth, one that accentuated its social character. It is notable, however, that, like the abolition of feudal rights, the sale of national properties did not benefit the mass of the peasantry; rather, it strengthened the preponderance of the propertied classes.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which was destined to raise new difficulties for the Revolution, fell within the same framework of liberalism: it followed necessarily from the confiscation of ecclesiastical properties, as well as from the reform of the state and the administration. Religious orders were abolished on February 13, 1790, and the organization of the remainder of the clergy was based on the new administrative divisions: a diocese for each department. Bishops and parish priests were elected like other officials—the latter by the electoral assembly of the district, the former by that of the *département*. The newly elected ecclesiastics were "instituted" by their ecclesiastical superiors, not by the Pope. The church of France thus became a national church; its ties to the papacy were loosened; papal briefs were subject to governmental censorship; and annates (payments to Rome) were suppressed. Though the Pope retained spiritual primacy over the French Church, all temporal jurisdiction was taken from him. The Constituent Assembly at first left it to the Pope to sanction the Civil Constitution, but he had already condemned the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen as impious; moreover, Avignon, a papal dependency surrounded by French territory, was demanding to be annexed to France. Pius VI temporized. Tired of waiting, on November 27, 1790, the Constituent Assembly demanded that all priests swear loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Only seven bishops took the oath. The priests divided into two groups, more or less equal in numbers but unevenly distributed: "refractories," or "nonjurors," in the west, and "jurors," or "constitutionals," a majority in the southeast. When, on March 10 and April 13, 1791, the Pope solemnly condemned the principles of the Revolution and the Civil Constitution, the schism was complete. The country was thus cut in two. The refractory opposition strengthened the counter-revolutionary agitation, and the religious conflict came to parallel that of the civil sphere.

Papal condemnation

THE RADICALIZATION OF THE REVOLUTION, 1791–93

The end of compromise. The constitutional monarchy as the bourgeoisie had sought to establish it had been based on an economic and social compromise represented by the redemption of feudal rights and on a system of suffrage based on taxation that sanctioned the rights of property and propertied classes. But this compromise finally became impossible in the face of the obstinate resistance of the mass of the lesser nobles, who for the most part lived on feudal dues, and that of the stubborn and aggressive determination of the peasants to abolish all survivals of the feudal system. Under these conditions, the social stabilization that would have allowed the constitutional monarchy to function was impossible.

From 1789 to 1791 the various bourgeois factions of the Constituent Assembly tried to arrive at a political compromise with the aristocracy. Three leaders in the Assembly are associated with these attempts: Jean-Joseph Mounier, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Antoine Barnave.

Mounier, Lafayette, and Barnave

In the summer of 1789, Mounier had thought it possible that the three orders could unite in support of a limited revolution. In September 1789 he had sought the Assembly's approval for a political system that, after the pattern of the English Revolution of 1688, would have set the "notables" (the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie) in a dominant position over the popular masses. The "Monarchicals," or "Anglomaniacs," he led demanded an upper chamber that would have been the fortress of the aristocracy, and, for the king, an absolute veto. The Constituent Assembly refused, and the "Revolution of the Notables" failed. Mounier left Versailles after the October Days of 1789, when a Parisian mob marched there

and forced the royal family to return to Paris, where they could be watched.

Lafayette, whether from ambition or from incomprehension, revived the same policy with a different emphasis: he sought to reconcile the landed aristocracy and the commercial bourgeoisie in the framework of the constitutional monarchy. In 1790 Lafayette completely dominated political life; he triumphed at the Fête de la Fédération of July 14, 1790 (celebrating the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille), which appeared to seal the reconciliation between the monarchy and the nation. But when he showed his true position by approving the extremely harsh repression with which his cousin, François-Claude Armour, marquis de Bouillé, quelled the revolt of the garrison at Nancy in August 1790, his popularity went up in smoke.

Barnave and his friends in the Assembly, Adrien Duport and Charles, comte de Lameth—the Triumvirate—carried on the torch. No one better defined the essence of the political and social compromise that they sought than Barnave in a vehement speech before the Assembly on July 15, 1791:

> Are we going to end the Revolution, are we going to begin it again? . . . One step further it cannot be made without danger; that in the line of liberty the first act that might ensue would be the annihilation of royalty; that in the line of equality the first act that might ensue would be an attack upon property.

In agreement with Lafayette, the triumvirs wanted to revise the constitution, to strengthen its emphasis on property qualifications for suffrage, and to increase the powers of the King. This policy demanded both the support of the aristocrats and the approval of Louis XVI. Its rejection by the aristocracy and the King, the appeal to the other European monarchs, and finally the outbreak of war in April 1792 (see below) once again ruined this policy of compromise.

Except for a minority of liberal nobles, the aristocracy totally rejected reform and remained stubbornly attached to its privileges, its haughty exclusivism, and its feudal mentality. As for the monarchy, its attitude proved, if proof was needed, that it was by its very nature allied to the aristocracy. The appeal to the military upon which the King had decided in the first days of July 1789 would have brought the end of the Revolution if the people had not intervened. The majority of the aristocracy accepted neither the decrees of August 5–11, 1789, nor the Declaration of Rights: not even, that is, the partial destruction of feudalism. It was the popular insurrection of October 1789 that had forced the King to accept the decrees of August. In 1790, while Louis XVI was making use of Lafayette (whom he hated), the aristocracy persisted in resisting, its hopes fed by the plots of émigrés to secure foreign intervention and the beginnings of the counter-revolution. At the same time, agrarian revolts, brought on in many regions by the need to redeem feudal rights, hardened its refusal. The King's unsuccessful attempt to leave the country in 1791, armed gatherings of émigrés on the Rhine, and finally the war that it had been the émigrés' policy to seek from 1791 proved that the monarchy and the aristocracy would betray the nation rather than yield.

For its part, the peasantry no less stubbornly refused the compromise of the redemption of feudalism. Despite the proclamation of the principle of redemption as early as August 4, 1789, those upon whom the burden of feudal dues fell could not begin to envisage their liberation until the passage of the decree of May 3, 1790, which organized the redemption in accordance with the provisions of the law of the preceding March 15. These delays exasperated even the least disaffected. The bad drafting of the decrees of August 5–11, 1789 ("The Constituent Assembly destroys the feudal régime in its entirety . . ."), increased the confusion; the peasants took the text literally and refused further payments. Their disappointment swiftly and inevitably gave way to anger, the more so because the feudal lords insisted on payment not only in the case of the rights that had been maintained, so long as they were not abolished, but also of the arrears due for the abolished rights. Under these conditions, from 1789 to 1792 the peasants were pitted against the aristocracy in a civil war that varied in intensity in the several regions. There were serious disturbances or out-and-out peasant revolts from 1789 in the Aisne, the Norman Bocage, in Anjou, Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, Vivarais, and Roussillon. In January 1790, there were revolts in Quercy, Périgord, and Brittany; in May in the Bourbonnais. Quercy and Périgord were in insurrection again in the winter of 1791–92; in the spring it was the turn of the Gard, the Ardèche, and then of Provence. In equal measure with the popular movements in the towns, the peasant insurrections drove the Revolution forward.

The King's flight to Varennes. The King's attempt to flee the country on June 21, 1791, constituted one of the great turning points of the Revolution. At home, it proved the irreconcilable opposition between aristocratic royalty and the Revolutionary nation: it thus wrecked the experiment with constitutional monarchy. In foreign affairs, it precipitated a conflict that led to war.

About midnight on June 20, Louis XVI, disguised as a valet, left the Tuileries with his family. During the night of June 21–22 he was arrested at Varennes. The royal family was returned to Paris on the evening of June 25, amid a deathly silence, between two files of soldiers with their muskets reversed. It was the "funeral procession of the monarchy."

The Assembly maintained its composure. Creating the fiction that the King had been kidnapped, it quelled popular disturbances by using the National Guard and set about revising the Constitution, increasing its emphasis on property qualifications. The King accepted the Constitution thus revised. On September 14, 1791, he once again swore loyalty to the nation, but his attempted flight had destroyed his credibility. The split between the King and the nation was irremediable.

Meanwhile, Louis's flight and arrest had aroused an intense emotional reaction in monarchical Europe. On August 27, 1791, by the Declaration of Pillnitz, the Habsburg emperor Leopold II and King Frederick William II of Prussia threatened the Revolutionary nation with armed intervention. From that moment, war appeared inevitable.

The outbreak of war. From 1791 war had been the final recourse for the aristocracy and the monarchy. "Instead of a civil war, there will be a foreign war," Louis XVI was to write on December 14, 1791, to his agent, Louis-Auguste Le Tonnelier, baron de Breteuil, "and things will be much the better for it."

