

AN  
HISTORICAL AND MORAL VIEW  
OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION;  
AND THE  
EFFECT IT HAS PRODUCED  
IN  
EUROPE.

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VOLUME THE FIRST.

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AN  
HISTORICAL AND MORAL VIEW  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

ERROR OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN NEGLECTING TO SECURE THE FREEDOM OF FRANCE. ITS CONDUCT COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE AMERICAN STATES. NECESSITY OF FORMING A NEW CONSTITUTION AS SOON AS AN OLD GOVERNMENT IS DESTROYED. THE DECLARING THE KING INVIOLEABLE A WRONG MEASURE. SECURITY OF THE FRENCH AGAINST A COUNTER-REVOLUTION. THE FLIGHT OF THE KING MEDI-TATED.

THE conduct of the assembly in losing so much time---the most precious time to secure the happiness of their country, and enable the present generation to participate in the blessings they were preparing for posterity, instead of having to encounter all the miseries of anarchy, can never be sufficiently lamented. France had already gained her freedom; the nation had already ascertained certain

*how could it be helped? they could agree in No= thing.*

*How gained it? She was further from it than ever.*

How were these Truths ascertained? Forty nine fiftieths of the Nation knew no more about them than the Kings Menagerie. Among the remaining fiftieth Part, there were Ten thousand different opinions, about the meaning, limitations, Restrictions and exceptions with which they were to be ( 400 ) understood. Besides, very few of them appear to have had any

*Idea of one of the most essential Truths of all,* certain, and the most important, political truths: it ought, therefore, to have been the next consideration, how these were to be preserved, and the liberty of the empire consolidated on a basis that time would only render more firm.

*Power in any Assembly of Nobles Commoners or a mixture of both as well as in an Emperor or King.* Moderate men, or real patriots, would have been satisfied with what had been gained, for the present, allowing the rest to follow progressively. It was the most political and the most reasonable way to secure the acquisition. In this situation France had to contend with the prejudices of half Europe,

*The National Assembly had to contend against the Opposition of Kings of the Nation their own People, their own Constitutions,* at least, and to counteract the influence of the insidious intriguers, who were opposing themselves to her regeneration; to facilitate which the assembly ought to have made it one of their main objects to render the king contented with the change; and then the machinations of all the underminers of the revolution, would not have loosened one fundamental stone, to endanger the rising edifice.

*There was no practice* Such is the difference between men acting from a practical knowledge, and men who are governed entirely by theory, or no principle whatever. Most of the United States could agree, I believe there was more Principle of than there was practice or Theory.

Thank you Miss, for your Complaisance to America:  
you are not quite correct, but no matter.

( 401 )

of America formed their separate constitutions within a month, and none took more than three, after the declaration of their independence by congress. There certainly was a vast distinction between those States, then the colonies of Great Britain, and France after the 14th of July; but both countries were without a government. America with an enemy in the heart of their empire, and France threatened with an attack. The leading men of America, however, knew, that there was a necessity of having some kind of government, and seem to have perceived the ease, with which any subsequent alterations could be effected. The members of the national assembly, on the contrary, found themselves surrounded with ruins; and aiming at a state of perfection for which the minds of the people were not sufficiently mature; affecting likewise to be directed by a magnanimous disinterestedness, they not only planted the germ of the most dangerous and licentious spirit, but they continued to irritate the desperate courtiers, who, having determined to oppose stratagem to force, and not succeeding, rested all their future hopes on the king's escape.

*They were Men of Experience in popular assemblies as well as Theorists.*

*Aims at Perfection will always fall short.*

*None but an Idealist & Mad man, ever built a Government upon a disinterested principle.*

*Such Pretences are false & hollow. all Hypocrisy. Libe*

Franklin's Will and his Article in the Pennsylvania Bill of Rights.

Is it not astonishing that The National assembly did not foresee that the Press would be employed against them? that their own Creators would uncreate their Creators? that their own Jools would cut their own Throats? that their own Devils would become their Tempers first and ( 402 ) Formers after wards?

