

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: 1789-1791



1

Vocabulary and Background on France

❖Key terms

❖France in the 18th century

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Key Vocabulary

- **Absolute Monarchy** – a form of government in which the ruler, usually a king, has the freedom to rule over his people without limits.
- **Bourgeoisie** – the middle class, doctors, lawyers, businessmen
- **Classical Liberalism** – a political ideology that embraces individual rights, private property and a laissez-faire economy. A belief that the government exists to protect the liberty of each individual and a constitution that protects individual autonomy from government power.
- **Coup d'état** – a sudden overthrow of a government by force.
- **Enlightenment** – a philosophical movement during the 18th century that stressed belief in the power of reason which gives humans the ability to advance in political, scientific, religious and educational ideas.
- **Estates** – the social division created by Louis XIV's Old Regime. Society was divided into three estates – the clergy (First Estate), the nobility (Second Estate), and the commoners (Third Estate).

Key Vocabulary

- **Inflation** – a rise in prices
- **Jacobins** – political radicals, led by Maximilien Robespierre. They demanded true democratic reform and suffrage for males.
- **Reactionary** – ultra-conservative, against change.
- **Self-Determination** – resolve of a group of people living in a territorial unit (such as a country) to govern themselves and make their own decisions about political, religious and cultural issues.
- **Separation of Powers** – A governmental structure which is divided into three branches: legislative, executive and judicial. Each branch exercises power, or checks and balances, over the others to ensure that no one branch can dominate the others.
- **Suffrage** – voting rights.
- **Socialism** – a theory of government in which society as a whole owns all property and operates all businesses rather than these being owned and operated by private individuals.

Background of France in the late 18th century

• In the 1700s France was the most advanced country in Europe.

• It had the largest population and economy.

• French culture was widely admired and imitated.

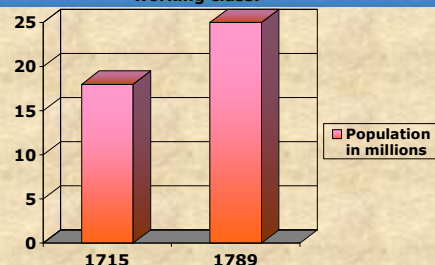
• France had many problems. Many French people were unhappy because of high prices, high taxes.

• French citizens were affected by Enlightenment ideas of freedom.



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During the first part of the 18th century the French economy prospered and the population grew from approximately 18 million in 1715 to 25 million in 1789. During this period of growth, farmers produced surplus food for an urban and rural working class.



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BACKGROUND TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

- ❑ The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution mark the beginnings of the modern history of Europe
- ❑ The French Revolution is the major turning point in European political and social history
- ❑ The French Revolution marks the beginning of a liberal movement to extend political rights and power to the bourgeoisie who possessed capital
- ❑ Bourgeoisie = middle class
- ❑ Capital = money and resources used to create wealth
- ❑ Most say that the cause of the French Rev. was economic collapse and hungry people - but the statistics show that the fifty years before 1789 were a period of economic growth in France
- ❑ A better/more complete explanation of the cause of the F.R. is found by looking at various aspects of French society and its problems in the late 18th century



The twin ideas of liberty and equality were rooted in **Enlightenment** political ideas that became known as **classical liberalism** during the 18th century.

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The Enlightenment was influenced by the Scientific Revolution

❖ Enlightenment thinkers admired scientists from the 17th century because they had used reason to explain nature.

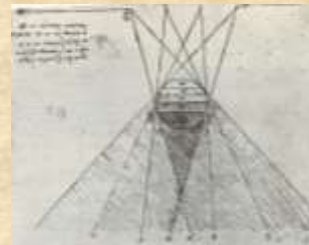
❖ Philosophers in the 18th century applied reason to explain human behavior, government, religion, economics, and education.



Sir Isaac Newton

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Enlightenment philosophers emphasized the essential dignity of the individual and the right to human happiness on this earth.



Some of the major philosophers from the period who influenced the French Revolution included:

- ☞ Locke
- ☞ Montesquieu
- ☞ Voltaire
- ☞ Rousseau

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John Locke (1632-1704)



☞ English philosopher

☞ Claimed that a government was legitimate only if it had the consent of the governed, called a **social contract**. The government had a responsibility to protect the life, liberty, and property of its citizens.

☞ These ideas have had a major impact on the Western world.

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Baron de Montesquieu (1689– 1755)



☞ French political thinker who first described the theory of **separation of powers**.

☞ Published *The Spirit of Laws* in 1748.

☞ Though we take this theory for granted today, at the time it was highly radical as it challenged the entire existing structure of the French government and society.



The Spirit of Laws

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Voltaire (1694–1778)

■ He was among the most influential men of his time.
 ■ Using his great wit, Voltaire produced novels, plays, poetry, essays, pamphlets and scientific and historical works to critique the Catholic Church and institutions of his day.
 ■ He promoted **civil liberties** such as **freedom of speech, religion, and voting rights**-- despite strict censorship laws and harsh punishments for those who broke them.



Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)

■ He believed in **equality and the will of the majority**.

■ He argued that the **people ought to make laws directly**.



The Social Contract or the Principles of Political Rights

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Liberals took from the Enlightenment a faith in science, rational thought and progress. Their belief in government for the good of all people stemmed from these core ideas.



Salons in Paris were meeting places for intellectual discussion.

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Salons

■ Women hosted gatherings of the leading philosophers, artists, scientists, musicians, and painters

■ Men and women were treated as equals in discussions, which was unusual for the 18th century

■ Salons helped spread the ideas of the Enlightenment

■ Salons provided education for women that they could not receive elsewhere



Madame Roland

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Liberals shared a passionate support for religious toleration, freedom of the press and speech, and equality before the law.



In the sketch above, the unemployed lawyer Camille Desmoulins is speaking at the Palais Royal on 12 July 1789. This speech was credited as the catalyst for the fall of the Bastille during the revolution.

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"Active Citizen/Passive Citizen"

Enlightenment political ideas were supported by many members of the middle class and aristocracy. However, their interests were with the theory, not the practice. Most people with money did not believe voting rights should be given to those who did not own property.

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France was the leading nation of Europe in the 1700s in the arts, fashion, food, and philosophy.

France had a powerful army and navy.

The French claimed large portions of North America and other parts of the world.



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Map of the parts of North America claimed by France, 1720. (New France is focused on the Mississippi River drainage basin.)



The French supported the Americans in their revolution against the British

During the American Revolution hundreds of young French officers, the most famous being Marquis de Lafayette, fought with American patriots as these battled for liberty from France's traditional rival, England.

In 1778 the French government offered the Americans a formal alliance.



Marquis de Lafayette



Signing the alliance

The American Revolution 1775-1783



French military & financial assistance to the U.S. was vital to the in winning the American Revolutionary War.

Battle of the Chesapeake



Inspired by the experience of a people's revolution, young French aristocrats brought back stories of liberty and equality in action.

French aristocrats who were uneasy with their privileges, as well as members of the middle class who wanted equality with the nobility, were inspired by these stories.



Paul Revere's ride

Social conditions in France prior to the revolution

- ❖ The Reign of Louis XIV
- ❖ The Court of Louis XIV
- ❖ The Three Estates and the Old Regime



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The French social structure before the revolution is referred to as the Old Regime. Louis XIV, who ruled France from 1661 to 1715, is considered to be the founder of the Old Regime.



Louis XIV



Louis XIV, the Sun King

Louis XIV established himself as an absolute monarch, meaning he had total control over France.

He referred to himself as the Sun King, a name that suggested that just as the earth needed the sun to survive, the French people depended on their king.

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He famously summed up his role by declaring "L'etat, c'est moi." ("I am the state.") Louis XIV considered it his duty to tell people what to think, believe, and how to act, and claimed a divine, or God-given, right to rule as he saw fit.



The family of Louis XIV presented in mythological roles, by Jean Nocret, 1670

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Louis XIV set up a royal bureaucracy, which carried out his policies by breaking up the regions of France into administrative departments.

He appointed royal officials from the educated clergy, lesser knights, and wealthy townspeople to:

- administer royal policy
- collect taxes
- recruit soldiers



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Louis XIV also reorganized the army. No longer were soldiers employed as local militias by their local lords. Now all French soldiers would fight for the king. For the first time soldiers were given official ranks and uniforms.



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Louis XIV believed that France should expand to its "natural borders" and planned to conquer territory to the east from the Alps, north along the Rhine River and further to the English Channel in the west.



Louis XIV with advisors at Versailles



The campaigns of Louis XIV during the year 1676.

The arrows indicate the areas Louis XIV focused on conquering



Louis XIV engaged in a long series of wars to conquer more territory. In fact, during the 54 years of his reign, 30 were spent at war. These wars left his successors deep in debt.



Louis XIV built the fabulous royal palace at Versailles, twelve miles outside of Paris. This magnificent structure took 27 years to build and required 35,000 workers.



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Louis XIV encouraged nobles to live at Versailles where he could keep an eye on them and consolidate his power even more. Versailles became a center of art, fashion, and culture for France and set the trends for all of Europe.



The social structure during his reign is referred to as the Old Regime. It was inflexible and divided society into three estates: the clergy, the nobility and the commoners.



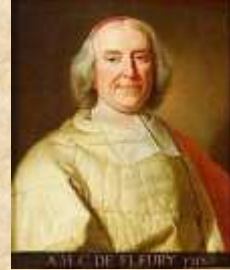
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The Old Regime,
Population breakdown by estate



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The First Estate of Catholic France included the higher clergy, who were of noble birth and often lived in great luxury.



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Also within the First Estate were the parish priests who often lived a simple, hard-working life. Their role was to administer the church, run schools, care for the poor, and keep birth and death records for their congregations.



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To support these activities, the church required that people pay a tithe, or income tax, to the church.

The church used the tithe money to buy huge tracts of land on which it paid no taxes. The clergy were only required to pay a "voluntary gift" to the government every five years.



Many of the parish priests, who were commoners, resented the wealth and privileges enjoyed by their noble counterparts.
The clergy made up less than one percent of the total population of France in 1789.