In the Legislative Assembly, which, succeeding to the Constituent Assembly, had gone into session on October 1, 1791, war was in fact sought by the left at the urging of new men later known as Girondins, then known as Brissotins, after their leader, Jacques-Pierre Brissot.

The left of the Legislative Assembly was made up of more than 130 deputies, chiefly members of the Club of the Jacobins. It was more particularly guided by two Parisian deputies, the journalist Brissot and the philosopher the Marquis de Condorcet; and it was influenced by a number of brilliant orators elected by the *département* of the Gironde—especially Pierre-Victurnien Vergniaud. Representatives of the upper mercantile bourgeoisie, the Girondins wanted to quash the counter-revolution, particularly to re-establish the value of the assignat—a prime necessity if business was to flourish. The aristocracy wanted war in order to bring about counter-revolution by a defeat; and the business bourgeoisie was not averse to war because supplying the armies constituted a traditional source of large profits. Moreover, both saw that to attack Europe's *ancien régime* would be to launch a final attack on the aristocracy, to unmask it, to bring it to unconditional surrender.

Despite opposition expressed by the future revolutionary leader Robespierre in great speeches ("Begin by turning your eyes back to our internal situation, restore order in your own house, before you carry liberty elsewhere"), on April 20, 1792, the Legislative Assembly declared war "on the king of Bohemia and Hungary," that is, on Austria alone and not on the empire. Though the war did not

fulfill the expectations of either the court or the Gironde, it did help to inflame nationalistic feeling and gave the Gironde an aura of lasting prestige that even the catastrophes that followed could not dim. If the Girondins perished in the end, it was not because they had wanted a war that finally revealed the nation to itself, it was because they had not known how to conduct it.

The overthrow of the monarchy. For in fact the Girondist bourgeoisie proved incapable of conducting this war against the *ancien régime* of Europe by its own unaided efforts; its fear of the popular movement caused it to refuse the cooperation of the people. Robespierre's prophetic warning that it was necessary to destroy aristocracy within the nation before fighting it beyond the frontiers proved to be justified. Military defeats of the spring of 1792, through which the Gironde saw the need for an alliance with the people if victory was to be won, revealed its hesitations if not its duplicity: it consented to appeal to the people—as in the case of the uprising of June 20, 1792—in order to exert pressure on Louis XVI, but only insofar as the people demanded nothing more than the objectives the Girondist bourgeoisie had assigned to them.

The effects of the national crisis combined with those of the economic crisis, and together they revived the popular movement in the spring of 1792. Nationalistic surge and revolutionary thrust were inseparable: a social conflict underlay and exacerbated patriotism. The aristocrats opposed the King to the nation, which they scorned; inside the country they awaited the invader, and those who had gone into exile fought in the enemy ranks. The patriots of 1792 wished to safeguard the heritage of 1789 and carry it further. On the advice of the Girondins themselves, the "passive" (voteless) citizens donned the "cap of liberty," armed themselves with pikes, and formed more and more popular associations.

By raising Revolutionary sentiment to fever pitch, the national crisis revived the social oppositions within the former Third Estate itself. Even more than in 1789 the bourgeoisie became uneasy. The rich were taxed to arm the volunteers, the ravages of inflation continued, and disturbances over provisions increased. The spectre of an "agrarian law" haunted the propertied bourgeoisie. Thus, the line that was soon to separate the Girondins from the more radical Montagnards began to be drawn. Already the deep reasons for what some historians later termed "the national failure" of the Girondins could be perceived: representatives of the bourgeoisie, partisans of economic freedom, they were alarmed by the popular tide that their war policy had raised.

The extremity of the danger was further testimony to both the incapacity of the Girondins and the duplicity of Louis XVI. On July 11, 1792, with the first entry of allied troops onto French soil, the Legislative Assembly declared "the fatherland in danger." But, dreading the popular movement, the Girondist leaders at the same time negotiated with the King, despite the fact that they had accused him of treating with the enemy. While the tide of popular anger swelled, the Girondins hesitated, then took fright in the face of a movement that they had nevertheless contributed to launching. Finally, a popular insurrection of August 10, 1792, which overthrew the monarchy and the Constitution of 1791, began and did its work, if not despite the Girondins, then at least without them.

The insurrection of August 10, 1792, was at once national and social. It was national because of the presence of battalions of *fédérés* from Marseilles and Brittany; it was social because of the participation of the "passive" citizens, who thus demolished the barriers of property qualifications. By bringing about universal suffrage and the arming of passive citizens, this "Second Revolution" integrated the lower classes into the nation and marked the advent of a degree of democracy. After abortive efforts to protest or resist, the former partisans of compromise departed. Lafayette emigrated on August 19, 1792. But, even more, the entrance of the sans-culottes (lower class artisans) onto the stage, by sanctioning the defeat of the Legislative Assembly and the constitutional monarchy, provoked the opposition of a segment of the bourgeoisie. The radicalization of the Revolution brought on new social and political conflicts.

The defeat of the Gironde. The bourgeois Montagnards, realizing that they could not win without the support of the lower classes, allied themselves with the sans-culottes. This intrusion of the people on the political scene presented a serious threat to the interests of the upper bourgeoisie represented by the Gironde. Long months of struggle, from the summer of 1792 to the spring of 1793, were needed before the alliance between Montagnards and sans-culottes would end in the defeat of the failing Gironde.

The conflict became evident immediately after the insurrection of August 10: it crystallized in the desperate opposition between the Gironde and the radical organization that had directed the uprising. The conflict was intensified by the popular invasion of Parisian prisons and the massacre of prisoners from September 2–6, 1792: the insurrectionary leaders did not oppose these killings, and the Girondins accused them of complicity.

It was in this atmosphere of crisis that elections to the National Convention, made necessary by the suspension of the Constitution of 1791, took place. The new assembly met on September 20, 1792—the same day on which the Revolutionary army halted the invasion of the Prussian troops at Valmy, north of Paris. The German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who witnessed the battle, declared, "From this day and this place dates a new era in the history of the world." Elections to the National Convention

On September 21, 1792, the Convention was at first unanimously in favour of abolishing the monarchy, but there soon developed a rift between the radical Montagnards and the conservative Girondins. Though this rivalry was primarily political, it had, despite their common bourgeois loyalties, an undeniable social character. The Girondins were bent upon defending property and economic freedom from the limitations demanded by the sans-culottes: regulation, taxation, requisition, enforced stabilization of the assignat. Profoundly imbued with the feeling of social hierarchies, the Girondins instinctively recoiled from the people; they reserved the monopoly of government and administration to the propertied classes, even when they declared themselves in favour of popular suffrage. Brissot inveighed against the "disorganizers," by which he meant the Montagnards, the Jacobins, the sans-culottes: "those who would level everything—properties, wealth, the price of staples, the various services owed to society."

Robespierre, leader of the Montagnards, attacked the "false patriots," who "want to set up the Republic only for themselves, who seek to govern only for the advantage of the rich." The Montagnards, and especially the Jacobins, sought to give the national reality a positive content that could rally the support of the popular masses. The Jacobin leader Louis de Saint-Just, in a speech on the food supply on November 29, 1792, emphasized the need "to relieve the people from the state of uncertainty and deprivation which corrupts them. You can, in one moment," he added, "give the French people a fatherland" by halting the ravages of inflation, by assuring the people of their subsistence, by "binding together their happiness and their freedom." Robespierre was even more outspoken on December 2, 1792, in a speech on uprisings over grain in Eure-et-Loir:

> And which is the first of these rights? That of existence. The first social law is, therefore, that which assures every member of society of the means of existence; all other laws are subordinate to it.

The necessities of the war and their national sense prompted the Montagnards to join with the sans-culottes; but they would have to be won over by a new social orientation.

The trial of Louis XVI made the conflict between Girondins and Montagnards irreconcilable by defining the new political situation.

The trial began on December 11, with the reading of an act of accusation drawn up by the Jacobin leader Robert Lindet, an account of Louis XVI's duplicity at critical The trial of the King

periods during the Revolution. On December 26, the King's advocate read a speech for the defense, maintaining the thesis of royal inviolability as proclaimed by the Constitution of 1791.

Finally, on January 14, 1793, the Convention deliberated and passed judgment. Unanimously, Louis XVI was found guilty. An "appeal to the people," proposed by the Girondins, was rejected. The death sentence was imposed by a vote of 387 to 334, after an interminable individual roll call. On January 18 the question of reprieve was put to the vote; it was rejected by 380 to 310.

The execution of the King took place on January 21, 1793. It was a decisive blow to monarchist sentiment; it freed the idea of nation from its monarchical form. It made any compromise between the "regicides" and the "appellants" (the deputies who had voted for the appeal to the people) impossible. For the nation, identified with the Republic and founded on the strengthened solidarity between the Montagnard bourgeoisie and the sans-culotte populace, the execution of Louis XVI left no other way of salvation except victory.