Press

Epigrams

awkward figures  
rustic gait.

Satires

Jests.

The Jests, Epigrams and Caricatures did not produce the Divisions were deep and irreparable. The Divisions produced the Jests, Jests and libels were thick and terrible from all Parties. Of what Parties were Marat and Tom. Paine and their Jests?

The liberty of the press, which had been virtually established, at this period, was a successful engine employed against the assembly. And to a nation celebrated for epigrammatic fancy, and whose taste had been so refined by art, that they had lost the zest of nature, the simplicity of some of the members, their awkward figures, and rustic gait, compared with the courtly mien, and easy assurance of the chevaliers of Versailles, afforded an excellent subject. Some of these satires were written with considerable wit, and such a happy turn of caricature, that it is impossible not to laugh with the author, though indirectly ridiculing the principles you hold sacred. The most respectable decrees, the most important, and serious discussions, were twisted into jests; which divided the people without doors into two distinct parties; one, speaking of the assembly with sovereign contempt, as a set of upstarts and babbling knaves; and the other, setting up new thrones for their favourites, and viewing them with blind admiration, as if they were a synod of demi-gods. The contenance of this abuse of freedom was ill-judged. The different parties were already produced. The Jests and libels were thick and terrible from all Parties. Of what Parties were Marat and Tom. Paine and their Jests?

And yet, the Nation had ascertained the most important  
Political Truths!

A Decree against Libels would not have restrained  
the Temper of the times. Libels would have been  
multiplied by it. ( 403 )

sufficiently heated; yet it would have been  
impossible, perhaps, to have restrained the  
temper of the times, so strong is the intoxica-  
tion of a new folly, though it would have  
been easy for the assembly to have passed a <sup>such a</sup>  
decree respecting libels. But so ardent was <sup>decree</sup>  
become their passion for liberty, that they <sup>would have</sup>  
were unable to discriminate between a licen- <sup>been epi-</sup>  
tious use of that important invention, and <sup>grammatical</sup>  
it's real utility. Treating then with an un- <sup>more than</sup>  
timely disdain the many abusive publications, <sup>Prustick</sup>  
which were sold within the very walls where <sup>Gaits,</sup>  
they were fitting, they were not aware of the <sup>as there</sup>  
effect which they produced on the minds of <sup>any Nation</sup>  
mock heroes, who, having no principle but <sup>that will</sup>  
honour, were ready to risk their lives to <sup>distinguish</sup>  
footh distressed beauty, no matter what pro- <sup>between the</sup>  
duced it; or to alleviate the sufferings of a <sup>discomend</sup>  
king, though the consequence of his turpi- <sup>the Freedom</sup>  
tude or tergiverfation. <sup>of the Press?</sup>  
<sup>Not the</sup>  
<sup>English. Nor</sup>  
<sup>his American</sup>  
<sup>most certainly. Neither Govern-</sup>  
<sup>ment can do it, and the People</sup>  
<sup>will not.</sup>

After the wreck of a government the plan  
of a new constitution ought to be immediately <sup>I had</sup>  
formed, that is, as soon as circumstances will <sup>preached</sup>  
possibly admit, and presented to the citizens <sup>this doctrine</sup>  
for their acceptance; or rather the people <sup>a whole</sup>  
should depute men for that purpose, and <sup>year in</sup>  
give them a limited time for framing one. <sup>Congress</sup>  
<sup>in 1775 and</sup>  
<sup>1776 before</sup>

D d 2

A con-

perceiv'd upon that Body to pass my Resolution of  
the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1776 recommending that Measure  
to the People of the States.

How was it possible to bring twenty five Millions of  
Frenchmen who had never known or thought of  
any Law, but the things will rally round any  
free Constitution at all?

A Constitution is a Standard, a Pillar and a  
Bond when it is understood, approved and beloved.  
But without this Intelligency ( 404 ) or Attachment it  
might as well be a Kite or Balloon flying  
in the air.