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THE FIRST ESTATE

- ☐ The clergy - priests and church officials
- ☐ They numbered about 130,000 out of French population of about 27 million
- ☐ The church owned 10% of the land
- ☐ Great differences in wealth and status of clergy - from high nobles to poor commoners



THE SECOND ESTATE

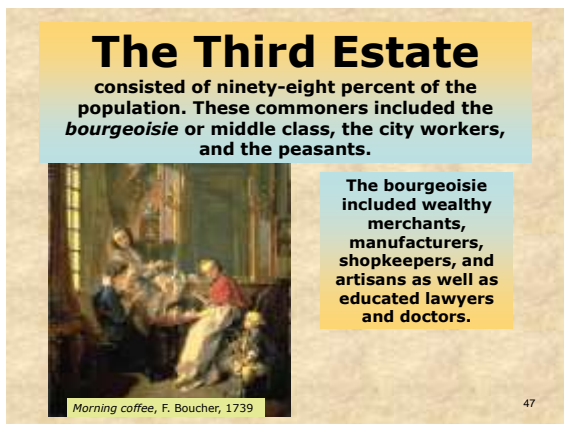
1. The nobles - aristocrats/titled individuals through heredity
2. They numbered about 350,000
3. Held the top positions in the government, the military, the law courts, and high church offices
4. Two types of nobles - A. the nobility of the robe B. the nobility of the sword
5. The nobles wanted to expand their privileges/compete with the monarch for power
6. Nobles wanted to maintain their monopoly on high positions in the military, church, and govt.
7. The law gave them special treatment and privileges - tax exemption most importantly



Members of the Second Estate were descended from knights during the Middle Ages. They considered themselves above the commoners.

Some of their special privileges included:

- Taxing the peasants in their localities for their own profit
- Holding village monopolies on baking bread and pressing grapes for wine
- Charging fees for justice
- Having superiority on public occasions
- Wearing a sword



BOURGEOISIE

1. Made up about 8% of the pop.
 2. They numbered about 2.3 million
 3. Merchants, industrialists, bankers, and professionals = what would today be called "white collar workers"
 4. Middle class resented being excluded from top jobs
 5. Middle class resented the social and political privileges of the nobles
- There was some agreement and similarities between the wealthier bourgeoisie and some nobles
1. Influenced by enlightenment thinking
 2. Wanted social and political reforms
 3. Ended up disagreeing on the scope and extent of social and political changes

The bourgeoisie resented the First and Second Estates and wanted reform, especially of the tax laws, because the Third Estate was burdened with paying the majority of taxes.



A peasant farmer holds a caricature of King Louis by the foot, saying, "I ruined myself to feed the pig, and now I don't know how to stop."



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The Third Estate also included day laborers, apprentices and servants who earned wages in the towns and cities of France.

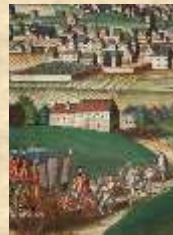


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THE THIRD ESTATE

1. The commoners - the vast majority of the pop.
2. This group included the poorest of the poor and the wealthiest of the wealthy - all w/out titles
3. Peasants were the largest segment of the third estate = 75-80% of the total pop.
4. Skilled artisans, shopkeepers, wage earners in the city = today would be called "the working class"
5. Unskilled workers = the urban poor
6. The working class and urban poor in Paris play a key role in the Revolution
7. The bourgeoisie = the middle class

The largest group within the Third Estate was the peasantry. Peasants were treated harshly under the Old Regime.



For example, peasants could be required to do unpaid road repair work for up to one month each year. In addition to paying a tithe to the church, peasants also paid heavy taxes and rents to their landlords.



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Self-Portrait as Huntsman, A. F. Desportes, 1699

Nobles also had other privileges that further burdened the poor peasants. For instance, it was illegal for peasants to hunt or fish. Peasants could not hunt even rabbits or birds that were eating their crops. Nobles tore up and ruined farmers' fields as they galloped across them enjoying a recreational hunt.

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Economic conditions that led to the revolution

- ❖ Lifestyles of the king and nobles
- ❖ War debts
- ❖ Budget spending
- ❖ Unfair tax system
- ❖ Crop failures
- ❖ Inflation

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The lavish lifestyle of the monarchy and nobility led to bitterness on the part of the Third Estate because the king and nobility were not required to pay taxes.



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French military policy was based on the idea that the way to be the most powerful nation in the world was to conquer territory. This led France to fight a number of wars in Europe as well as on other continents to try and expand her territory with colonies.



French Victory at Fontenoy, May 11, 1745

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Europe after Treaty of Utrecht, 1713



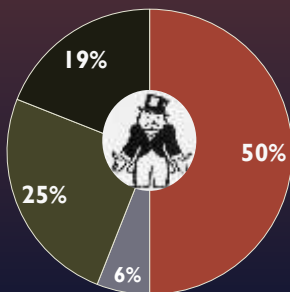
The French national debt was growing.



An allegory, probably of the Peace of Utrecht, 1713

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Budget Crisis



- Debt
- Versailles
- Military
- Public Works

Unfair tax system

The government's main source of funds came from borrowing and taxing the Third Estate.

These medieval tax laws increased as the government needed more money.

As taxes rose, so did the anger on the part of members of the Third Estate.



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the Old Regime

THREE ESTATES:

- **First** (Clergy)
- **Second** (Nobility)
- **Third** (Everyone Else)
 - 97% of Population



TAX EXEMPT 1 2 3%

Caricature of the Third Estate carrying the First Estate and the Second Estate on its back.

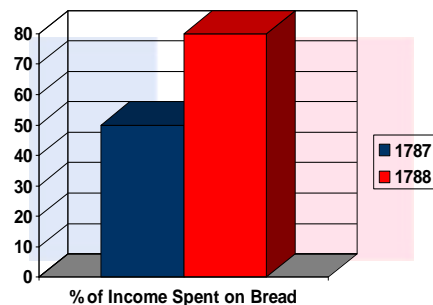


Socio-Economic Data, 1789

Land Ownership by Social Category on the Eve of the French Revolution

	Clergy	Nobility	Bourgeoisie	Peasantry
Land in France owned by each group	6-10%	20-25%	30%	40-45%
Each group as a percentage of the total population	2%	1.5%	8.4%	82-87%

The French Urban Poor



Financial Problems in France, 1789

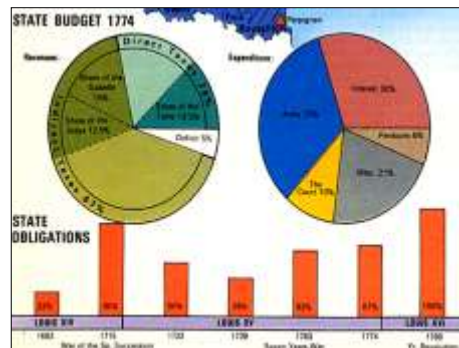
a Urban Commoner's Budget:

- Food 80%
- Rent 25%
- Tithe 10%
- Taxes 35%
- Clothing 20%
- **TOTAL 170%**

a King's Budget:

- Interest 50%
- Army 25%
- Versailles 25%
- Coronation 10%
- Loans 25%
- Admin. 25%
- **TOTAL 160%**

French Budget, 1774



Where is the tax money?



Lettres de Cachet

- Y The French king could warrant imprisonment or death in a signed letter under his seal.
- Y A *carte-blanc* warrant.
- Y Cardinal Fleury issued 80,000 during the reign of Louis XV!
- Y Eliminated in 1790.

Bread was the main source of food for the poor. Crop failures in the 1780s, especially in 1788 and 1789, led to a food shortage. Poor city workers and peasants struggled to feed their families.



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This cartoon shows the nobility on the back of peasants. The rabbits and birds—that belong to the nobility—are eating the farmer's crops!

Food shortages created inflation, which is a rise in prices.

The price of food skyrocketed.

A worker with a wife and three children would have to pay half of his salary just to buy enough bread to keep them from starving.

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Joseph Francois Foulon, a hated financier, said during a famine in 1775, "If the people are hungry, let them eat grass like my horses."



Monsieur Foulon's head eventually ended up on a pike during the revolution.

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IMMEDIATE/SHORT TERM CAUSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

- ❑ The financial collapse of the French government
- ❑ Overspending - costly wars and royal extravagance
- ❑ Borrowing and increasing interest on the government debt - half the govt revenues went to pay interest
- ❑ Need to raise taxes
- ❑ In 1785 Charles de Calonne attempted to reform the govt and finances
- ❑ The nobles resisted Calonne's efforts and he failed
- ❑ Nobles said all the nation had to agree to tax increases/financial reforms
- ❑ The only mechanism that represented all the people was the French parliamentary body called the Estates-General...but it had not met since 1614...



Charles de Calonne - attempted to Reform govt and finances = failed

OTHER PROBLEMS FACING THE FRENCH MONARCHY

- ❑ Bad harvests in 1787-1788 = food shortages
- ❑ Beginnings of a manufacturing depression
- ❑ Rising food prices
- ❑ Unemployment in the cities
- ❑ Influence of the Enlightenment = interest and desire for reform and modernization
- ❑ The French Parlements = regional law courts made up of noble judges - blocked new taxes

Steps towards revolution

- ❖ **Regime change**
- ❖ **Shift in power to the Parlements**
- ❖ **Calling the Estates General**
- ❖ **Demands of the Third Estate**

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On September 1, 1715, Louis XIV died and his son, five-year-old Louis XV, ascended the throne.



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Neither Louis XV or his successor Louis XVI had the force or authority of Louis XIV. They were not able to keep the power structure of the Old Regime in place.



Louis XV served from 1710-1774



Louis XVI and his queen, Marie Antoinette

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The nobility viewed Louis XIV's death as the opportunity to regain their power and status

Parlements were regional regulatory bodies that had the authority to:

❖ issue royal laws and edicts (decrees)

❖ approve tax laws before they could be levied



Joseph-Gaspard Marquis de Maniban
Baron de Cazaubon, the first
president of the Parlement of
Toulouse, 1723.