The crisis became general: it sealed the fate of the Gironde, which was incapable of overcoming it. On February 1, 1793, the Convention declared war on England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, then, on March 7, on Spain. Foreign reaction against the Revolutionary nation took the form of the so-called First Coalition, the moving spirit of which was England. The republican armies met with a series of defeats in March 1793. Also in March, a counter-revolutionary rebellion against military conscription broke out in the Vendée, in western France. During these crises, the Gironde refused any concession that would have allowed the people to join in a national upsurge. Finally, a new popular insurrection, encouraged by the Montagnards and the Jacobins, overcame the Girondist resistance: the Parisian sections, in revolt from May 31 to June 2, 1793, demanded and obtained the elimination of the Girondist leaders in the Convention. The role of the Parisian populace and the setback to the upper bourgeoisie emphasize the social aspect of this movement: it opened a new phase of the Revolution.

The First Coalition

SUCCESS AT HOME AND ABROAD: THE TERROR AND THERMIDOR, 1793–94

Establishment of the Revolutionary government. The Gironde had scarcely been eliminated before the Convention, now under the leadership of the Montagnards, found itself caught between two fires. Many of the Gironde's deputies fled to the provinces, where they fomented uprisings against the government in Paris. While the counter-revolution on the right gained fresh vigour from these federalist revolts, the popular movement, exacerbated by the high cost of living and the shortage of food, increased its pressure on the Convention from the left. At the same time, the governmental organization showed that it was incapable of controlling the situation: in the Committee of Public Safety, which was soon to become the chief organ of government, the Parisian leader Georges Danton was negotiating instead of fighting. The Montagnards, already hampered by their own contradictory position, hesitated, fearing to yield too much to the people but unable to fight the war without them. For several months the revolutionary initiative came from the popular masses, whose needs and hatreds drove them on: in the course of the summer of 1793, they imposed the major measures of public safety, from the *levée en masse* (the conscription law, August 23, 1793) to the general Maximum (price control law).

A revolutionary government then seemed all the more indispensable in order to discipline the thrust of the masses and to maintain the alliance with the bourgeoisie, which alone could furnish the necessary officials. On this twofold social base—sans-culottes of the cities and the countryside, and Montagnard and Jacobin bourgeoisie—a revolutionary government was organized piece by piece between July and December 1793: its most far-sighted architects were determined at all costs to preserve the unity of the erstwhile Third Estate—that is, the unity of the nation. But the aspirations of the sans-culottes were only too likely to conflict with the interests of the bourgeois leaders of the Revolution. The national danger muted class antagonisms for the time being; but it was forseeable that, as victory became certain, they would reappear.

The popular thrust continued to be exerted in full vigour until the autumn of 1793. It forced the reluctant Convention and its hesitant committees to adopt severe revolutionary measures. On September 11, after great popular demonstrations, a national Maximum was adopted, fixing the price of grain. On the 17th the Law of Suspects was voted. Finally, on September 29, the general Maximum—that is, a controlled economy—was instituted. The essential elements of an emergency regime, at once political and economic, were thus fitted into place, with "coercive force," that is, the Terror, as its essential instrument of control. But what was a victory of the people also had aspects of a governmental success. The popular movement had been canalized and legality safeguarded, when legal terror won the day over direct action by the masses. The Committee of Public Safety, of which Robespierre had been a member from July 27, 1793, had had the foresight to yield in time—but on its own chosen ground: its authority emerged increased. It earlier had got rid of the extreme popular opposition represented by a faction known to moderates as the "Enragés" (madmen). On September 25, in the course of a great debate in the Convention, it silenced the opposition. The results of this governmental consolidation were sanctioned by a decree of October 10, 1793, adopted on a report made by Saint-Just: the Convention declared the government of France "revolutionary until the peace."

From then on, the Terror developed. A series of political trials began in October 1793. On October 3, 22 Girondins were made to appear before the Revolutionary Tribunal, as was Queen Marie-Antoinette, who was guillotined on October 16. When the trial of the Girondins seemed likely to drag on, the Convention decreed that the jurors could pronounce their verdict after three days of discussion; the Girondins were guillotined on October 31. During the last three months of 1793, of 395 accused persons, 117 were sentenced to death. The number of political prisoners in Paris rose from 1,500 about the end of August to 4,595 on December 1, 1793.

During this time, while the Terror was tending to be regularized under increasingly strict control by the Revolutionary government, that government itself had to face a new form of popular radicalism—de-Christianization —which posed a threat to governmental stabilization.

De-Christianization first manifested itself in the *départements*, at the instigation of "representatives on mission" appointed by the Committee of Public Safety. Joseph Fouché, the representative in the Nièvre *département*, forbade all religious ceremonies outside churches, laicized funeral processions and graveyards, the entrances to which he ordered should bear the inscription: "Death is an eternal sleep." At Paris, the Commune acted prudently. The impulse came from elsewhere: de-Christianization was imposed on the Convention from outside. On November 6, 1793, at the demand of the Commune of Mennecy, near Corbeil, the Convention decreed that a commune had the right to renounce the Catholic form of worship. From then on de-Christianization gathered momentum. On November 7 the Archbishop of Paris appeared before the Convention and solemnly resigned his episcopal functions. On November 10 a festival of liberty took place in the former Cathedral of Notre-Dame, which was now consecrated to Reason. In a few days, the tide of de-Christianization carried the Parisian sections with it, and the Paris Commune closed the churches.

At the beginning of December, however, the movement was brought to a halt by Robespierre, who feared that de-Christianization might alienate neutral foreign powers. On December 6, 1793, the Convention passed a solemn decree reaffirming the principle of the freedom of worship. De-Christianization diminished but at different rates in different regions.

Despite the limited nature of its success, the Committee of Public Safety emerged the victor; it had checked the popular movement and had saved itself from being overwhelmed by the de-Christianizers. At about the same time the military situation improved. On October 16, 1793, the Austrians had been defeated at Wattignies; on December 13 and 14 the Vendéan rebels were overwhelmed in the city of Le Mans. These successes were ratified on December 4, 1793 (14 Frimaire, Year II, by the new French Revolutionary Calendar) by a constitutive decree of the Revolutionary government. The logic of events led inevitably to reconstituting administrative centralization, to strengthening the authority of the government—a necessary condition for the victory so stubbornly pursued by the Committee of Public Safety.

The Revolutionary government, 1793–94. From December 1793 to July 1794 and the so-called Thermidorian reaction, the dictatorship of the Revolutionary government was no longer contested and, indeed, enjoyed a certain stability. The theory of the Revolutionary government was developed especially by Saint-Just in a report of October 10, 1793, and by Robespierre in a report on the principles of the Revolutionary government (December 25, 1793) and one on the principles of political morality that should guide the Convention (February 5, 1794).

The Revolutionary government was a war government: "Revolution is the war waged by liberty against its enemies," wrote Robespierre. Because it is at war, "the revolutionary government requires an extraordinary activity, it must act like a thunderbolt." Hence it has at its command "coercive force," that is, the Terror. "Is force," asked Robespierre, "then made to protect crime?" But the Terror has a corrective—"virtue, the fundamental principle of democratic and popular government." Virtue, "which is to say, love of the fatherland and its laws, the magnanimous devotion which submerges all private interests in the general interest."

The Convention remained "the one centre of impulse of the government." It possessed supreme authority, and the Committees governed under its control. The Committee of Public Safety, re-elected each month, was "at the centre of execution"; the constituted bodies and the public functionaries were "under its immediate purview"; it directed diplomacy and the war, general policy, and the national economy. If certain members of the Committee specialized in certain activities, all of its members together shared in directing policy and conducting the war. As for the Committee of General Security, also re-elected each month, in accordance with the Law of Suspects of September 17, 1793, it had "under its particular purview". . ."everything relating to persons and to the general and internal police." This Committee directed the political police and Revolutionary justice—it was the minister of the Terror.

The Terror constituted a means of national and revolutionary defense. In the face of an ever-resurgent aristocratic conspiracy, it manifested the "defensive reaction" and the "punitive will" of the Third Estate, though henceforth disciplined by the laws and controlled by the government. Statistical studies made in 1935, by an American historian, Donald Greer, confirm this characterization. The Terror was particularly severe in those areas in which the counter-revolution reached the point of armed insurrection and overt treason. Only 15 percent of the death sentences were pronounced in Paris; 71 percent of the victims of the Terror were attributable to the two chief centres of civil war (19 percent in the southeast, 52 percent in the west). The grounds for the death sentences agree with this regional distribution; in 72 percent of the cases, they reflected armed rebellion. Like the civil war of which it was only an aspect, the Terror purged the new nation of persons considered unassimilable because they were aristocrats or had cast their lot with the aristocracy: 85 percent of them belonged to the Third Estate, 8.5 percent to the nobility, and 6.5 percent to the clergy. In another sense, the Terror contributed to the development of a feeling of national solidarity: for the moment, it muted class antagonisms and imposed on all alike the sacrifices required by the public safety. In particular, it made it possible to impose the controlled economy necessary to the war effort and to the salvation of the nation. In this sense it was a decisive factor for victory.