A constitution is a standard for the people to  
rally round. It is the pillar of a government,  
the bond of all social unity and order. The  
investigation of it's principles makes it a foun-  
tain of light; from which issue the rays of  
reason, that gradually bring forward the men-  
tal powers of the whole community. And  
whenever the wheels of government, like  
the wheels of any other machine, are found  
clogged, or do not move in a regular man-  
ner, they equally require alteration and im-  
provement: and these improvements will  
be proportionably perfect as the people be-  
come enlightened.

These Machines  
called Consti-  
tutions, are  
not to be taken  
to Pieces and  
cleaned or  
mended so  
easily as a  
watch.

Did this lady think three Months  
enough to form a  
free Consti-  
tution for  
twenty five  
Millions of  
Frenchmen  
300 years  
would be  
well spent  
in procuring  
so good a  
Blessing  
but I doubt whether it will be accomplished in  
300.

The authority of the national assembly had  
been acknowledged nearly three months pre-  
vious to this epocha, without their having  
taken any decided steps to secure these im-  
portant ends. Indeed it does not appear to  
have been their first object. They seem not  
to have known, or at least not to have been  
apprehensive, that, in proportion to the length  
of time that the people are without an esta-  
blished government, anarchists gain an ascen-  
dency over their minds; and it then becomes  
no easy task to form a constitution adapted to  
their wayward tempers.

When  
La Mancha was more absurd, ridiculous or delirious  
than this of a Revolution in France for Saltum from  
a Monarchy to a Democracy. I thought so in  
1785 when it was first talked of, I thought so  
in all the intermediate Time, and I think so  
in 1812.

This woman sees no difficulties: yet she makes her  
Readers see innumerable and insuperable Difficulties.  
She is a most incongruous Creature. She shows in  
every Page Things to be impossible, which she makes  
up the prologue (us 405 ) easy.

When a few fundamental principles are  
ascertained, and the state has determined  
that they shall form the basis of it's polity, it  
seems to be no difficult matter to give motion  
to the new springs of government. It is  
true, that many of the prejudices of french-  
men were still inveterate, and in some mea-  
sure influenced them; and it is also certain,  
that their total ignorance of the operations  
of any rational system of government was an  
impediment to this motion; but it is never-  
theless to be presumed, that, the liberty of  
frenchmen having been previously secured by  
the establishment of the declaration of rights,  
if the assembly had formed some kind of a  
constitution, and proposed it to the nation,  
and to the king, if he were considered as  
forming a part of it, for their acceptance,  
the dispute between the people and court  
would have been brought to a speedy issue;  
and the public attention directed to a point  
would have given dignity and respectability  
to their proceedings. If such measures had  
been followed, and it appears a little strange  
they were not, most probably the king and  
court, perceiving that their future conse-  
quence wholly depended on their acquiescence

all the in-  
congruities  
were still in-  
veterate.

Their Ignor-  
ance was total

How was  
Liberty se-  
cured by the  
declaration  
of rights? No  
more than

this Justice  
and obedience  
to the King  
is the Law

Common and  
sense.

Besides  
there were  
not two Men  
in fifty who  
believed in  
those Rights.

They were  
in France  
twenty times  
as many

with  
who believed  
in the King's  
divine Right.

D d 3

The Disputes were between the People and  
the People more than between the People  
and the Court. Those who were called the  
People were few but during King, Court, Nobility  
Clergy and all the Rich; even the National Assembly  
itself.



I would rather call the Natural, civil and political Rights of Man the Foundations, than the Pillars. If they are Pillars, they must stand upon a firm foundation, Is a Declaration then a foundation? No more than a heap of sand or a Pool of water. This stand as firmly without a Declaration as with, if nothing <sup>more is done.</sup> Laws and Guardians of Laws must be <sup>(406)</sup> ~~made~~ and Guardians to watch with the state of reason, and temper of the one another, times, would have relinquished all those absurd and dangerous projects for overturning the rising political fabric of the nation, which anarchy fostered.