The French government sank deeper into debt in the early 1780s, and in 1786 bankers began to refuse to lend it more money. Bankers were afraid the government would be unable to pay them back.



Louis XVI gives alms to the poor

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Aristocratic Resurgence and Royal Weakness



WEAK



RESURGENCE



The Assembly of Notables

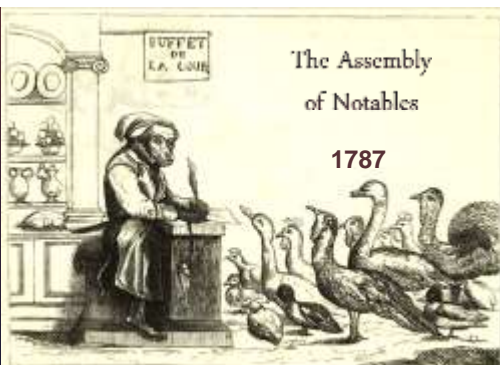
1787

In 1787, Louis called an "Assembly of Notables," hoping to get representatives from the nobility and the Church to agree to be taxed.



The Assembly of Notables

1787

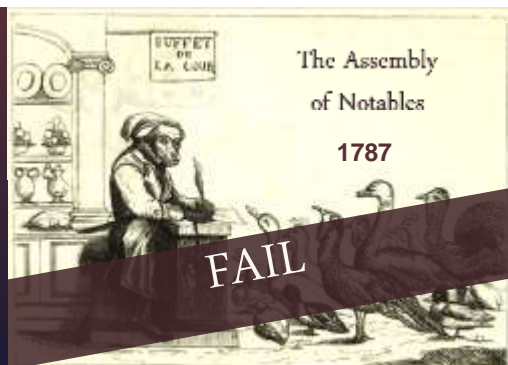


ADDRESS OF THE NOTABLES AT PARIS, FEBRUARY 21, 1787.
"Dear objects of my care, I have assembled you to ascertain with what means you want to be taxed."
"But we don't want to be taxed at all."
"You are departing from the question."

1787 July 1787

The Assembly of Notables

1787



ADDRESS OF THE NOTABLES AT PARIS, FEBRUARY 21, 1787.
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"But we don't want to be taxed at all."
"You are departing from the question."

1787 July 1787

FAIL

King Louis XVI's finance minister, Robert Turgot, proposed that the king levy a general tax on all property to help rescue the depressed economy. The king went before the Parlement of Paris to get them to accept the new tax law. They refused to bow to royal authority, and Louis had to turn away empty-handed.



Cartoon shows the king asking his finance minister where the tax money has gone, while the nobles and clergy are shown walking off with it.

In the autumn of 1788, Louis XVI, facing bankruptcy for his country, called a meeting of the Estates General for the following spring to try and work out a solution. This would be its first assembly since 1614.

- The Estates General was a decision-making body in which each Estate elected delegates.
- When the Three Estates met in the past, each Estate had met as a separate group with only one vote.
- This kept the Third Estate in a weak position, because the First and Second Estates could always outvote them to protect the interests of the clergy and nobility.



Medieval meeting of the Estates General

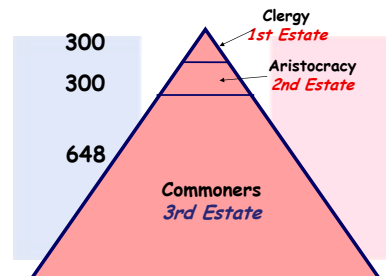
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The Estates General

The French king's advisory body
– Not convened since 1614



The Number of Representatives
in the Estates General: Vote by Head!



When the twelve hundred delegates met at Versailles in May of 1789, the Third Estate demanded that the Estates meet together and that each delegate have one vote.



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THE ESTATES-GENERAL

- Consisted of reps from each of the three orders - clergy, nobles, commoners
- Elections were held to choose reps - third estate was given twice as many reps
- Reps of the 3rd estate = 2/3 lawyers and 1/3 from towns
- Reps of the nobility = 90% reform/enlightenment types
- Cahiers de doléances = statements of local grievances drafted during the elections
- Reform minded reps wanted a regular constitutional govt that would abolish tax privileges
- The Estates-General opened at Versailles in May 1789
- Voting by order or by head = should each rep have one vote or does each order have one vote???
- 1. Traditionally each order voted separately
- 2. If they kept the tradition of voting by social order then the 3rd estate would always be out voted 2 to 1 by the 1st and 2nd estates
- The conflict/dispute over voting caused immediate problems deadlock



Each *estate* cast **one vote** as a group.

1

The
Clergy

2

The
Nobility

3

Everyo
ne Else

AGREEMENT = VICTORY

1

The Clergy

2

The Nobility



What is The
Third Estate?

What is the Third Estate?

Everything.

*What has it been until now
in the political order?*

Nothing.

What does it ask to become?

Something.



Reform Proposals

#1: "Doubling" the Third

1

The
Clergy

2

The
Nobility

3

Everyone
Else

3

Reform Proposals

#2: Vote By Head

1 1 1
1 1 1
1 1 1

2 2 2
2 2 2
2 2 2

3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3

Reform Proposals

#2: Vote By Head

1 1 2 2
1 1 2 2
1 1 2 2

In a *single* assembly, individual nobles and priests could vote with the Third Estate delegates.

1 3 3 3
1 3 3 3
1 3 3 3
2 3 3 3
2 3 3 3
2 3 3 3

Indecision

"Doubling"
the Third



Vote by
Head



Estates General Convenes

May, 1789



HAT FIASCO

Hats (*sumptuary laws*)

Louis: Hat off...

Clergy: Hats off....

Nobility: Hats off....

[Uncomfortable Pause]

Third Estate: Hats off.

[Uncomfortable Pause]

Louis: Hat on.

Photo Credit: [One lucky guy](#)



The National Assembly

June 17, 1789

1 1 1 2 2 2
1 1 1 2 2 2
1 1 1 2 2 2

3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3

The National Assembly

Join us!

1 1 1 2 2 2
1 1 1 2 2 2
1 1 1 2 2 2

3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3
3 3 3

The National Assembly



Convening the Estates General

May, 1789



Last time it was called into session was 1614!

The members of the Third Estate refused to do any business until their demand was met.

The Third Estate delegates hoped that under these circumstances they could win over nobles and clergymen sympathetic to their cause and thereby outvote the upper clergy and nobles.



"The People under the Old Regime"

This print shows the Third Estate carrying the weight of all others in France.

Louis XVI refused to grant these demands and announced that the Estates must meet separately with one vote per Estate as tradition dictated.

Infuriated by the king's refusal to acknowledge them, the Third Estate declared itself to be the National Assembly and claimed the right to write a new national constitution for France. An angry Louis XVI banished the rebellious Third Estate from the Assembly.



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"The Third Estate Awakens"

- Y The commoners finally presented their credentials not as delegates of the Third Estate, but as "representatives of the nation."



- Y They proclaimed themselves the "National Assembly" of France.

What is the Third Estate? - this was a pamphlet written by Abbe Sieyes who said that the 3rd estate is everything, it represents the nation and cannot be politically ignored anymore

- 1st **What is the Third Estate?**
Everything!
- 2nd **What has it been heretofore in the political order?**
Nothing!
- 3rd **What does it demand?**
To become something therein!



Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes
1748-1836

**Three
Days
Later**

Photo Credit: Ravages

**The Tennis
Court Oath**

Photo Credit: Amara U

**The Tennis
Court Oath**

The National Assembly
pledged not to adjourn
until they had adopted a
constitution for France.

Photo Credit: Amara U

"The Tennis Court Oath"

by Jacques Louis David



June 20, 1789

Three days later, on June 23, Louis ordered the Three Estates to meet as a single group just as the Third Estate had originally demanded. He gave a conciliatory speech urging the three groups to work together for reforms.



Scene of the Estates General, 1789

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**Deep divisions existed between the
Three Estates as well as within
them.**

The upper
clergy of the
First Estate
were
determined to
preserve their
privileged
position.



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Division within the Second Estate

There were two categories of French nobility at this time: "nobles of the robe" and "nobles of the sword." "Nobles of the robe" gained their status through service to the royal government or buying their position, while "nobles of the sword" gained their status during the Middle Ages. Nobles of the robe were the new nobility and were looked down upon by the nobles of the sword. It was the nobles of the sword who wanted to retain their special status.



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Two coalitions existed across Estates

One group consisted of members of the Third Estate, much of the lower clergy, and some nobles of the robe. They wanted to establish a limited constitutional monarchy like the one that existed in Great Britain.

Another, smaller group of radicals insisted on equality for all classes before the law. Further, these radicals wanted to eliminate all noble titles and abolish feudal obligations, such as unpaid road repair. They mistrusted the king and resisted any constitution that left him with important powers.



The Oriflamme, banner of French kings from the Middle Ages through the French Revolution

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CAPITULATION

Okay, fine.
Whatever.



CAPITULATION

Louis finally recognized the National Assembly as a lawmaking body and directed the remaining First and Second Estate to join the Assembly...



...but he brought troops to Versailles, just in case.

Photo Credit: guillemogg



Jacques-Louis David, *The Tennis Court Oath*

Compare



John Trumbull, *The Declaration of Independence*, 1819

The Revolution began

- ❖ Attempts to reclaim absolute monarchy
- ❖ Bread riots
- ❖ Storming the Bastille
- ❖ Declaration of the Rights of Man
- ❖ Women's uprising
- ❖ Arrest of the royal family
- ❖ Establishing a constitution
- ❖ Changes in power structure
- ❖ Demands of the Jacobins
- ❖ France at war

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Europe on the Eve of the French Revolution

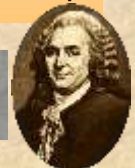


King Louis XVI reclaimed absolute power

■ Louis listened to the advice of some of his relatives and closest nobles, disbanded the Estates General, and reclaimed his traditional divine right to absolute rule.

■ He sent an army of 18,000 to Versailles to dissolve the Assembly at bayonet point.