Control of the economy

The controlled economy instituted by the Convention in the autumn of 1793 was less a reflection of a theoretical concept of social organization than it was a requirement of national defense. It was a matter of feeding, equipping, and arming the men of the *levée en masse*, of provisioning the populations of the cities, when external commerce was reduced to almost nothing by the blockade of France by foreign powers. Requisition fell upon all the material resources of the country, limiting freedom of enterprise. The peasant contributed his grains, his fodder, his wool, his hemp; the artisan, the product of his labour. Under certain exceptional circumstances civilians contributed arms, shoes, blankets, or sheets. All enterprises worked for the nation, under the supervision of the state, in order that production should be at the maximum. Taxation was the necessary complement to requisition. The economic controls of the general Maximum were imposed on commodities of prime necessity (the prices of 1790 increased by one-third) and on wages (the rate of 1790 increased by one-half). At the same time, ceilings were placed on profits: 5 percent for the wholesaler, 10 percent for retailers. Taxation checked speculation and restricted freedom of profit. Nationalization affected production in various degrees—especially the production of armaments and of war matériel in general, as well as foreign commerce—but essentially in proportion to military needs; the Committee of Public Safety refused to nationalize the provisioning of the civil population.

Yet the outlines of social democracy were beginning to appear. Saint-Just brilliantly defined this orientation: "There should be neither rich nor poor." It was not a question of abolishing private property but of limiting the right of inheritance and giving access to property to those who were without it. This led to the sale of national properties in small lots payable in 10 years and the free distribution of common lands in equal shares among the inhabitants of each community. Decrees of Ventôse (February 26 and March 3, 1794) provided that "indigent patriots" should be indemnified by distribution of properties confiscated from counter-revolutionaries. This social legislation was completed by a "law of national beneficence" (May 11, 1794)—nothing short of social security in embryo, for the benefit of the elderly and the sick, of mothers and widows burdened with children. "Let Europe learn that you will no longer tolerate the wretched or an oppressor on French soil," Saint-Just had declared. But to secure this social program at home it was necessary that French armies be victorious abroad.

It was to the republican armies that the Revolutionary government finally devoted all its energies. In the spring of 1794 the troop strength comprised more than 1,000,000 men divided into 12 armies. The officer corps had been purged of anti-Revolutionary elements, discipline had been re-established, and military command was closely subordinated to the civil power. Tactics and strategy had been transformed in accordance with the new political and social necessities. In the spring of 1794, the Revolutionary government had at its disposal an incomparable instrument of war. But it did not survive the victory.

Fall of the Revolutionary government. In the fall of 1793, the liquidation of the "Enragés," the halting of de-Christianization, and the veiled attacks against popular sectional organizations in Paris testified to the Revolutionary government's determination to dissociate itself from the popular movement, which, until then, it had followed rather than directed. But it thereby also put itself at the mercy of the Convention, on which it no longer had any means of exerting pressure, and left itself open to attack by its enemies both in and outside the Assembly and in public opinion. Danton, in supporting Robespierre in the matter of de-Christianization, had not been without an ulterior motive; for him, it was a means

of mitigating the Terror and slowing down the Revolution. Danton's "indulgent" policy was opposed at every point to the popular program of economic controls, all-out war, and extreme terror supported by the Cordeliers. The government attack on de-Christianization and the lessening of the Terror in the *départements* from January 1794 were indications that the governmental committees, though without proscribing the extremists as the "Indulgents" demanded, were at least determined to restrict them little by little. The committees' continued attempt to undermine the popular Parisian organizations, the organ of the pro-sectional democracy, was a part of this program: in this way, they would have moderated the Terror while at the same time preserving it as an instrument. The attitude of the government finally favoured the "indulgent" offensive of the Dantonists.

At the end of the winter of 1793–94 the distinctive features that had evolved in the course of events from the establishment of the Revolutionary government hardened into a fixed pattern. While regulation, taxation, and the control of the economy—all demanded by the sans-culottes and opposed by the propertied classes—barely succeeded in ensuring the provisioning of the Parisian population, except for bread, the requirements of national defense, together with a bourgeois conception of political power, led the Revolutionary government increasingly to assure itself of the passive obedience of the popular organizations and to reduce the sans-culottist democracy to the Jacobin standard. Thus, the end of the winter saw the rise of a twofold social and political unrest that affected the Parisian populace in its material existence and its revolutionary behaviour.

The conflict between the "extremist" and the "indulgent" factions was intensified, the situation at Paris worsened, and a popular explosion appeared probable. The moment seemed favourable to the radical patriots, led by the Cordeliers, for an act that would rid them of the Moderates and impose their own representatives on the governmental committees and on the Convention. On 24 Ventôse, Year II (March 4, 1794), the Cordeliers proclaimed the necessity for a "sacred insurrection," but the Parisian populace did not follow them. The attempt gave the Revolutionary government the occasion to end its immobility, however: it got rid of the twofold opposition. Arrested, tried, and sentenced, the Cordeliers were guillotined on March 24, 1794. They remain known to history as the Hébertists, from the name of Jacques Hébert, editor of *Le Père Duchesne*, the spokesman for the popular masses. The liquidation of the Indulgents followed: the government committees had no intention of letting themselves be overwhelmed from the right. During the night of March 29–30, the Parisian leaders Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and others were arrested and taken before the Revolutionary Tribunal; they were guillotined on April 5, 1794.

Elimination of opposition

The drama of the Revolutionary calendar month of Germinal was decisive. The situation evolved at headlong speed. The condemnation of the Cordeliers made the sans-culottes lose faith in the Revolutionary government. Despite the executions of Danton and the moderate Indulgents, acts of repression against militants followed the great trials of Germinal, Year II (April 1794). Though of a limited nature, this repression developed a fear complex that paralyzed popular political life. Direct contact between the sans-culottes of the Parisian sections and the Revolutionary government had been broken off.

Freed from all opposition, the Revolutionary government embarked on a far-reaching attempt to regularize institutions and to unify political forces. In the face of the urgent national danger, it had consented to ally itself with the sans-culottes. But it had never accepted their social goals or their political methods. From Germinal to Thermidor (April to July 1794), centralization was increased and the Terror was intensified, especially by a law of 22 Prairial, Year II (June 10, 1794), known as the law of the Great Terror. The purged administrative authorities obeyed; the Convention voted without discussion. But what the Revolutionary government gained in "coercive force" it lost in support. Even the victory won by the Revolutionary armies at Fleurus (June 26, 1794) was unable to revive popular enthusiasm. Under a factitious unity, indifference or hostility took possession of the popular mind. "The Revolution is frozen," Saint-Just wrote.

The governmental committees, by mitigating the popular movement, had delivered themselves from the fear of an insurrection; but at the same time they freed the Convention and deprived themselves of an instrument of pressure. With victory becoming more certain, there was less reason for the Convention to bear its continued rule. Between the Convention fretting under the yoke and the implacably hostile sans-culottes, the Revolutionary government was as if suspended in the void.

It was under these conditions that there arose a governmental crisis that hastened the downfall of the Revolutionary government: the government committees quarrelled and brought about their own ruin. The Committee of General Security took it ill that the Committee of Public Safety was encroaching on the duties assigned to it. In the Committee of Public Safety itself, division crept in, isolating the Robespierrist group. Robespierre resolved to lay the dispute before the Convention.

The end came quickly. On 8 Thermidor Robespierre attacked his enemies before the Convention without naming them: all felt that they were lost. They counter-attacked the next day, 9 Thermidor, Year II (July 27, 1794): a coalition without principles made up of bribed deputies, predatory Terrorists, Indulgents, Moderates, a variety of extremists. Robespierre was ordered arrested. An attempted insurrection by the Paris Commune having failed, he was declared an outlaw. On 10 Thermidor, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and their partisans were guillotined without trial.

Fall of Robespier

It was the end of the Revolution.

RETRENCHMENT AND STABILIZATION, EUROPEAN WAR, AND THE RISE OF NAPOLEON, 1795–99

The Thermidorian reaction and the rule of the Notables, 1794–95. The Thermidorian period is marked by confused rivalries, whose cross-purposes cannot hide the reality that was at stake: the "men of substance"—soon to be called the Notables—were determined to eliminate from political life the sans-culottes, the artisans, shopkeepers, and journeymen who had temporarily imposed their will upon them. As in 1793, the parliamentary struggles that pitted a radical Montagnard minority against an increasingly large conservative majority, were fundamentally paralleled by a similar conflict in society as a whole. But the popular movement, which had been an accelerating factor of the Revolution in 1793, was now disorganized and on the defensive, only able to fight in retreat.