It is the pillars of a building, which indicate it's durability, and not the minor beams that are inserted through them, in order to rear the structure. The natural, civil, and political rights of man are the main pillars of all social happiness; and by the firm establishment of them, the freedom of men will be eternally secured. The moment, therefore, a state has gained those important and sacred privileges, it is clear, that it ought to form some kind of government, grounded upon this firm and broad basis, that being the only possible way to give them permanency. But the constituent assembly, unmindful of the dreadful effects beginning to flow from an unbounded licentiousness, continued to pursue a romantic sublimity of character, dangerous to all sublunary laws; whilst most interestedly attentive to things that should have been subordinate to their first object, they were led into a procrastination, which in  
it's

*A Declaration of these Rights will have no more Influence than the 10 Commandments, without Laws executed.*

*An impartial Character.*

it's consequence has been fatal in the extreme.

The decree which made the king inviolable, passed on the 15th of september, at the time the crown was declared hereditary, and the empire indivisible, was the most idle, if not the most dangerous measure, both for him and France, which could have been devised. The former life of Louis had exhibited a series of follies, and displayed an insincerity not to be tolerated, much less encouraged; and it was likely, if this doctrine, a relict of the abasement of ignorance, that kings can do no wrong, should be carried into a law, forming part of the constitution, that he would avail himself of the decree of the assembly to cover his contempt of the national sovereignty. When kings are considered by the government of a country merely as ciphers, it is very just and proper, that their ministers should be responsible for their political conduct: but at the moment when a state is about to establish a constitution on the basis of reason, to undermine that foundation by a master-piece of absurdity, appears a solecism as glaring as the doctrine itself is laughable, when applied to an enlightened

*This Decree did neither good nor harm.*

*Vile Slander to Louis.*

*Popular Common sense. Plausible Trash.*

*The Supreme Head of the Executive of a great Nation*

*must be inviolable or the Land will never be ruled.*

*If such heads are liable to insult*

*actions & criminal Prosecutions & punishments the Govt will*

*policy. easily be ruin'd.*

D d 4.

*The absurdity consisted in establishing an hereditary Executive as a Balance to a vast Legislature in one National Assembly, You might as well constitute an Army, to determine every Movement by a Vote of one 100,000 Men and give the General a Veto upon each vote. A Gladiator in a Pit, without Arms to defend him self against an hundred Men.*

Mirabeau probably intended to introduce an amendment any Senate between the King and the popular assembly.

( 408 )

No infallibility policy. In fact, whilst Mirabeau contended for the infallibility of the king, he seems to have had no right from reason to deride those who respected that of the church: for, if the government must necessarily be supported by a pious fraud, one was as respectable as the other.

The bigotry of Louis was well known; nay, it was notorious, that he employed his confessor to erase from his tender conscience the remembrance of the vices he resolved to indulge, and to reconcile the meanest diffimulation with a servile fear of the Being whose first attribute is truth.—This man, whose bestiality had been carefully pampered by the queen and count d'Artois, because in those moments of revelry, prolonged to the most disgusting excess of gluttony and intoxication, he would sanction all their demands, was made in his person and conduct sacred and unimpeachable. This was the extreme folly of weakness. But, when it is also kept in view, that, at the very period when he was declared inviolable, he was suspected, in concert with the court, to be actually meditating his flight, there seems to be a pusillanimity in it as contemptible as the

It was not for the purpose but the office that this policy was adopted.

The evils arising from copying a law to prosecutions civil & criminal are infinitely greater than any that can spring from their inviolability.

The Constitution was not made for Louis 16 but for the Nation, for future Kings and People.

Unanimity no doubt. at that time they could do nothing without the King.

( 409 )

pretended dignity of the assembly was ridiculous.