■ He also dismissed his moderate finance minister, Turgot, and resigned himself to letting the country fall into bankruptcy.



Meanwhile, in Paris...



Photo Credit: Mark J. R.

Meanwhile, the situation for the poor worsened. By July 1789, the price of bread had risen to eight sous per pound in the countryside and four sous per pound in Paris where the price was subsidized (kept lower through financial support) by the government to prevent unrest.

A laborer typically made only two sous per day, so a man with a family of four would be unable to feed them.



Bread riots in Strasbourg, July 1789



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The high price of food and the political crisis lowered the demand for manufactured goods. Thousands of small businessmen and artisans were thrown out of work. By the end of 1789, half of the French people were in need of relief.

In Paris, it is estimated that 150,000 of its 600,000 inhabitants were out of work.



Bread riots in Paris

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The poor of Paris began to talk of their rights. They believed they should have steady work and enough food to survive. Further, they feared that the dismissal of the finance minister meant replacement by someone greedy and self-serving.



Finance Minister Turgot



Many Parisians feared that Louis was going to crush the revolution and destroy the National Assembly. Stories of the cruelty of the nobles and rumors that the king's troops were preparing to storm Paris flew everywhere throughout the city's miserable and filthy streets and alleys.



The awakening of the Third Estate

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SHORTAGE



An Aristocratic Plot???



Photo Credit: One lucky guy

Let's starve some peasants.



Photo Credit: One lucky guy



The French Monarchy:

1775 - 1793



Marie Antoinette & Louis XVI



Marie Antoinette and the Royal Children



Marie Antoinette's "Peasant Cottage"

Marie Antoinette's "Peasant Cottage"



The Necklace Scandal



1,600,000 livres
[\$100 million today]

- Y Cardinal Louis René Édouard de Rohan
- Y The Countess de LaMotte

Let Them Eat Cake!



Y Marie Antoinette NEVER said that!

Y "Madame Deficit"

Y "The Austrian Whore"

On July 13, 1789, angry crowds began to gather, urging the masses to take up arms. The next day, on July 14, a mob of seven hundred protesters marched on the old prison fortress of the Bastille in search of gunpowder.



The Bastille had walls 10 ft. thick and towers 100 ft. high. It was guarded by 80 retired French guards and 30 Swiss guards in July 1789.

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The panicky governor of the prison ordered his guards to fire. Ninety-eight of the protesters were shot dead. The angry crowd forced its way into the Bastille, capturing the governor and guards. The mob surged inside and freed the seven bewildered prisoners.



One of the seven prisoners held inside the Bastille.



As the governor of the prison was being taken to city hall under guard, a band of protesters broke through and hacked him to death. Later that day they cut off the governor's head and the head of the mayor of Paris. The heads were stuck on pikes and paraded about the city.



Pike spear

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Storming the Bastille,

July 14, 1789

Y A rumor that the king was planning a military coup against the National Assembly.



- Y 18 died.
- Y 73 wounded.
- Y 7 guards killed.
- Y It held 7 prisoners [5 ordinary criminals & 2 madmen].

The next day, a committee of citizens appointed the Marquis de Lafayette commander of the city's armed forces. Louis recalled his troops and recalled Turgot, his dismissed finance minister. Louis had lost control of Paris; the National Assembly was saved. With Louis' permission the delegates resumed their negotiations at Versailles.



Marquis de Lafayette

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THE INTERVENTION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE – THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE

- ❑ The King's calling out the army outrages and inflames people - in Paris the people begin to form mobs and organize themselves
- ❑ Leaders of the people in Paris begin to form a citizens army and go searching for arms and ammunition
- ❑ July 14, 1789 - the storming/fall of the Bastille
- ❑ Bastille = royal armory and prison
- ❑ The Storming of the Bastille marks the end of royal authority in Paris - royal troops in Paris are no longer reliable
- ❑ The city of Paris forms a citizens army = the National Guard
- ❑ The Marquis de Lafayette is appointed commander of the new citizens militia
- ❑ The Tricolor - red, blue and white three bar flag is designed to be the new flag of the Nat Guard and then becomes the flag of revolutionary France
- ❑ Royal authority collapses in the cities - the people form "popular committees" and national guards in cities

Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of a Revolution*

- Y He borrowed his terms from pathology.
- Y Compares a revolution to a fever or a disease:
 - The revolutionary "fever" begins with the appearance of certain "symptoms."
 - It proceeds by advances and retreats to a crisis stage, or "delirium."
 - The crisis ends when the "fever" breaks.
 - A period of convalescence follows, interrupted by a relapse or two before the recovery is complete.



Crane Brinton: Conditions Present Before a Revolution Occurs

1. People from all social classes are discontented.
2. People feel restless and held down by unacceptable restrictions in society, religion, the economy or the govt.
3. People are hopeful about the future, but they are being forced to accept less than they had hoped for.
4. People are beginning to think of themselves as belonging to a social class, and there is a growing bitterness between social classes.
5. The social classes closest to one another are the most hostile.

Crane Brinton: Conditions Present Before a Revolution Occurs

6. The scholars and thinkers give up on the way their society operates.
7. The government does not respond to the needs of its society.
8. The leaders of the government and the ruling class begin to doubt themselves. Some join with the opposition groups.
9. The government is unable to get enough support from any group to save itself.
10. The government cannot organize its finances correctly and is either going bankrupt or trying to tax heavily and unjustly.

Crane Brinton: The Course that Revolutions Seem to Take

1. Impossible demands made of government which, if granted, would mean its end.
2. Unsuccessful government attempts to suppress revolutionaries.
3. Revolutionaries gain power and seem united.
4. Once in power, revolutionaries begin to quarrel among themselves, and unity begins to dissolve.
5. The moderates gain the leadership but fail to satisfy those who insist on further changes.

Crane Brinton: The Course that Revolutions Seem to Take

6. Power is gained by progressively more radical groups until finally a lunatic fringe gains almost complete control.
7. A strong man emerges and assumes great power.
8. The extremists try to create a "heaven-on-earth" by introducing their whole program and by punishing all of their opponents.
9. A period of terror [extreme violence] occurs.
10. Moderate groups regain power. THE REVOLUTION IS OVER!

Meanwhile, between June and August, peasants tried to destroy all records of feudal obligations by burning down buildings that housed public records. They also targeted the homes of nobles. This was known as "The Great Fear" and later spread through all of France.



The Great Fear swept through the countryside.

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The Great Fear: Peasant Revolt

(July 20, 1789)



- Y Rumors that the feudal aristocracy [the *aristos*] were sending hired brigands to attack peasants and pillage their land.



Photo Credit: One lucky guy

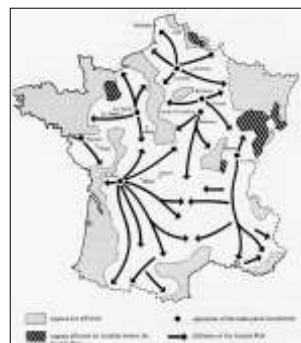
THE GREAT FEAR



Collapse of royal authority in the countryside/rural areas = peasant revolutions in the countryside

Peasants refuse to obey the old traditional rules and fees
Attack and challenge the local power and privileges of the nobles

The Great Fear - summer of 1789/anarchy and uprisings in the countryside



The Path
of the
"Great
Fear"

In response, some nobles and wealthy bourgeoisie employed patrols to try and protect their property. However, the rebellion continued.

Peasants refused to pay their taxes and seized forests.

This insurrection in the countryside fueled the rebellious spirit in the cities.



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Some liberal nobles and middle class delegates at Versailles made impassioned speeches in support of reform on August 4, 1789.

The Duke of Aiguillon, one of the greatest of France's noble landlords, advocated for equality in taxation and abolishing feudal dues.

Others called for an end to serfdom, tithing by the church, and exclusive nobility hunting rights.

By the end of the evening, all the traditional obligations of the peasantry toward their noble landlords were abolished.

No longer would nobles have the exclusive right to hunt and fish, to be able to exact unpaid labor and dues, or to hold a monopoly on village production of bread and wine.

Further, all male citizens were made eligible for church and government positions.

of
th

ABOLISHED

Link to Document

Photo Credit: One.lucky.guy

Night Session of August 4, 1789

Y Before the night was over:

- The feudal regime in France had been abolished.
- All Frenchmen were, at least in principle, subject to the same laws and the same taxes and eligible for the same offices.

Equality & Meritocracy!

National Constituent Assembly

1789 - 1791

Liberté!

Egalité!

Fraternité!

August Decrees

August 4-11, 1789

(A renunciation of aristocratic privileges!)

BUT

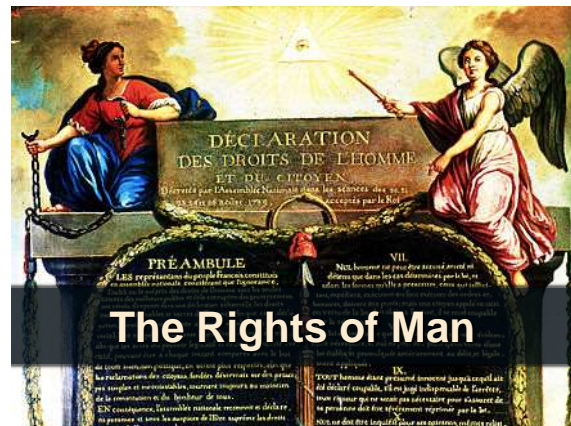
- Feudal dues were not renounced outright [this had been too strong a threat to the principle of private property!]
- Peasants would compensate their landlords through a series of direct payments for obligations from which they had supposedly been freed.
 - Therefore, the National Assembly made revolutionary gestures, but remained essentially moderate.

Their Goal → Safeguard the right of private property!!

This was a great victory for the peasantry; hereafter, they became a force for calm and stability as they sought to preserve and consolidate their gains.



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The Rights of Man

By the end of August the National Assembly had adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Its seventeen articles stated that democracy would be the basis for the new government of France.