Central to the Thermidorian policy of reaction was the abandonment of the directed economy. The Convention had accepted the Maximum only under the pressure of popular demonstrations; every sector of the bourgeoisie considered it inimical to its interests. The dislocation of the Revolutionary government and the end of the Terror necessarily brought on a slackening in controls over the economy and, finally, on December 24, 1794, the abolition of the Maximum. But the abandonment of economic restraints brought on the collapse of the assignat and the rise of severe inflation. Debtors and speculators grew rich while creditors (paid in assignats) and bourgeois of the *ancien régime* (living on fixed incomes) were ruined irretrievably. Inflation completed the social revolution. Meanwhile, the masses of the people were engulfed in despair. The winter of the Year III (1794–95) was extremely severe and only increased the wretchedness of the poor. In Paris, because of the scarcity of staples and distrust of the assignat, the price of food and fuel rose alarmingly. On the basis of 100 for 1790, the Parisian cost-of-living index rose from 580 in January 1795 to 720 in March and to 900 in April. In the spring of 1795, despair changed to rage, then to revolt.

Aba men con eco

After the defeat of a first attempt at insurrection on 12 and 13 Germinal, Year III (April 1 and 2, 1795), the people of the Parisian faubourgs (quarters) of Saint-

The last wall

The last wall, built by Adolphe Thiers for Louis-Philippe, was a genuine military installation with outlying forts. By the time it was finished it enclosed more than a dozen hamlets outside Paris: Vaugirard, Grenelle, Auteuil, Passy, Les Batignolles, Montmartre, La Chapelle, La Villette, Belleville, Charonne, Gobelins and Observatoire. Post-Revolutionary rebuilding and post-Napoleonic economic recovery, with expansion of employment due to the Industrial Revolution, drew more and more people to Paris, and—as railways developed—with ever-increasing facility. In 1851 the city population had reached 1,053,000. Between 1852 and 1870 Haussmann razed the walls of the *fermiers généraux* and built the *boulevards extérieures*. Parisians numbered 1,852,000 in 1872, and 2,447,000 20 years later. The 1845 walls were finally knocked down and made into boulevards yet more exterior in 1925. By that year the population, after reaching a peak in 1921, had already begun the decline which has continued ever since.

Île Saint-Louis. In 1627, Louis XIII accorded a 60-year lease on two mudbanks behind the Île de la Cité to a contractor, Christophe Marie, and two financiers. It was 37 years before Marie was able to unite the islets, dike the circumference, lay out a central avenue with 10 lateral streets, and rent space to some householders. The Church of Saint-Louis-en-l'Île was begun the same year, 1664, but one of the finest houses, by Le Vau (who designed the Academy buildings), was completed in 1640. Another, the Hôtel de Lauzun, a few yards upstream on the Quai d'Anjou, was completed in 1657 and is used by the municipality to receive illustrious visitors. A great number of the houses on the island are originals. The Pont Marie to the Right Bank, completed as part of the contract, is—though modified for modern traffic—the original span. In 1740 it was the first of the bridges to lose the houses and shops along its back.

The Île Saint-Louis is one part of the mythical Paris that still exists in reality. Tranquil and lovely, it has matchless views of Notre-Dame, maintains its intimacy with the Seine, and constitutes a genuine neighbourhood with a disproportionate number of writers, artists, actors, and musicians among the residents.

The Bastille. The road off the upper end of the Île Saint-Louis leads to the Place de la Bastille on the Right Bank. From the river to the *place* runs a canal, the Bassin de l'Arsenal, which brought water to the moat around the Bastille. Under the Place de la Bastille the waterway continues underground for almost a mile, then emerges to form the Canal Saint-Martin, which, with its bridges and locks, and its barges sailing slowly down the centre of city streets, makes one of the least known and most picturesque sections of Paris. In 1972 traffic engineers were threatening to drain the water and make the canal into a highway.

The capture of the Bastille on July 14, 1789 (since annually celebrated), was a symbolic blow at tyranny rather than an act of liberation for tyranny's victims. The prison, virtually unused for years and scheduled for demolition by the monarchy, held on that July 14 but four counterfeiters, two madmen, and a young aristocrat who had displeased his father.

Napoleon had the *place* laid out in 1803. It was to be one of the stations on a triumphal way from the Place de la Nation (which lies to the east) to the Arch of Triumph at the Étoile. The neighbourhood between Bastille and Nation, the rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine, has been one of skilled craftsmen since the mid-15th century, when the self-governing royal abbey gave space within its wide domains to those cabinetmakers who refused to abide by the restrictions of Paris guilds as to styles and types of wood to be used. The Faubourg was always among the first to revolt when revolution was in the air and was noted for the speed with which it raised barricades of impressive height. In the 1970s the Faubourg's character was changing because the small workshop, like the small grocery shop, was being squeezed to death by economic pressures.

The Marais. To the west of the Bastille lies a triangle of terrain which has its base along the river up to City Hall (Hôtel de Ville) and its apex just short of the Place de la République to the north. It keeps its name—*le marais* ("marsh")—from the Middle Ages, and because it became the market garden of Paris, it gave its name to all market gardens in France (*culture maraîchère*). Extension of the city walls along the Right Bank led to diking of the shore and drainage of the soil. In 1107 the Knights Templars established their Paris Temple, a vast fortified enclosure, at the top of the triangle. In 1360, Charles V moved into his new royal residence in the lower right-hand corner, where the rue de Lions marks the former location of the menageries.

Charles VII preferred to live just behind the Bastille, in the Hôtel des Tournelles, which Henry II had had enlarged and beautified by Philibert Delorme in 1550. Great nobles, such as the dukes of Guise and Lorraine, followed the King and had palaces built in the vicinity. When Henry II was killed in a joust on the rue Saint-Antoine in 1559, his widow, Catherine de Médicis, had the Tournelles razed. On the site, in 1607, construction began on the first residential square to be designed in Paris (others had arisen accidentally at wide crossroads). Henry IV had it built "to fill in the blanks" within the city's walls and reserved a house for himself among those he commanded "builded of a same cimettry for the decoration of the towne." They are three stories high, red brick with white-stone quoins (solid-corner angles) and window surrounds, the ground floors forming arcades over the sidewalks, still standing in full state and grace. Completed in 1612, the square was named la Place Royale, known to the thronging public simply as La Place. Another wave of building by the rich, anxious to be close to a royal project, endowed the Marais with 200 more private palaces. In 1800 the name was changed to Place des Vosges, which it is still called.

The first residential square

In 1792 the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were turned out of the Temple that had been given to them in 1313 when the Templar order was dissolved. On August 13, 1792, the Royal family was incarcerated in the keep, the King was taken off to his death January 21, 1793, and the Queen removed to the Conciergerie August 2 (execution October 16). Two years later the death of the Dauphin—from maltreatment and malnutrition—was announced, but there are those who still believe that the 10-year-old child buried at the Church of Sainte-Marguerite, on the rue Saint-Bernard, was a substitute for the heir to the throne.

The Temple keep, a possible rallying point for royalists, was levelled in 1808, and in 1857 Haussmann installed on the site the *mairie* (town hall) of the third *arrondissement* and the Square du Temple.

After the 17th-century building boom the Marais remained virtually untouched, and three-quarters of the buildings there date from before 1870. Toward the end of the 19th century, while some of the oldest and most imposing of the palaces were being knocked down by private entrepreneurs, other private owners managed to restore a few mansions, and the nation and the municipality also restored a handful of fine buildings. The district became a dumping ground for Jewish refugees from eastern Europe, and to profit from the poverty-stricken newcomers scores of fine houses were subdivided into tiny apartments, with workshops on the lower floors and in courtyard sheds. In 1970 there were still 7,000 shops and workshops in the district, with 40,000 employees, although one of the prime industries, textiles and clothing, was rapidly diminishing. Through centuries of neglect the Marais became one of the worst slums in Paris: in the early 1970s there was no running water in 30 percent of the dwellings, 10 percent had no electric light, and 60 percent were without toilets. Cleaving to the pattern of bygone ages, buildings cover more than 85 percent of the area, compared with a city-wide average of 55 percent land occupation. Despite a population decline of 19 percent between 1962 and 1968, it remains the most densely inhabited part of Paris, some streets attaining a density of 5,800 inhabitants per acre (2,000 per hectare), the Paris average being 240 per acre.

Degeneration of the Marais into a slum

In 1969 the Municipal Council approved the creation

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Centennial of the Statue of Liberty

Remarks During the Review of Operation sail.

1986 Pub. Papers, 909

July 4, 1986

LENGTH: 488 words

Thank you, Lee, and thank you all. It's been said that we Americans count our blessings too seldom. But not this weekend. This weekend we celebrate, my friends, we cut loose.