True firmness consists in doing whatever is just and reasonable, uninfluenced by any other consideration. The defining the power of the crown in the assembly to be subordinate to the authority of the people must have appeared to the kings of Europe a dangerous encroachment on their indefeasible rights:— a heresy tending to undermine their privileges, should such audacity pass unchastized, and to destroy the splendour of royalty by presuming to control it's omnipotence. It was then scarcely to be expected, that their resentment would be appeased by shielding the person of Louis against the danger of intrigue and violence. It was not, indeed, the preservation of the life of this unfortunate man, that interested them so sensibly as to appall the sycophants of Europe.—No; it was the attack made on despotism; and the attempt to draw aside the splendid curtain which concealed it's folly, that threw them into a general ferment and agitation. This agitation could not fail to inspire the court of Versailles with hope, and they stood prepared to take advantage of the gathering storm, as

*The shew it is handsomely shew in every Page that the lead nothing to the Bottom. He is totally ignorant of the subject. But in this Ignorance he is equalled and indeed surpassed by the greatest Men of the age.*

eagerly

IMAGE COURTESY  
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( 410 )

eagerly as a distressed mariner, who has long laid becalmed, perceiving at length a gentle heaving of the sea, and feeling the undulating motion of his bark, foresees the approaching breeze, and spreads his sails to catch the first breath of wind. The effect of the feigned or real pity of many of the admirers of the old system, who were deeply wounded by the wrong done, as they insisted, to their king, was to be dreaded; for it was not to be supposed, that the chivalrous spirit of France would be destroyed in an instant, though *swords had ceased to leap out of their scabbards* when beauty was not deified. It was then undoubtedly to be feared, that they would risk their lives and fortunes to support the glory of their master, and their own notions of honour: and the assembly, by making Louis not accountable for any of his actions, however insincere, unjust, or atrocious, was affording all his abettors a shelter, encouraging at the same time his hypocrisy, and relaxing the little energy of character, which his misfortune seemed to be calling into play.

*All this is  
Splendid  
Nonsense.*

*It was not Mistaken lenity in politics is not more  
mistaken dangerous than a false magnanimity is palpa-  
ble unity in Mirabeau. He saw that absolute  
Power in the Assembly would be abused; and  
meant to give the thing a Dribble to it, not con-  
sidering that that Dribble was but a Silken Thread  
or rather a rope of Sand, or a Cord of burnt Gun,*

IMAGE COURTESY  
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*Nothing less than a numerous Body of rich powerful  
able and hereditary Senators placed between that  
assembly and the King could have saved him or  
the Constitution. It is indeed very doubtful whether  
that could have done it.*

( 411 )

ble littleness in the eyes of a man of simple integrity. Besides, had the representatives of the people considered Louis merely as a man, it is probable he would have acted more like one. Instead of palliating the matter, they should, on the contrary, have proclaimed to all Europe, with a tone of dignified firmness, that the french nation, willing for themselves, regardless of the rights and privileges of others, though respecting their prejudices, finding that no compromise could be formed between the court and people, whose interest neither justice nor policy ever required should be distinct, do not consider themselves accountable to any power or congress on earth, for any measure they may choose to adopt in framing a constitution to regulate their own internal polity. That treating their monarch like a man, and not as a mere idol for state pageantry, they would wish, by establishing the dignity of truth and justice, to give stability to the freedom of frenchmen, and leave a monument in their institutions to immortalize a sincere and acquiescing king. But that, though their ideas might differ greatly from those of their neighbours, with whom they desired to live on the most

*If they had  
made this  
Proclamation  
they could have  
done no more  
than this, have  
done, created  
the Empire  
of Napoleon.*

most amicable terms, they would pursue the path of eternal reason in consolidating the rights of man; and by a striking example lay

*They have laid the foundation of something an Empire. And destroyed many foundations of other governments.*  
the foundation of the liberty of the whole globe, of that liberty which had hitherto been confined to the small island of England, and enjoyed imperfectly even there.