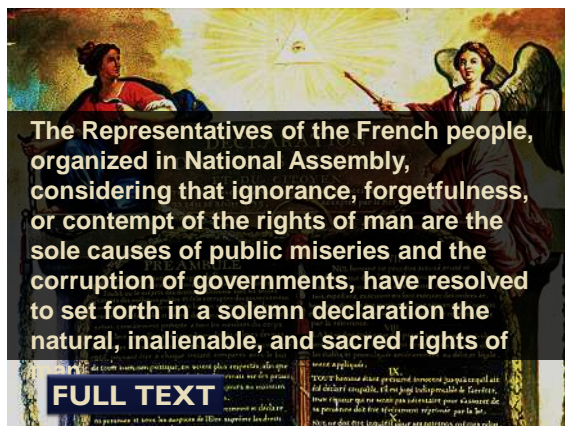
But like the American Declaration of Independence, this document was a general statement of purpose and did not include details as to how these principles were to be achieved.



The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen

August 26, 1789

[VIEW TEXT](#)



The Representatives of the French people, organized in National Assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public miseries and the corruption of governments, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of

FULL TEXT

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

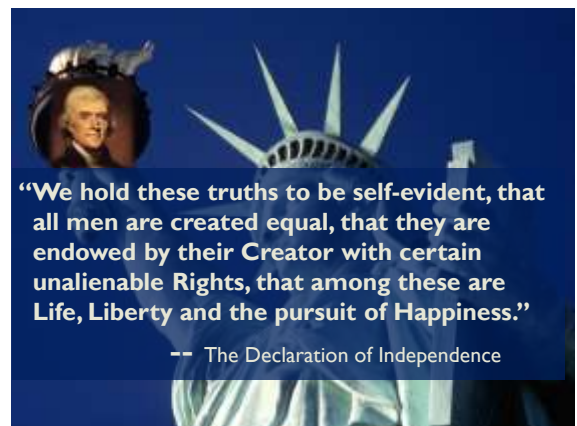
August 26, 1789

- ✓ Liberty!
- ✓ Property!
- ✓ Resistance to oppression!
- ✓ Thomas Jefferson was in Paris at this time.




DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN


1. The charter of basic liberties of revolutionary France
2. The most important document of the revolution
3. Declared that "men are born and remain free and equal in rights"
4. Government must protect people's natural rights
5. Political power comes from the people
6. Ended legal inequality
7. Ended tax exemptions
8. Gave all citizens the right to participate and serve in government
9. Outlawed arbitrary arrests
10. Established freedom of speech and press




INFLUENCERS of the Declaration



US
Declaration
of Independence



**Jean J.
Rousseau**



**The British
System of Gov.**

The delegates could not agree upon a constitution that would fulfill the promises of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

A major issue was how much power the king should retain and whether or not he should be allowed to permanently veto legislation.



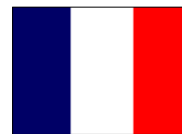
"New Square of the Bastille"
(Caption reads: "The friend of times past is no longer. Render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, to the Nation what is the Nation's.")

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The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen Posed New Dilemmas

1. Did women have equal rights with men?
 - ❖ Women's Rights - leaders of the National Assembly said women have equal civil rights but not equal political rights
2. What about free blacks in the colonies?
3. How could slavery be justified if all men were born free?
4. Did religious toleration of Protestants and Jews include equal political rights?

The Tricolor (1789)



The WHITE of the
Bourbons + the RED &
BLUE of Paris.

Citizen!



The Tricolor is the Fashion!



The "Liberty Cap": *Bonne Rouge*



Revolutionary Symbols



Cockade



Revolutionary Clock



La Republic



Liberté



Revolutionary Playing Cards



Meanwhile, thousands of Parisian women marched through the rain to the palace at Versailles.

Their anger was the result of the loss of their work.



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These women worked in the putting-out system of the garment industry. This system involved women and children working out of their homes to make luxury items such as lace, bonnets, corsets, and fancy dresses. Their customers were the wealthy aristocratic elite.

However, when the Bastille was attacked in July, many nobles fled the nation, lowering the demand for luxury garments and therefore creating less work for the women of Paris.



WOMEN'S MARCH ON VERSAILLES

October, 1789



The October Days

October 5, 1789

Market-women from Paris marched to the palace in Versailles

Angry over the increase in bread prices and food shortages

"Tear out the Queen's heart and fry her liver!"



March of the Women,

October 5-6, 1789

A spontaneous demonstration of Parisian women for bread.



*We want the baker, the baker's wife
and the baker's boy!*



On October 5, 1789, a crowd of 7,000 furious women marched on Versailles to demand economic justice for their hungry families. The mob of women armed with scythes, sticks and pikes entered the Assembly.



THE WOMEN'S MARCH TO VERSAILLES

- ❑ October 5, 1789 - thousands of angry women demanding bread march to Versailles to confront the king and the National Assembly
- ❑ The crowd demand and force the king and his family to return to Paris
- ❑ The people want the king in Paris so they can keep an eye on him and pressure him if needed
- ❑ The king is forced to accept the authority of the National Assembly

The women entered the royal apartments and slaughtered some of the royal bodyguards. They sought their despised queen Marie Antoinette.



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The royal family's lives were only saved by the intervention of the Marquis de Lafayette and the National Guard.

The crowd was finally calmed by a promise that the king and his family would come with them to Paris the following day.



King Louis XVI and Queen Marie-Antoinette as a two-headed monster.



Lafayette helping save France

The next day a procession of King Louis, his queen Marie Antoinette, their son, and an unarmed guard followed by the National Assembly made their way to Paris.



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The "October Days" (1789)



The king was thought to be surrounded by evil advisors at Versailles so he was forced to move to Paris and reside at the **Tuileries Palace**.

The Intervention of the Sabine Women by David



The procession was surrounded by an angry and boisterous crowd that insulted and mocked them. The crowd was led by ferocious men bearing sabers and the heads of two noblemen on the points of pikes.



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The National Assembly, now in Paris, sought to satisfy the rebellious people. They adopted a constitution that:

- ☐ Gave the king only temporary veto power
- ☐ Guaranteed bread at a price they could pay
- ☐ Declared freedom of religion and eliminated the special privileges of the Catholic Church. To raise much-needed money, the Assembly began to sell off vast tracts of land owned by the church



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Planting the Tree of Liberty



1790

Sir Edmund Burke (1790):

Reflections on the Revolution in France



The conservative response to the French Revolution



How to Finance the New Govt.?

1. Confiscate Church Lands (1790)



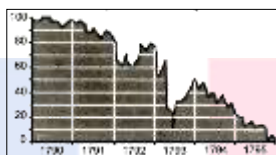
One of the most controversial decisions of the entire revolutionary period.

2. Print *Assignats*



- ✓ Issued by the National Constituent Assembly.
- ✓ Interest-bearing notes which had the church lands as security.

Depreciation of the *Assignat*



- ✓ Whoever acquired them were entitled to certain privileges in the purchase of church land.
- ✓ The state would retire the notes as the land was sold.
- ✓ They began circulating as paper currency.
 - Government printed more → **INFLATION** [they lost 99% of their value ultimately].
 - Therefore, future governments paid off their creditors with cheap money.

The Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790. It gave the government control of the church and allowed citizens to elect priests and bishops. Many Frenchmen who had supported the revolution to this point were unhappy with this move and began to disapprove of it.

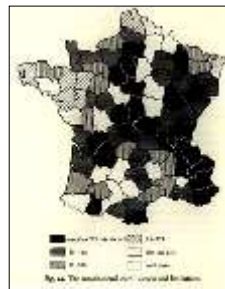


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THE REVOLUTION AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

- ❑ The National Assembly confiscates church lands and declare it to be the property of the government
- ❑ July 1790 - the National Assembly issues the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
 1. Bishops and priests were to be elected by the people
 2. Clergy were to be paid by the government = become employees of the state
 3. All clergy required to swear an oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution
 4. Pope forbids clergy to take this oath - almost half the clergy obey the pope
 5. Refractory Clergy - those who refuse to swear the oath/they come to be seen as enemies of the rev.
 6. The attacks on the church cause some people to become counter-revolutionaries

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy



July 12, 1790

Jurying
vs.
Non-Jurying [refractory] Clergy

The oath of allegiance permanently divided the Catholic population!

New Relations Between Church & State

- ✓ Government paid the salaries of the French clergy and maintained the churches.
- ✓ The church was reorganized:
 - Parish priests → elected by the district assemblies.
 - Bishops → named by the department assemblies.
 - The pope had NO voice in the appointment of the French clergy.
- ✓ It transformed France's Roman Catholic Church into a branch of the state!!



Pope Pius VI
[1775-1799]

Louis XVI "Accepts" the Constitution & the National Assembly. 1791



CONSTITUTION OF 1791

The Constitution of 1791 –

1. The National Assembly writes a new constitution then disbands
2. France becomes a constitutional monarchy
3. King has few powers under the new constitution
4. Legislative Assembly = the new national parliament of France
5. Active Citizens = those who could pay a tax and vote/Passive Citizens = those who couldn't vote



The French Constitution of 1791: A Bourgeois Government

- v The king got the **"suspensive" veto** [which prevented the passage of laws for 4 years].
 - He could not pass laws.
 - His ministers were responsible for their own actions.
- v A permanent, elected, single chamber National Assembly.
 - Had the power to grant taxation.
- v An independent judiciary.

The French Constitution of 1791: A Bourgeois Government

- v **"Active" Citizen** [who pays taxes amounting to 3 days labor] could vote vs. **"Passive" Citizen**.
 - 1/3 of adult males were denied the franchise.
 - Domestic servants were also excluded.
- v A newly elected **LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**.

GOAL → Make sure that the country was not turned over to the mob!

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Legislative Assembly -

1. Administrative restructuring = France is divided into "83 departments" which were local districts
2. Election of local councils and officials
3. Bourgeoisie /lawyers now control local government
4. Assignats = new revolutionary paper currency - hit by inflation
5. Massive financial problems for the govt - tax evasion

83 Revolutionary Departments



February 26, 1790

The constitution also guaranteed all citizens equal status before the law and forever dismantled the old distinctions between nobles, clergy and commoners.