The procession that we are about to witness will be as colorful as fireworks, as majestic as Lady Liberty herself. I hear you. n1 [Laughter] It will speak to us of the past, of the days when great ships like these dropped anchor in our harbors to unload tea from China, whale oil from open seas, and, yes, immigrants from around the world. It will speak to us of present and future amity between our nation and the many nations that have sent ships here today to lend their beauty -- the curve of their hulls, the lines of their masts and rigging as they stand out against the sea, the sky -- to our rejoicing.

n1 The President referred to the sounding of a ship's horn.

Passing in review today we see more than 20 of the 30 or so tall ships that are left in the world. The U.S. Coast Guard bark Eagle will lead the procession. Schooners, barks, brigantines, and ketches from more than 30 countries are entering the harbor.

Somehow, men have always found moving the sight of these vessels of wood and metal and canvas. Indeed, some centuries ago one writer of proverbs described as "wonderful the way of a ship in the midst of a sea." Perhaps it has something to do with the knowledge that nothing binds sailing ships, nothing holds them back, that they can travel anywhere across the vast and trackless sea. Perhaps, indeed, these vessels embody our conception of liberty itself; to have before one no impediments, only open spaces; to chart one's own course and take the adventure of life as it comes; to be free as the wind -- as free as the tall ships themselves.

It's fitting, then, that this procession should take place in honor of Lady Liberty. And as the wind swells the sails, so too may our hearts swell with pride that all that Liberty's sons and daughters have accomplished in this the land of the free.

This spectacle has been literally years in the planning. On behalf of the American people I want to thank Ambassador Bus Mosbacher and his entire Operation Sail staff for making this international celebration, this stately salute to Liberty.

And now, Bus, where are you? Come forward.

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Note: The President spoke at 10:59 a.m. on Governors Island. He was introduced by Lee Iacocca, chairman of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island Foundation. Emil Mosbacher, Jr., was the chairman of Operation Sail.

Prior to President Reagan's remarks, he and President Mitterrand were presented first day issue stamps commemorating the Statue of Liberty by Alain Madelin, French Director of Posts, and Albert V. Casey, U.S. Postmaster General, respectively.

Earlier in the morning, the President went to the U.S.S. Iowa in New York Harbor to view the International Naval Review.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

International Issues

Informal Exchange With Reporters at a Meeting With President Francois Mitterrand of France.

1986 Pub. Papers, 910

July 4, 1986

LENGTH: 533 words

Q. Mr. President, are you going to send a message to Mr. Gorbachev with French President Mitterrand?

President Reagan. I don't think that would be appropriate to impose on him. He has his own matters -- other countries --

Q. What would you like him to say, though?

Q. Will you discuss with him today the East-West relationship?

President Reagan. Oh, I think we'll talk about things like that, yes.

Q. What would you like him to express to Mr. Gorbachev about your view toward a summit and an arms control agreement?

President Reagan. As I say, we each have our own relationships with our countries and --

Q. Are you concerned that he is not more supportive of strategic defense than he is -- President Mitterrand?

President Reagan. We have a very happy relationship.

Q. Mr. Gorbachev, in his latest speech, said that you are still -- the United States -- still not serious about arms control.

President Reagan. Well, then he's just misinformed.

Q. Mr. Reagan, do you know --

Q. When will you send your own message to Mr. Gorbachev? When will you respond to his letter?

President Reagan. We're meeting and talking about that right now.

Q. Are you going to resolve the differences between Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger on how to respond to Mr. Gorbachev? [Laughter]

President Reagan. You see them here. My right and my left hand. [Laughter] I would be lost without either one of them. [Laughter]

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Q. Mr. President, why aren't you letting the boxing team go to the Soviet Union?

Mr. Speakes. n1 Okay, that's it. That's all. Sorry. Open the door, and go.

n1 Larry M. Speakes, Principal Deputy Press Secretary to the President.

Q. Mr. President, why aren't you letting the boxing team go to the Soviet Union?

President Reagan. I think I can answer that very easily. That happens to be a commercial undertaking, and it is a military team. And we cannot use the military in that sense in a commercial undertaking.

Q. The Fourth of July celebration last night, sir -- a commercial undertaking.

Q. Why is it different?

Q. ABC -- Wolper sold it --

President Reagan. Coverage of that kind -- but the ceremony would have gone on if there was no coverage.

Q. President Mitterrand, what would you like to tell General Secretary Gorbachev?

Mr. Speakes. We've ended the photo op, Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News], I'm sorry. Go. Out.

Q. I've seen enough.

Mr. Speakes. Leave. Leave. Let's go.

Q. President Mitterrand is trying to answer.

President Mitterrand. When I get back, I will explain the answer to your question.

Q. Merci.

Note: The exchange began at 12:30 p.m. at the Admiral's Residence on Governors Island. President Reagan and President Mitterrand attended a working luncheon at the residence. During their meeting, President Mitterrand presented President Reagan with the deed to the Statue of Liberty, reenacting the presentation which took place between representatives of France and the United States more than 100 years ago.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Centennial of the Statue of Liberty

Remarks at the Opening Ceremonies.

1986 Pub. Papers, 907

July 3, 1986

LENGTH: 1396 words

Thank you. And Lee Iacocca, n1 thank you on behalf of all of America. President and Madam Mitterrand, my fellow Americans, the iron workers from New York and New Jersey who came here to begin restoration work were at first puzzled and a bit put of to see foreign workers, craftsmen from France, arrive. Jean Wiart, the leader of the French workers, said his countrymen understood. After all, he asked, how would Frenchmen feel if Americans showed up to help restore the Eiffel Tower?

n1 Lee Iacocca was chairman of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island Foundation, which was responsible for raising funds for the restoration of the statue.

But as they came to know each other -- these Frenchmen and Americans -- affections grew; and so, too, did perspectives. The Americans were reminded that Miss Liberty, like the many millions she's welcomed to these shores, is of foreign birth, the gift of workers, farmers, and shopkeepers and children who donated hundreds of thousands of francs to send here. They were the ordinary people of France. This statue came from their pockets and from their hearts.

The French workers, too, made discoveries. Monsieur Wiart, for example, normally lives in a 150-year-old cottage in a small French town, but for the last year he's been riding the subway through Brooklyn. "A study in contrasts," he said -- contrasts indeed. But he has also told the newspapers that he and his countrymen learned something else at Liberty Island. For the first time, they worked in proximity with Americans of Jewish, black, Italian, Irish, Russian, Polish, and Indian backgrounds. "Fascinating," he said, "to see different ethnic and national types work and live so well together."

Well, it's how we like to think of America. And it's good to know that Miss Liberty is still giving life to the dream of a new world where old antagonisms could be cast aside and people of every nation could live together as one.

It's especially fitting that this lesson should be relived and relearned here by Americans and Frenchmen. President Mitterrand, the French and American people have forged a special friendship over the course of two centuries. Yes, in the 1700's, France was the midwife of our liberty. In two World Wars, America stood with France as she fought for the life and for civilization. And today, Mr. President, with infinite gentleness, your countrymen tend the final resting places, marked now by rows of white crosses and stars, of more than 60,000 Americans who remain on French soil, a reminder since the days of Lafayette of our mutual struggles and sacrifices for freedom. So, tonight, as we celebrate the friendship of our two nations, we also pray: May it ever be so. God bless America, and vive la France.

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And yet, my fellow Americans, it is not only the friendship of two peoples but the friendship of all peoples that brings us here tonight. We celebrate something more than the restoration of this statue's physical grandeur. Another worker here, Scott Aronsen, a marble restorer, has put it well: "I grew up in Brooklyn and never went to the Statue of Liberty. But when I first walked in there to work, I thought about my grandfathers coming through here. And which of us does not think of other grandfathers and grandmothers, from so many places around the globe, for whom this statue was the first glimpse of America.

"She was silhouetted very clear," one of them wrote about standing on deck as their ship entered New York Harbor. "We passed her very slowly. Of course we had to look up. She was beautiful." Another talked of how all the passengers rushed to one side of the boat for a fast look at their new home and at her. "Everybody was crying. The whole boat bent toward her. She was beautiful with the early morning light."

To millions returning home, especially from foreign wars, she was also special. A young World War captain of artillery described how, on a troopship returning from France, even the most hard-bitten veteran had trouble blinking back the tears. "I've never seen anything that looked so good," that doughboy, Harry Truman, wrote to his fiancee, Bess, back in Independence, Missouri, "as the Liberty Lady in New York Harbor."

And that is why tonight we celebrate this mother of exiles who lifts her light beside the golden door. Many of us have seen the picture of another worker here, a tool belt around his waist, balanced on a narrow metal rod of scaffolding, leaning over to place a kiss on the forehead of Miss Liberty. Tony Soraci, the grandson of immigrant Italians, said it was something he was proud to do, "something to tell my grandchildren."