The house of Austria was at this period engaged in a war with the turks, which obliged it to withdraw most of it's troops from Flanders; and the intelligence, that the flemings, highly discontented with the in-

*Joseph might have been spared these epithets. His elevation was to his honor.*  
novations, which the vain weathercock Joseph the Second had made in their form of worship, were on the eve of an insurrection, more against the folly of the man than the despotism of his court, calmed the fears of the french, as to the danger of being immediately attacked by Germany. This security, for they had no dread of Sardinia, made them consider the possibility of a counter-revolution being effected by foreign enemies as far from alarming. It is true, there was not any just cause of apprehension, unless they took into the calculation, that the policy of Europe for ages past had been subject to sudden changes; a state of profound tranquillity giving

ing place to sanguinary scenes of confusion, and inhuman butcheries—often about such trifling insults and idle pretensions, as individuals would be ashamed to make a pretext for quarrelling; and having reason to expect these changes as long as the systems of courts preserve their existence, France could not reckon, with any degree of certainty, on the continuation of peace.—Neither did the national assembly appear to have calculated upon it; for they undoubtedly betrayed symptoms of pusillanimity, when they suffered their conduct to be in the smallest degree influenced by the apprehension of a combination of the crowned heads of Europe to replace the royal diadem of France, should the most brilliant of it's jewels be touched by profane hands.

*and still more if Republics generally prevail*

These fears, perhaps, were the secret cause, combined with the old habit of adoring the king, as a point of honour, and loving the court, as an affair of taste, that induced them to preserve the shadow of monarchy in the new order of things. It's preservation might have been politically necessary; because, before abolishing any ancient form, it is necessary to secure whatever political good may have flowed from it, and guard against being exhausted

*This is wished Misrepresentation. The Nation could do nothing at this time but in the Name of the King. After all how can we as of the assembly. She allows that their conduct might be politically necessary.*



If they had made him responsible they would have impeached tried and guillotined him sooner than they did. His veto and his Inviolability, sacred as it was did not save him.

( 414 )

exhausted by cutting off an excrescence.—  
But, if the continuance of a king in the new system were expedient to avert present evil, they should have allowed him the power necessary to give energy to the government; and making him responsible for the rectitude of his actions, the man would have had a fair trial, and posterity, judging of his conduct, would have been enabled to form a just estimate of a kingly government.

*A miserable experiment of a kingly Govt. if the means a limited Monarchy.*

Machiavelian cunning, however, still directed the movements of all the courts of Europe; and these political moles, too well perceiving the timidity that was mixed with the blustering courage of the assembly, only waited for a favourable season to overturn the rising edifice. Their agents had private instructions to promote the escape of Louis, as the surest mode of making a decided schism in the national politics; and they firmly believed, that the affection still subsisting for his christian majesty would facilitate the execution of their plan. The court also presuming on the divisions and lenity of the assembly, took the most indefatigable pains to foster in the mind of the public, nay, in that of all Europe, pity for the degraded person of the king,

*All the Ages of the World and all the History of Courts cannot show more impudent & more bloody & cruel & perfidious & ambitious & Machiavelian Cunning than the successive Leaders of the French Convention & assemblies for the last seven years.*

*All this Reproach upon all the Governments of Europe; in what has it ended? Are the People ameliorated in their condition? Is Napoleon milder than the Bourbons?*

( 415 )

king, and detestation of the sacrilege, which had been committed on the dignity of royalty. Their continual theme was the ignominious state to which the most mild of the Bourbons was reduced, by men, who usurped the reins of government, and trampled on the honours of that august and ancient family. Restraining the authority of a throne, which supported the most abominable tyranny, they were shaking the despotism, which held in bondage nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the world. These were alarming signals to a certain class of men, to the drones and myrmidons who live on the spoil and blood of industry and innocence. The intrusion of knowledge, which was sure to render them an useless set of beings in society, was to be prevented by ingenious clamours, whilst a great number of weak, well-meaning people, and still more knaves, enlisted under their banner.