Sans-culotte

Sans-culottes refers to the masses during the revolution. Many Frenchmen could not imagine true equality between the social groups.



Wealthy gentleman

The Sans-Culottes: The Parisian Working Class

- Small shopkeepers.
- Tradesmen.
- Artisans.

They shared many of the ideals of their middle class representatives in government!



Despite the Assembly's best efforts, few people were satisfied with the new constitution. Many nobles felt it went too far, while radicals wanted to do away with the monarchy altogether and replace it with a republic.



Equality among Estates

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Many nobles left France for friendly foreign countries, where they urged other European leaders to oppose the revolutionaries in France.

The exiled nobles argued that the revolution threatened foreign monarchies as well, by giving *their* peasants and laborers the idea to revolt.



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In June of 1791 King Louis decided to flee the country in secret. He and his family were recognized near the border of Austria, where Queen Marie Antoinette's brother was emperor. The National Assembly sent officers to arrest the captured royal family and bring them back to Paris.



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The Royal Family Attempts to Flee

- Y June, 1791
- Y Helped by the Swedish Count Hans Axel von Fersen [Marie Antoinette's lover].
- Y Headed toward the Luxembourg border.
- Y The King was recognized at Varennes, near the border



THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES

- June 1791 - The king tries to escape to Austria and is captured at Varennes near the border
- The National Assembly begins governing in Oct. 1791 with a discredited and disloyal king heading the govt



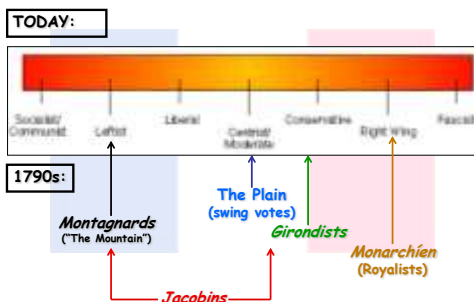
In October, 1791, the newly elected legislative assembly met for the first time. Its members sat according to their political philosophies:

- The more moderate revolutionaries sat on the right side of the hall, while the most radical sat on the left.
- This seating arrangement became the traditional way to describe people's political views as being either "left" or "right."
- Those who advocated dramatic change became associated with the left, while those striving to uphold tradition were to the right.
- Those with the most moderate views were in the center.

Radical		Moderate	Conservative
Jacobins: radical change	Girondins: liberal republicans		Feuillants: wanted constitutional monarchy

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The Political Spectrum



The Politics of the National Convention (1792-1795)

Montagnards

- ★ Power base in Paris.
- ★ Main support from the *sans-culottes*.
- ★ Would adopt extreme measures to achieve their goals.
- ★ Saw Paris as the center of the Revolution.
- ★ More centralized [in Paris] approach to government.

Girondists

- ★ Power base in the provinces.
- ★ Feared the influence of the *sans-culottes*.
- ★ Feared the dominance of Paris in national politics.
- ★ Supported more national government centralization [federalism].

The radicals ("leftists") were guided by a group known as the Jacobins, whose leader was Maximilien Robespierre. Robespierre demanded true democracy for France and universal voting rights for all male citizens.

About Ownership, or The Causes of Poverty. Pleaded in front of the Tribunal of Reason, Justice, and Truth



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The ideas of the revolution began to spread to other countries. European leaders wanted to attack France and restore Louis to the throne. At the same time, revolutionaries in France decided that war would unite the country as the people defended their homeland. France declared war on Austria on April 20, 1792. Prussia joined with Austria a few weeks later.



Central European areas with which France shared a border

This political cartoon shows *sans-culottes* dancing around a liberty tree, with the captured Bastille on the right and the Austrian army on the left. "*Sans-culottes*," which means "without breeches" in French, refers to the laboring poor who wore long pants rather than the knee breeches of the aristocracy and middle class.



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At first the war went badly for France. Many of the army's officers had been nobles who had left the country because of the revolution; the remaining forces were badly organized and poorly led by inexperienced officers. Revolutionary ideas could also cause problems; at one battle, an entire regiment insisted on voting whether to attack the enemy.



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By August of 1792, Prussian and Austrian armies approached Paris. The Commander of the Prussians, the Duke of Brunswick, issued a statement that became known as the Brunswick Manifesto. He threatened that if Paris did not peacefully surrender, he and his Austrian forces would burn Paris to the ground and subject the revolution's leaders to torture and death.



OPPOSITION FROM ABROAD



The Prussian King and the Austrian Emperor
- enemies of the French Revolution

Old Regime/Absolute monarchs in Europe opposed the French Revolution

Feared the rev would set a bad example

Feared that it might spread to their states

The Declaration of Pillnitz = Austria and Prussia call on all monarchs to join together to restore

King Louis to absolute power

The D. of P. angers the Nat. Assembly - France Declares war on Austria in April 1792

The First Coalition & The Brunswick Manifesto

(August 3, 1792)

Duke of Brunswick → if the Royal Family is harmed, Paris will be leveled!!

FRANCE



AUSTRIA
PRUSSIA
BRITAIN
SPAIN
PIEDMONT

This military crisis undermined the new Legislative Assembly.

The Brunswick Manifesto enraged and energized the people of France. All over the nation the cry, "Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!" rang through the streets. Soldiers from Marseilles sped to Paris singing a patriotic marching song, the "Marseillaise," which became the French national anthem.



Fraternity



Equality



Liberty

THE SUMMER OF 1792

1. France does badly at the start of the war against Austria
2. Economic shortages
3. Radicals in Paris begin to demonstrate and protest - blame the king for all problems
4. The Paris Commune = radical leaders in Paris form their own city got to overthrow the existing gov
5. August 1792 - Radical mobs attack the Tuileries (the king's palace in Paris)
The king's guards are slaughtered and the king and family flee to the Nat. Assembly
Radical mobs attack the National Assembly
King is captured and imprisoned
National Assembly is forced to suspend the monarchy and create a new government
6. The new government will be created by the "National Convention" whose members will be elected on the basis of universal male suffrage (all males have right to vote)
7. The National Convention will write a new constitution = create a republic/no more monarchy



The Storming of the Tuileries:

August 9-10, 1792



This was triggered in part by the publication in Paris of the August 3 Brunswick Manifesto, which confirmed popular suspicions concerning the king's treason.

September massacres

Many feared that traitors within the country would aid the enemy. This led Georges-Jacques Danton, a revolutionary leader and member of the Assembly, to give a speech on September 2, 1792, in which he urged people to crush the enemies of France. Mobs attacked French prisons that held counter-revolutionaries and clergymen who refused to take the oath to the new constitution. Five days later, over 1,000 were dead.



"When the tocsin sounds, it will not be a signal of alarm, but the signal to charge against the enemies of our country. . . . To defeat them, gentlemen, we need boldness, and again boldness; and France will then be saved."

The September Massacres, 1792 (The dark side of the Revolution!)



- Rumors that the anti-revolutionary political prisoners were plotting to break out & attack from the rear the armies defending France, while the Prussians attacked from the front.
- Buveurs de sang* ["drinkers of blood."] → over 1000 killed!
- It discredited the Revolution among its remaining sympathizers abroad.

The turning point for the French forces came September 20, 1792, at the Battle of Valmy. The French defeated the Duke of Brunswick in the Republic's first victory. Within months they had driven the foreign army out of France.



French victory at Battle of Valmy, September 1792

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The Second French Revolution

- ❖ Continued poverty and despair
- ❖ Establishment of the French Republic
- ❖ Execution of Louis XVI
- ❖ France at war in Central Europe



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Again, the cost of war caused prices to rise and food to run dangerously short. Angry Parisians, with the help of sympathetic soldiers from the provinces, rebelled in the *Second French Revolution*.

242

On August 10, 1792, a crowd took over the Paris city government and established a new administration, which they named the Commune.



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The Second Revolution

Also in August, a large group marched on the Tuileries where the king and his family were living. They killed many of the royal family's Swiss guards. The king and queen fled to the National Assembly hoping for protection, but the revolutionaries had also taken that over. They voted to imprison the royal family and remove the king from office as head of the executive. Further, they voted to write a new constitution.



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The Commune called for a National Convention to write a constitution. New delegates had to be selected. The elections took place in a tense atmosphere. Mobs roamed the streets of Paris killing anyone they thought was an enemy of France.



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Election departments in France, 1791



6

The National Convention

(September, 1792)

- Its first act was the formal abolition of the monarchy on September 22, 1792.
 - The **Year I** of the French Republic.
- **The Decree of Fraternity**
 - it offered French assistance to any subject peoples who wished to overthrow their governments.

*When France sneezes,
all of Europe catches cold!*

• The people who were elected to write the second constitution were far more radical than most of the general population.

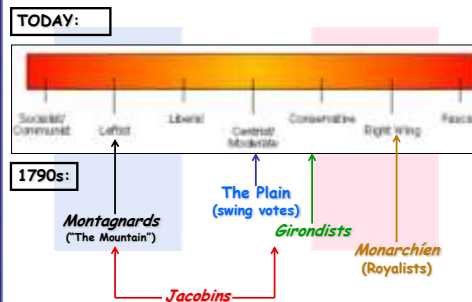
• The first thing the National Convention did when it met in September 1792 was to abolish the monarchy and declare France a republic.

• Their second task was to decide what to do with the king. The most radical delegates wanted him tried for treason. Moderates wanted to imprison him until the war with Austria and Prussia was over.



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The Political Spectrum



DOMESTIC CRISES

- ❑ The Girondins
- ❑ The Mountain
- ❑ June 1793 – radical mobs force the arrest and execution of the Girondins
- ❑ The Revolt of the Vendee
- ❑ France 1793 = major domestic chaos and turmoil



The Politics of the National Convention (1792-1795)

Montagnards

- ★ Power base in Paris.
- ★ Main support from the *sans-culottes*.
- ★ Would adopt extreme measures to achieve their goals.
- ★ Saw Paris as the center of the Revolution.
- ★ More centralized [in Paris] approach to government.