Robert Kearney feels the same way. At work on the statute after a serious illness, he gave $10,000 worth of commemorative pins to those who visited here. Part of the reason, he says, was an earlier construction job over in Hoboken and his friend named Blackie. They could see the harbor from the building where they were working on, and every morning Blackie would look over the water, give a salute, and say, "That's my gal."

Well, the truth is, she's everybody's gal. We sometimes forget that even those who came here first to settle the new land were also strangers. I've spoken before of the tiny Arabella, a ship at anchor just off the Massachusetts coast. A little group of Puritans huddled on the deck. And then John Winthrop, who would later become the first Governor of Massachusetts, reminded his fellow Puritans there on that tiny deck that they must keep faith with their God, that the eyes of all the world were upon them, and that they must not forsake the mission that God had sent them on, and they must be a light unto the nations of all the world -- a shining city upon a hill.

Call it mysticism if you will, I have always believed there was some divine providence that placed this great land here between the two great oceans, to be found by a special kind of people from every corner of the world, who had a special love for freedom and a special courage that enabled them to leave their own land, leave their friends and their countrymen, and come to this new and strange land to build a new world of peace and freedom and hope.

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Lincoln spoke about hope as he left the hometown he would never see again to take up the duties of the Presidency and bring America through a terrible civil war. At each stop on his long train ride to Washington, the news grew worse: The Nation was dividing; his own life was in peril. On he pushed, undaunted. In Philadelphia he spoke in Independence Hall, where 85 years earlier the Declaration of Independence had been signed. He noted that much more had been achieved there than just independence from Great Britain. It was, he said, "hope to the world, future for all time."

Well, that is the common thread that binds us to those Quakers on the tiny deck of the Arabella, to the beleaguered farmers and landowners signing the Declaration in Philadelphia in that hot Philadelphia hall, to Lincoln on a train ready to guide his people through the conflagration, to all the millions crowded in the steerage who passed this lady and wept at the sight of her, and those who've worked here in the scaffolding with their hands and with their love -- Jean Wiart, Scott Aronsen, Tony Soraci, Robert Kearney, and so many others.

We're bound together because, like them, we too dare to hope -- hope that our children will always find here the land of liberty in a land that is free. We dare to hope too that we'll understand our work can never be truly done until every man, woman, and child shares in our gift, in our hope, and stands with us in the light of liberty -- the light that, tonight, will shortly cast its glow upon her, as it has upon us for two centuries, keeping faith with a dream of long ago and guiding millions still to a future of peace and freedom.

And now we will unveil that gallant lady. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 9:28 p.m. on Governors Island. His remarks concluded with the illumination of the Statue of Liberty. The President then bestowed Medals of Liberty on Henry A. Kissinger, Franklin R. Chang-Diaz, I. M. Pei, Itzhak Perlman, James B. Reston, Kenneth Clark, Albert B. Sabin, An Wang, Elie Wiesel, Bob Hope, and Hanna Holburn Gray.

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olitics rom D.C.'s overnment

By John E. Mercer

OES THE District of Columbia need a new way to govern itself? Should the mayor-council system it has had for 15 years be altered or even replaced? Congress, which designed D.C.'s current goverment hich retains ultimate authority over the Dis- s considering making such changes. It could be est thing that's happened to D.C. government home rule returned.

. Julian Dixon, chairman of the House D.C. priations subcommittee, recently said that ess wants to study D.C.'s government to de- e if "institutional" changes are needed. Dixon he Washington Post recently that the purpose proposed study was "not to retreat on home ut to evaluate institutions and see how they rking."

Washington Post poll taken in May indicates ity residents are none too pleased with the operation either. According to the poll, 61 per- f city residents think their city government is ient, and 74 percent believe municipal corrup- a big problem.

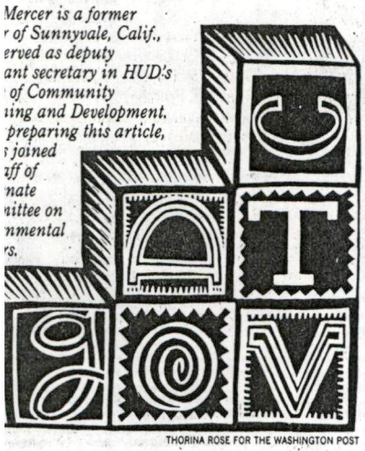
D.C.'s many problems do not ultimately de- n the city's leadership or its employees. Ba- , what is wrong with the District of Columbia it has the wrong form of government. Surely, Barry shares much of the responsibility for ty's condition and reputation. The more fun- tal problem, however, is that when Congress d home rule, it made a major mistake. It sad- he District with a "strong mayor" government ically, a form of the mayor-council system). It l have given the District the more progressive anager system.

en Congress examines D.C.'s government, told The Post, the possibility of shifting to a anager system will be actively considered. ed by cities of all sizes throughout the country, -manager system would address many of the ct's problems.

formers developed the system several decades bring efficiency, honesty and professionalism al government. In a city-manager system, the r presides as a member of the city council. The r and city council appoint a city manager (not a dministrator), who has full authority over all , firing, promotion and supervision of city staff.

See MANAGER, B4, Col. 1

Mercer is a former r of Sunnyvale, Calif., erved as deputy ant secretary in HUD's of Community ing and Development. preparing this article, joined iff of nate nittee on nmental rs.



THORINA ROSE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



Washington Post 7/9/89

LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ... BLASÉ

On the Bastille's 200th, France Is Comfortably Conservative

By Edward Cody

PARIS—It is certain to be a grand parade on Bastille Day this year, with disc jockeys swaying along atop elephants and a Florida band moonwalking down the Champs Elysees.

President Bush will be on hand for the $15-million spectacle, along with 31 other heads of state from major and not-so-major countries. When fireworks light up the Paris sky in an elegant finale and people start all-night dancing in the streets, no one will be able to say France did not mark the bicentennial of its 1789 Revolution in a big way.

The irony, however, is that the elaborate celebration of the Revolution comes at a moment in history when France has rarely been so conservative. The nation that brought us the French Revolution 200 years ago, then carried on so long in the avant-garde of human progress and folly, has gone distressingly tame.

For someone with great affection for France and Frenchmen, this is unfortunate news. Granted, stability, consensus and political maturity are good for the country. But what about the time in 1961 when Charles de Gaulle dusted off his old uniform, went on television and put down a military coup d'etat in Algiers with the simple force of his language? Or when the country rose up demanding to "put imagination in power" during the political spasm of 1968, only to turn around two months later and vote the Gaullists back in?

President Francois Mitterrand is a socialist, of course, but socialism here is not what it used to be. Mitterrand, 72, has become a symbol of reassurance for his nation, an avuncular figure appropriately called "Uncle" by friend and foe. His soft-left policies, which have relegated Marxism to history, would not be much out of place in the Democratic Party of some quiet New England state.

Mitterrand's critics claim he has completed a full circle, taking on royal airs. Spanish journalists at the recent European summit conference in Madrid noted that he seemed to be walking on clouds and "speaking from Olympus." At home, former interior minister Charles Pasqua complained that the bicen-

See BASTILLE, B2, Col. 1

Edward Cody is The Washington Post's Paris bureau chief.

RANDALL ENOS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Shou Euro Care

Wh la pe de su his deft diplomac ican confrontati president would ly on that succes design for restr litical outlines. A but we cannot b ing a new Europe likely to come fr

It is natural t performances w Bush seems to l larity contest. I two leaders is m promising to tak old Soviet milita discredited Sovi comparable sins amends. Nor do This is not 1948 a rising commu rope desperatel were there. Tod leadership as to

So far, Bush His switch last m ample, did not s traditional prim what the Germa American weigh transform the pc

Gorbachev's i with an extrem tion. The Sovie peaceful border acute economic options: genuine or a peace offe The first strate second more fa expected to foll will depend heav

If NATO and together, the ne the Soviets tow Eastern Europe nomic interdepe a new world. Bu coalitions disint tempted to cont gemony.

The task, ther if the Cold War ticular, it is to many and its W Soviets dangle t

For the West, If the Soviets ar an open Eastern Can the Americ appropriate Eur United States o tegic and fiscal

David Calleo is Advanced Inter University.

MARY McGRORY

Ingrate Flowers And Drunken Squirrels

ONCE AGAIN, I have had confirmation of my theory that if man doesn't put you in your place, nature will. I have been the bject of two major open-air putdowns this mmer. In one case, I got above myself. In the her, as usual, I was confounded by squirrels. I started off the planting season in my small read with delusions of grandeur. It happens to eryone who puts things in the ground. Study e faces of people leaving Johnson's parking lot Saturday morning: bearing a cardboard box as

The Abortion Decision: Monument to C

The Court Steers Us Toward Social Disaster . . . and Threatens Other Person

By Walter Dellinger

THE SUPREME COURT'S decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* was misguided in virtually every way that a judicial opinion can be. Most stunning was the absence of any serious effort by the court's working majority to show what, if anything, was wrong with the landmark decision being gutted. Equally absent from the prevailing opinions was any sense of the social, economic and medical consequences of the disastrous course upon which at least four of the court's justices have embarked.