*The Throne of the Bourbons.*

*Drones and Myrmidons! words very gratefull to discontent. Meaning the Clergy and the armies. But are the Drones diminished? and are not the Myrmidons*

The universal damp, which the revolution had given to the courts of Europe, producing among them a lively sympathy for the sombre atmosphere of Versailles, a general sorrow was consequently expressed by all their minions, and expressed with unfeigned concern; for the want of the usual routine of amusements

*in creas ed three fold? How Enmity to Monarchy and Hierarchy is as strong as that of the Republicans who beheld Charles the*

*first. It would be laudable if she would reveal to us any way of getting rid of them, but by substituting greater evils, in Europe.*

( 416 )

*The great Advocates for the Right of Expatriation ought not to deny it to a thing any more than a Subject.*

tended to make it real. Hope, indeed, began again to animate them, when the king was prevailed on to concert his escape; yet their eagerness to accelerate his departure for the frontiers, where they purposed to erect the royal standard, to avail themselves of the proximity of german connections, was in a great degree the cause of defeating that ill-contrived design.

*The Court misjudged the Character of the Nation as much as the Assembly did. Both were the Dupes of their Honor and their Credulity.*

A design formed very early, and systematically pursued, was probably rendered entirely abortive by the obstinacy of the court; who still persisted to cherish the belief, that the public opinion was changed only for the moment, and that their deeply rooted love of royalty would bring them back to what they termed their duty, when the effervescence excited by novelty had subsided. And thinking, that the cordial reception given by the parisiens to the soldiery had contributed to estrange them, and effect the revolution, they determined to regain their lost ground, and dazzle them by feasts, instead of stealing on their affections by hospitality.—Still, bearing impatiently their humiliating situation, the courtiers could not help vauntingly exposing their project; and the babbling of joy showed the



( 418 )

either to facilitate the entrance of fresh troops, or from a real dislike to men, who had taken such an active part in disconcerting their first plot, opposed their wish; and even the municipality, as has been already noticed, was induced to request, that a regiment of fresh troops might be called in to guard the person of the king, and keep the peace, which this trifling dispute, swelled into an insurrection in the report, threatened to disturb.

The king's body-guards, whose time of service expired the first of october, were still retained with those who came to replace them; and an immense crowd of supernumeraries continued daily to increase this corps, which had not yet sworn allegiance to the nation. The officers, in particular, flocked to Versailles, amounting to between eleven or twelve hundred, constantly parading together. The universal topic was commiseration of the king's fate, and insinuations respecting the ambition of the assembly. Yet, even there the court party seemed to be prevailing: a president attached to loyalty was elected; and Mirabeau's remonstrances, respecting the augmentation of the troops, were disregarded.

Mean

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Mean time, not only the officers of the new regiment, but those of the national guards, were caressed by the court, whilst the citizens, with more sagacity, were lavish of their attention to the foldiers. The cabinet had not sufficient discernment to perceive, that the people were now to be led, not driven; and the popular promoters of anarchy, to serve their private interest, availed themselves, unfortunately, but too well of this want of judgment.—Thus whilst one party, declaiming on the necessity of order, seemed to be endeavouring to rivet on them the chains of servitude, the other lifted them above the law with vain glorious notions of their sovereignty.—And this sovereignty of the people, the perfection of the science of government, only to be attained when a nation is truly enlightened, consisted in making them tyrants; nay the worst of tyrants, because the instruments of mischief of the men, who pretended to be subordinate to their will, though acting the very part of the ministers whom they execrated.

*Not had the assembly discernment to perceive, that the People were neither to be led nor driven.*

*Government and assembly equally deceived.*

*There is great truth in this.*

*Tyrants they will ever be made to be while they exert their sovereignty by simple Majorities, whether*

*collectively or by representation.*

*the troops were dispersed.*

E. e 2

CHAP.

## Acknowledgements

This PDF is generated from John Adams' copy of Mary Wollstonecraft's *An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution* and is a companion to the *American Experience* film, *John & Abigail Adams*. To explore the themes in John Adams' annotations, visit the web site at [www.pbs.org/amex/adams](http://www.pbs.org/amex/adams).

Thanks to the Boston Public Library Rare Books Department for sharing their images of, and their knowledge about, the Adams presidential library of more than 3,000 books.

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