Girondists

- ★ Power base in the provinces.
- ★ Feared the influence of the *sans-culottes*.
- ★ Feared the dominance of Paris in national politics.
- ★ Supported more national government centralization [federalism].

The “Purifying” Pot of the Jacobin



Louis XVI as a Pig



- c For the Montagnards, the king was a traitor.
- c The Girondins felt that the Revolution had gone far enough and didn't want to execute the king [maybe exile him].

In November 1792, as the Convention debated the king's fate, a trunk with letters written by the king was discovered. The letters showed that the king had been corresponding with émigrés who were plotting to overthrow the revolution. This discovery sealed Louis' fate and he was sentenced to death.



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Louis XVI's Head (January 21, 1793)



- c The trial of the king was hastened by the discovery in a secret cupboard in the Tuileries of a cache of documents.
- c They proved conclusively Louis' knowledge and encouragement of foreign intervention.
- c The National Convention voted **387 to 334** to execute the monarchs.

The Death of "Citizen" Louis Capet

*Matter for reflection
for the crowned
jugglers.*

*So impure blood
doesn't soil our land!*



Marie Antoinette as a Serpent



The "Widow Capet"

**The guillotine was
developed during
the French
Revolution as a
quick and
painless form of
execution.**



**On January 21, 1793, Louis mounted the steps to the
guillotine and said to the assembled onlookers,
"People, I die innocent!"**



**When the monarchs of Europe received the news of
Louis' execution they were deeply shocked and
horrified. In Louis' execution they saw their own lives
and privileges at grave risk.**



Cartoon shows the gentleman respectfully bowing on the left as a member of Louis' court, while the gentleman on the right is of the new France, shabbily dressed and standing defiantly.

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**By 1793 the French army was fighting successfully
against its enemies. They captured the Austrian
Netherlands and were close to taking parts of the Dutch
Netherlands and Prussia. Further, the National
Convention made a pledge to aid all who fought to gain
their liberty from monarchies. This pledge brought
together Great Britain, Spain, and the Dutch
Netherlands with Austria and Prussia in the First
Coalition against France.**



First Coalition

The Austrian monarchy
(within the Holy Roman
Empire)

The Austrian Netherlands

Kingdom of Great Britain

Kingdom of Naples

Kingdom of Prussia

Kingdom of Sardinia (at war
with France since 1792)

Kingdom of Spain

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The Prussians and Dutch were able to push the French back across the Rhine River. Spain attacked France from the south and the British captured the Port of Toulon in the southeast.



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As the revolutionary French army was losing battles against her many enemies, people at home were feeling the effects of continued economic strain. Starvation threatened large portions of the population. Some people felt that the revolution had gone too far.



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Counter-revolutionaries, people who opposed the revolution, began to rise up in protest in the cities of Lyon, Bordeaux and Marseille, and in a region known as the Vendée.



Counter-revolutionaries raid a home

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The Reign of Terror

- ❖ Committee of Public Safety
- ❖ Executions under the leadership of Robespierre and the Jacobins
- ❖ Execution of Marie Antoinette
- ❖ France at war
- ❖ Continued economic problems and food shortages
- ❖ Return to moderation; end of Robespierre

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Attempts to Control the Growing Crisis

1. **Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris** → try suspected counter-revolutionaries.
 - A. **Representatives-on-Mission**
 - ℳ sent to the provinces & to the army.
 - ℳ had wide powers to oversee conscription.
 - B. **Watch Committees [comité de surveillance]**
 - ℳ keep an eye on foreigners & suspects.
 - C. Sanctioned the trial & execution of rebels and émigrés, should they ever return to France.

Attempts to Control the Growing Crisis

2. The printing of more *assignats* to pay for the war.
3. **Committee of Public Safety [CPS]**
 - ℳ to oversee and speed up the work of the government during this crisis.
4. **Committee of General Security [CGS]**
 - ℳ responsible for the pursuit of counter-revolutionaries, the treatment of suspects, & other internal security matters.

The National Convention, dominated by the radical Jacobins, took desperate measures to deal with foreign and domestic troubles. They set aside the constitution approved in 1793 and established the Committee of Public Safety.



The Crushed Aristocracy

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Committee for Public Safety



- Revolutionary Tribunals.
- 300,000 arrested.
- 16,000 - 50,000 executed.

Maximillian Robespierre (1758 – 1794)



Georges Jacques Danton (1759 – 1794)



Jean-Paul Marat (1744 – 1793)



**L'Ami du peuple
(The Friend of the People)**
was a newspaper written by Jean-Paul Marat during the French Revolution. L'Ami du peuple was a vocal advocate for the rights of the lower classes against those Marat believed to be enemies of the people.

In order to save the revolution, the Committee collaborated with the most radical element of the revolution, the sans culottes who had led the attacks on the Bastille, Versailles and the Tuileries.



The Committee ruled between July 1793 and July 1794, the period known as the Reign of Terror.

The Committee of Public Safety had total authority and waged a brutal campaign to eliminate enemies of France and the revolution.



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The Committee was led by the brilliant but inflexible and ruthless Robespierre. It sent agents out to the provinces of France to expose counter-revolutionaries.

The Law of Suspects declared that people could be arrested for "their conduct, their relations, their remarks, or their writings." This vague wording made it easy for revolutionary courts to condemn the accused on very little evidence.



Above:
Committee
meetings
Right: trial
proceedings



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During the period that Robespierre was in charge, several radical changes were made to create a "Republic of Virtue," including:

- Eliminating all things related to the Old Regime, monarchy, and nobility

- Decks of cards no longer had kings and queens

- Religion was outlawed

- New scientific calendar was used with 10-day weeks



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The De-Christianization Program

1. The adoption of a new Republican Calendar:

- Abolished Sundays & religious holidays.

- Months named after seasonal features.

- 7-day weeks replaced by 10-day decades.

- The yearly calendar was dated from the creation of the Republic [Sept. 22, 1792]

The Convention symbolically divorced the state from the Church!!

A Republican Calendar



The New Republican Calendar

New Name	Meaning	Time Period
Vendémiaire	Vintage	September 22 - October 21
Brumaire	Fog	October 22 - November 20
Frimaire	Frost	November 21 - December 20
Nivose	Snow	December 21 - January 19
Pluviose	Rain	January 20 - February 18
Ventose	Wind	February 19 - March 20
Germinal	Budding	March 21 - April 19
Floreal	Flowers	April 20 - May 19
Prairial	Meadow	May 20 - June 18
Messidor	Harvest	June 19 - July 18
Thermidor	Heat	July 19 - August 17
Fructidor	Fruit	August 18 - September 21

A New Republican Calendar Year

I	1792 - 1793
II	1793 - 1794
III	1794 - 1795
IV	1795 - 1796
V	1796 - 1797
VI	1797 - 1798
VII	1798 - 1799
VIII	1799 - 1800
IX	1800 - 1801
X	1801 - 1802
XI	1802 - 1803
XII	1803 - 1804
XIII	1804 - 1805
XIV	1805

The Gregorian System returned in 1806.

The De-Christianization Program

2. The public exercise of religion was banned.
3. The Paris Commune supported the:
 - destruction of religious & royal statues.
 - ban on clerical dress.
 - encouragement of the clergy to give up their vocations.
4. The Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris was turned into the "Temple of Reason."
5. The deportation of priests denounced by six citizens.

The "Temple of Reason"



Come, holy Liberty, inhabit this temple, Become the goddess of the French people.

The Festival of Supreme Being



A new secular holiday

Backlash to the De-Christianization Program

- It alienated most of the population (especially in the rural areas).
- Robespierre never supported it.
 - he persuaded the Convention to reaffirm the principle of religious toleration.
- Decree on the "Liberty of Cults" was passed
 - December 6, 1793.
 - BUT, it had little practical effect!

The Radical's Arms:

**No God!
No Religion!
No King!
No Constitution!**



Republic of Virtue

The Jacobins believed that reason and patriotism were the most important virtues, or values

All men were legally and politically equal

All were free

All were brothers

Many people were executed who questioned these virtues



The Reign of Terror

Terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible. --

Robespierre

Let terror be the order of the day!

- The Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris alone executed 2,639 victims in 15 months.
- The total number of victims nationwide was over 20,000!



The Guillotine: An "Enlightenment Tool"?

Oh, thou charming guillotine,
You shorten kings and queens;
By your influence divine,
We have re-conquered our rights.
Come to aid of the Country
And let your superb instrument
Become forever permanent
To destroy the impious sect.
Sharpen your razor for Pitt and his agents
Fill your divine sack with heads of tyrants.

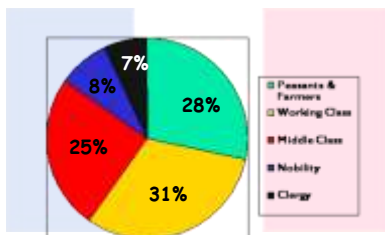
Reign of Terror, July 1793-July 1794



Between 20,000 and 40,000 men, women, and children were condemned to die by the guillotine across France.
Another 300,000 crowded prisons.
The accused came from all classes.
One of its victims was the former queen, Marie Antoinette.

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Different Social Classes Executed



The "Monster" Guillotine



The last guillotine execution in France was in 1939!



Marie Antoinette holding a rose,
La Burn, 1783



Marie Antoinette at the Conciergerie,
A. Kucharski, 1793. (She was held
prisoner in the Conciergerie while
awaiting trial)

Marie Antoinette on the Way to the Guillotine



Marie Antoinette was guillotined on October 16, 1793



Trial of Marie Antoinette



Marie Antoinette on the way
to her execution, by Flameng

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While the Committee ruthlessly enforced loyalty at home, it also reorganized the army.

All French men, regardless of age or occupation, became eligible for the draft.



The Fatherland in Danger, Guillaume Guillon Lethière

5



"Army of Jugs," 1793. Produced for the Committee of Public Safety. Caricatures are of the British army (the marching "jugs") and King George III, who fought against the French sans-culottes (found atop the archway in this cartoon).