In *Roe v. Wade* the court held, 7-2, that a woman's interest in making her own decision



W *Webster* a basic n tion: To der cohe conduct. ent Supr ture litig and cons *Webste* er, becau tion and

should make clear our own firm commitment to keeping substantial American forces in NATO, we should also insist on new arrange-

were ostentatiously taking the lead, as in President Kennedy's ill-fated "Grand Design" in the early 1960s or Henry Kissinger's abortive "Year of Europe" in the early 1970s, but

policy gave a firm priority to binding the Federal Republic to the West over achieving national German reunification. Tying his country into a common army with his West Eu-

time. One thing has not changed, however: The European military balance remains critical. Even if the Soviet Union were to become a model democracy, it would almost inevitably remain a military superpower, per-

ment in any stable new European order. It is in our interest to insist that such a Europe come forward to take its rightful responsibilities for that order. At this critical juncture, our role is to support it, and not to get in its way.

On the Bastille's 200th

BASTILLE, From B1

tennial celebrations, whose pomp is being accentuated by a concurrent summit of the world's seven major industrial democracies, have in fact turned into a coronation of King Francois.

Renaud, a popular troubadour who might have sung the Revolution in 1789, also seems to feel that way. So much so that he scheduled a counter-Bastille Day bash yesterday featuring the South African signer Johnny Clegg and others. Mitterrand's celebrations, he explained, revolve too much around rich presidents and not enough around the kind of French street people who stormed the Bastille.

"Instead of a real celebration, colorful, popular and yuk-it-up, a summit of the seven richest countries has been concocted, accompanied by a commemoration that is gloomy, heavy, barricaded, policed and merchandised—a bicentennial with tolls," he said.

The fact is that upheaval no longer appeals here; security does. When Mitterrand campaigned for reelection last year, one of his crowd-warmers was Charles Trenet, a prewar crooner who evoked a tranquil past with his nosatlgic favorite, "Sweet France, Dear Country of My Youth." Emmanuel Todd, author of the perceptive book "The New France," says Mitterrand defeated Jacques Chirac in large measure because voters associated him with such serenity, while the hard-driving Chirac seemed the kind to shake things up.

A growing number of opposition conservatives, however, are just as soft in their conservatism as Mitterrand is in his leftism. Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front ultras are a notable but minor exception. They hark back to a xenophobic strain from the French past, when extremes were more common. In fact, the rising stars of conservatism in France these days are youthful moderates—Mayor Michel Noir of Lyons is an example—who built their reputations on conciliatory pragmatism setting them apart from the combative right-wingers who came from under De Gaulle's mantle.

The result is an unmistakable rounding off of political edges. The old left-right battles that used to make French politics dramatic and fun have lost a lot of their punch. Promises of "an opening" to adversaries and of shrewd economic management have replaced the heady visions of a glorious new society that political speakers used to paint regularly before cheering crowds.

The change in political discourse has not happened by accident. Frenchmen no longer seem to vibrate to heady visions. The 1968 generation, which built barricades in the Latin Quarter and painted the walls with slogans such as "Revolution Makes Me Horny," has now become the middle-aged "cocooning" generation. This is the pop-psychology term applied to a trend here that has couples and even single adults spending more quiet evenings at home, safe from AIDS or other risks in their own cozy nests.

The last time French students took to the streets in any number, in late 1986, they were demanding that the government back off from a university reform that could have made some schools more prestigious than others. The students explained they wanted to keep the job prospects guaranteed by having all university diplomas carry equal weight.

The latest fad in Paris eating—for France, the ultimate measure of just about anything—is old-time bistro food, just like grandmother used to enjoy. Instead of the unexpected and adventurous heralded by *nouvelle cuisine* two decades ago, diners these days want a comfortable burgundy beef or something equally tried, true and unrevolutionary.

In some ways, Mitterrand is responding to the new French mood. In others, however, he is responsible for setting in motion a process that led to it.

Mitterrand came to the presidency in 1981 with a campaign slogan promising no less than to "change life," a sweeping battle cry that would have been at home back in 1789. But his swift application of socialist doctrine resulted in an economic disaster. This was good for American tourists, who enjoyed a 10-franc dollar. It was bad for Frenchmen, who saw a drop in living standards. As a result, Mitterrand changed course in 1983 and began the evolution toward mixed-economy moderation that has become even clearer today.

Armed with the failure of Mitterrand's "grand design," Chirac's neo-Gaullist forces won parliamentary elections in 1986 with a "grand design" of their own: economic liberalism. They were going to set the economy free and Frenchmen would live better. After a lot of talk about free enterprise and some denationalizations, however, Frenchmen lived about the same. Unemployment, the major problem here, remained above 10 percent.

What did go down was Frenchmen's faith in such "grand designs." The traditional language of French politics—calls to adventure such as "change life" and "liberalize the economy"—no longer seemed to stir most Frenchmen. Mitterrand's ability to catch the shift, or his willingness to listen to advisers who had, was key in his easy presidential victory over Chirac last spring.

In this atmosphere, it is not surprising that the French Communist Party is doing poorly. The Communist contender got only 6.7 percent of last spring's presidential vote. Communist city council candidates won only 4 percent in municipal elections in March. The party apparatus under Georges Marchais seems unable to respond to the revolutionary winds from Moscow, clinging instead to an outlook inherited from the Khrushchev era.

Appropriately enough for France, I first began to understand what was happening over a great lunch. Raymond Fulchiron, owner and spirit of the Cafe des Federations in Lyons, suggested that Noir, who was Chirac's foreign commerce minister, could just as easily become a minister again in the new government that Prime Minister Michel Rocard would form under Mitterrand.

Fulchiron's specialty is not political analysis. Tripes, blood sausage and chilled Morgon are. But his matter-of-fact suggestion that a neo-Gaullist from France's most politically conservative city could serve under a socialist president without causing a scandal back home was as meaningful as the seven-course menu.

Francois Furet, the bicentennial year's most quoted historian of the French Revolution, has come to the same conclusion as Fulchiron. "The Revolution is over," he maintains, and the tradition of dividing France into left and right does not correspond to more recent history.

Two hundred years after the nation was torn apart in a struggle over the monarchy that exploded into the Reign of Terror, Furet says, most Frenchmen live in rough agreement that their country should stick with a free-enterprise economy guided by a strong state and humanized by an extensive social welfare system. He ought to know. Although he started out as a communist, Furet now aligns himself with the soft left.

For Americans used to a broad consensus about political basics, this may seem natural. But France for years remained divided along lines left over from the Revolution. Nearly everyone has defined himself "on the left" or "on the right." In its provincial extreme, tradition called for notables from the chateau, allied with the local priest, to line up against "free thinkers" supported by an anticlerical schoolteacher.

Gabriel Chevallier parodied the old conflict mercilessly in his often-cited 1934 novel "Clochemerle," about a plot to erect a urinal next to the village church. Frenchmen still think of themselves as leftists or rightists, of course, but the divide has lost much of its practical meaning.

With the wrenching Algerian war fading as a political issue, Frenchmen also have reached consensus on a nationalistic but cautious foreign policy. Mitterand says his major foreign-policy concern is shepherding France into the integrated European market scheduled for 1992, a subject unlikely to inspire a return to the guillotine.

"The revolutionary myth, the one of liberating violence, armed struggle against enemies at home and abroad, and of the sacred union of the entire people against tyrants and oppressors, is infinitely more alive in the Latin American hills or African bush than in the subsidized housing of Seine-Saint-Denis," wrote Pierre Lepape in an analysis for the newspaper Le Monde.

A poll last month showed two out of three Frenchmen have little interest in the bicentennial celebrations, apparently because the Revolution and its heritage no longer play a role in their daily lives. Not surprisingly, a bicentennial fair set up in the Tuileries garden has drawn so few visitors that some exhibits closed early.

French television found out recently just how unrevolutionary its viewers have become. To celebrate the bicentennial, it staged a mock trial of King Louis XVI. The monarch, who lost his head back in 1793, was defended for the reenactment by Jacques Verges, a lawyer known as a champion of lost causes. But the audience, polled afterward, voted by a 72-percent majority to spare the king's life.

"When they are asked to rewrite history, our television viewers do not send Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette to the national *rasor* any more," commented Claude Imbert, director of the weekly Le Point. "They could easily see them in exile at Monte Carlo."

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