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The Committee put people to work producing military equipment and supplies for the war effort.



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Legislation Passed by the National Convention

1. Law of General Maximum

- September 5, 1793.
- Limited prices of grain & other essentials to 1/3 above the 1790 prices & wages to 1/2 of 1790 figures.
- Prices would be strictly enforced.
- Hoarders rooted out and punished.
- Food supplies would be secured by the army!

2. Law of Suspects

- September 17, 1793.
- This law was so widely drawn that almost anyone not expressing enthusiastic support for the republic could be placed under arrest!

The Committee dictated economic reforms and established the world's first example of a planned economy.

They put controls on prices and wages.

White flour was outlawed. Bakers were ordered to bake only a coarse brown bread called "people's bread" that was made from a mixture of grains. Pastries of white flour were outlawed as a frivolous luxury.

Ration cards were introduced to make sure that bread was shared fairly.

Other radical economic ideas included taking grain from the peasantry to feed the people.



The people were united in the struggle against common enemies both foreign and domestic. A famous decree of August 23, 1793, declared,

"The young men shall go to battle and the married men shall forge arms. The women shall make tents and clothes, and shall serve in the hospitals; children shall tear rags into lint. The old men shall be guided to the public places of the cities to kindle the courage of the young warriors and to preach the unity of the Republic and the hatred of kings."

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The Terror Intensified:

March to July, 1794

Jacques Hébert & the Hébertists

Executed in March, 1794

Danton & the "Indulgents"

Executed in April, 1794

Law of 22 Prairial [June 10, 1794].

- Trials were now limited to deciding only on liberty OR death, with defendants having no rights.
- Were you an "enemy of the people?" (the law was so broadly written that almost anyone could fall within its definition!)

1,500 executed between June & July.

The Reign of Terror continued in the name of a crusade to preserve the revolution. As the French army succeeded and hunger was alleviated, many people began to question the need for the constant brutal executions.

The proof necessary to convict the enemies of the people is every kind of evidence, either material or moral or verbal or written...Every citizen has the right to seize conspirators and counter-revolutionaries and to arraign them before magistrates. He is required to denounce them when he knows of them.
Law of 22 (June 10, 1794)

Desmoulins



Friends of Robespierre whom he sent to the guillotine

Danton



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"The Death of Marat" by Jacques Louis David, 1793



A copy of *L'Ami du Peuple* stained with the blood of Marat

The Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, 1793



The Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday



Paul Jacques
Aimée
Baudry, 19^e

[A Romantic
View]

The hypocrisy of the time is shown by the man in the center with two faces. He presents himself as a gentleman to those with wealth and privilege, and a commoner to those without.



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War of Resistance to the Revolution: The Vendée Revolt, 1793



Vendée Revolt, 1793



Drowning the Traitors!



Vendée
Symbol:
*For God &
the King!*

Why was there a Revolt in the Vendée?

1. The need for 300,000 French troops for the war effort.
2. Rural peasantry still highly taxed.
3. Resentment of the Civil Constitution the Clergy.
4. Peasants had failed to benefit from the sale of church lands.

TARGETS:

- Local government officials
- National Guardsmen
- Jurying priests

Political Propaganda



The Contrast: "French Liberty / British Slavery"



Finally, in July of 1794, a mixed group of radicals and moderates at the Convention launched a counter-attack against Robespierre. He was silenced by the assembled Convention on July 27. Robespierre was tried and quickly executed.



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The Directory

- ❖ Thermidorean Reaction
- ❖ Writing a new constitution
- ❖ Continued issues with poverty
- ❖ Disappointment with the Directory's leadership
- ❖ Return of monarchists and conservatives
- ❖ Emergence of Napoleon

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Thermidorean Reaction

& The death of Robespierre in 1794 signaled the end of the radical revolutionary phase.
 & The people of France were exhausted from the horrible extremes of the Reign of Terror.
 & More conservative middle class lawyers and businessmen asserted their authority in the period known as the Thermidorean (one of the months in the new calendar) Reaction or Directory period.



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The "Thermidorean Reaction," 1794

- P July 26 → Robespierre gives a speech illustrating new plots & conspiracies.
 - he alienated members of the CPS & CGS.
 - many felt threatened by his implications.
- P July 27 → the Convention arrests Robespierre.
- P July 28 → Robespierre is tried & guillotined!

The "Thermidorian Reaction"

- v Curtailed the power of the Committee for Public Safety.
- v Closed the Jacobin Clubs.
- v Churches were reopened.
 - 1795 → freedom of worship for all cults was granted.
- v Economic restrictions were lifted in favor of laissez-faire policies.
- v August, 1795 → a new Constitution is written
 - more conservative republicanism.

The Arrest of Robespierre



The Revolution Consumes Its Own Children!



Danton Awaits Execution, 1793



Robespierre Lies Wounded Before the Revolutionary Tribunal that will order him to be guillotined, 1794.

Characteristics of the Directory

- v The Paris Commune was outlawed.
- v The Law of 22 Prairial was revoked.
- v People involved in the original Terror were now attacked → "White" Terror
- v Inflation continues.
- v Rule by rich bourgeois liberals.
- v Self-indulgence → frivolous culture; salons return; wild fashions.
- v Political corruption.
- v Revival of Catholicism.

The "Cultural Revolution" Brought About by the Convention

- It was premised upon Enlightenment principles of rationality.
- The metric system of weights and measures
 - Was defined by the French Academy of Sciences in 1791 and enforced in 1793.
 - It replaced weights and measures that had their origins in the Middle Ages.
- The abolition of slavery within France in 1791 and throughout the French colonies in 1794.
- The Convention legalized divorce and enacted shared inheritance laws [even for illegitimate offspring] in an attempt to eradicate inequalities.

The Government Structure of the New Directory

- v 5-man executive committee or **oligarchy** [to avoid a dictatorship].
- v Tried to avoid the dangers of a one-house legislature.
 - Council of 500 → initiates legislation.
 - Council of Elders [250 members] → married or widowed males over 40 years of age.
 - They accepted or rejected the legislation.
 - Both houses elected by electors who owned or rented property worth 100-200 days' labor [limited to 30,000 voters].
 - The electors were elected by all males over 21 who were taxpayers.

Political Instability: 1795-1796

- 🔥 April, 1795 → Inflation; bread riots.
- 🔥 May 20, 1795 → **Revolt of Prairial [Year III]**
- 🔥 October, 1795 :
 - Vendée and Brittany revolted.
 - Military suppressed them.
- 🔥 May, 1796 → First "communist" revolt
 - Gracchus Babeuf and the **Conspiracy of Equals**



18 Brumaire (Nov. 9, 1799)

- 🔥 *Coup d'état* by Napoleon.
- 🔥 Approved by a plebiscite in December.
- 🔥 Abbe Sieyès: *Confidence from below; authority from above.*



A British Cartoon about Napoleon's Coup in 1799



The bourgeois members of the Convention wrote yet another constitution in 1795, giving the middle class the most power. This was the third constitution since 1789.

The constitution set up a bicameral legislative assembly and a five-man executive called the Directory.



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Religion reasserted itself through women in support of the Catholic Church. The Civil Constitution of 1790 required that clergy be elected by the people and swear allegiance to the new constitution.

Many in France disagreed with this as well as with the later decree to outlaw religion, and were anxious for church status to return to normal.



Ecclesiastical map of France, 1789 & 1802

326

On October 3, 1795, an angry mob of royalists and counterrevolutionaries threatened the National Convention at Tuileries Palace. Napoleon Bonaparte was put in charge of protecting the Convention members. He and his men successfully stopped the attack.

Napoleon was then put in charge of the war effort in Italy.



Tuileries



Napoleon in 1796

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The Directory seized more power

The Directory was corrupt; its members fought over power and sought personal gain.

It was in this climate in the fall of 1797 that national elections were to be held.

Many hoped for peace and moderation; however, the Directory used the army to prevent the elections from taking place.

For the remainder of the Directory's rule, it was their control of the military that kept them in power, not the support of the people.

From 1797-1799 the Directory essentially ruled as dictators.



The Directory supported the war in order to solve economic problems, rather than as a political crusade. They believed that large armies reduced unemployment at home and conquered lands provided territory to be plundered.



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French Victory at Fleurus



- ★ June 26, 1794.
- ★ France defeated Austria.
- ★ This opened the way to the reoccupation of Belgium!

The war continued

The draft in 1793 increased the size of the military

France had many successes against the First Coalition, and by 1798 the Coalition was dissolved

The Second Coalition was formed later in 1798 and included Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire

The French military was overextended by the Second Coalition and began losing ground in 1799



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Napoleon Bonaparte

Attended military school at the age of nine, joined the French military at sixteen

Supported the Revolution

Served in several places during the early part of the revolutionary wars

Became famous after protecting the National Convention in 1795

Led successful campaigns against Austria, Sardinia, Italy

Became known as "the general"



Coup d'Etat, "Blow of state"

By 1799 the corruption of the Directory along with the failing war effort against the Second Coalition left the government vulnerable

Napoleon was put in charge of the military on November 9, 1799

The next day, he and his army seized power by overtaking the legislature, which then voted to end the Directory. The Directory was replaced with three consuls, and Napoleon was made First Consul



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Napoleon seized dictatorial powers

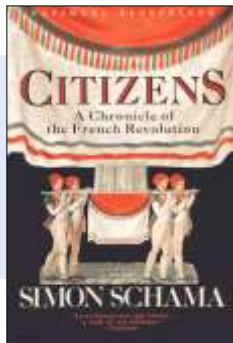
- Napoleon's rise to power signaled the end of the French Revolution
- Over the next few years he gained as much power as the monarch had possessed prior to the revolution
- Crowned himself emperor on December 2, 1804
- During his reign France dominated Europe
- He made major changes to the civil and criminal codes, some of which still exist today



The French Revolution *"Conservative" Phase:* *1795-1799*

By: Susan M. Pojer
Horace Greeley H. S. Chappaqua, NY

Read More About the Revolution



Bibliographic Resources

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