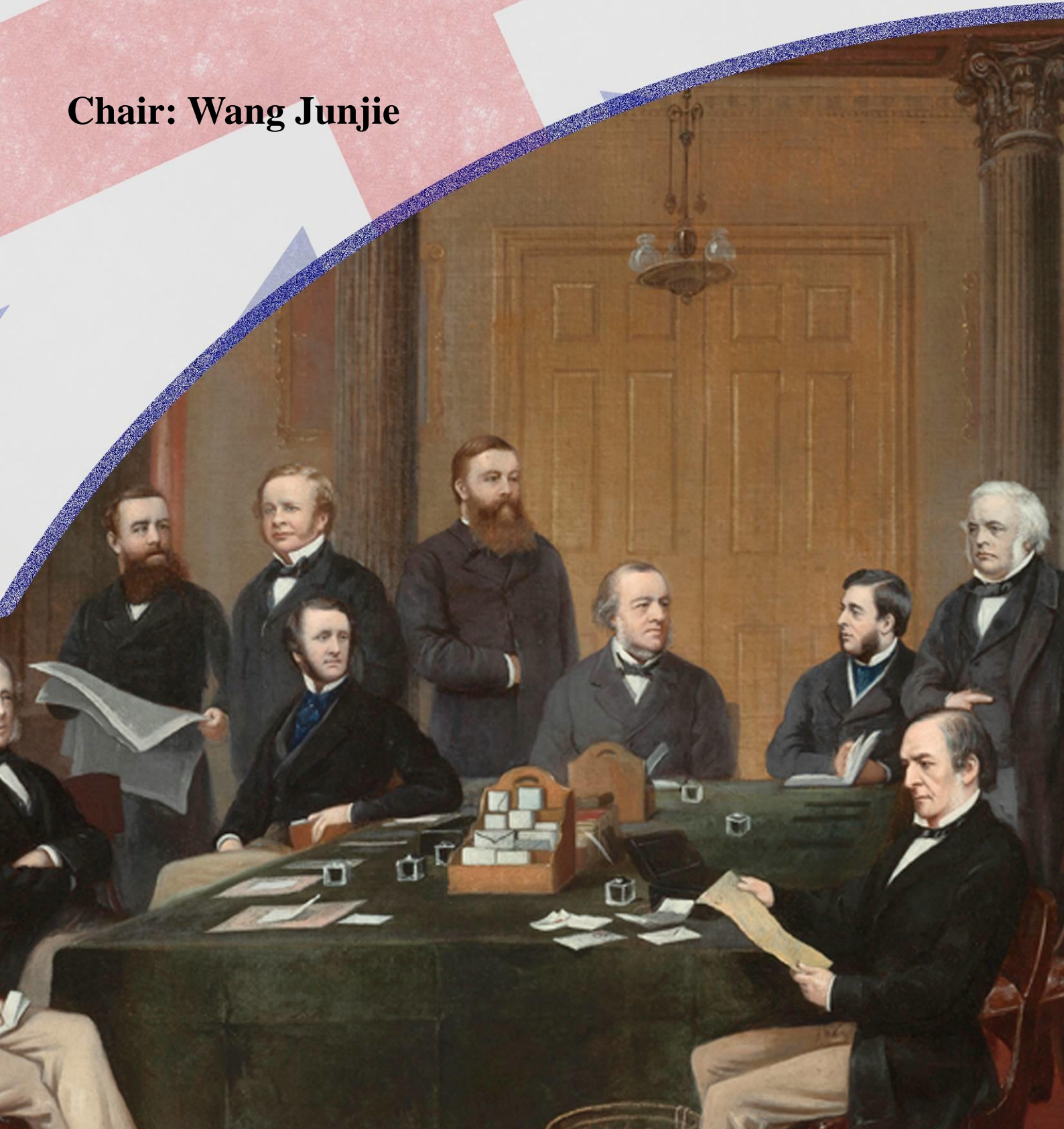


SFLSMUNC 2013 Background Guide

Cabinet of the United Kingdom

Chair: Wang Junjie



French
Revolution
1789



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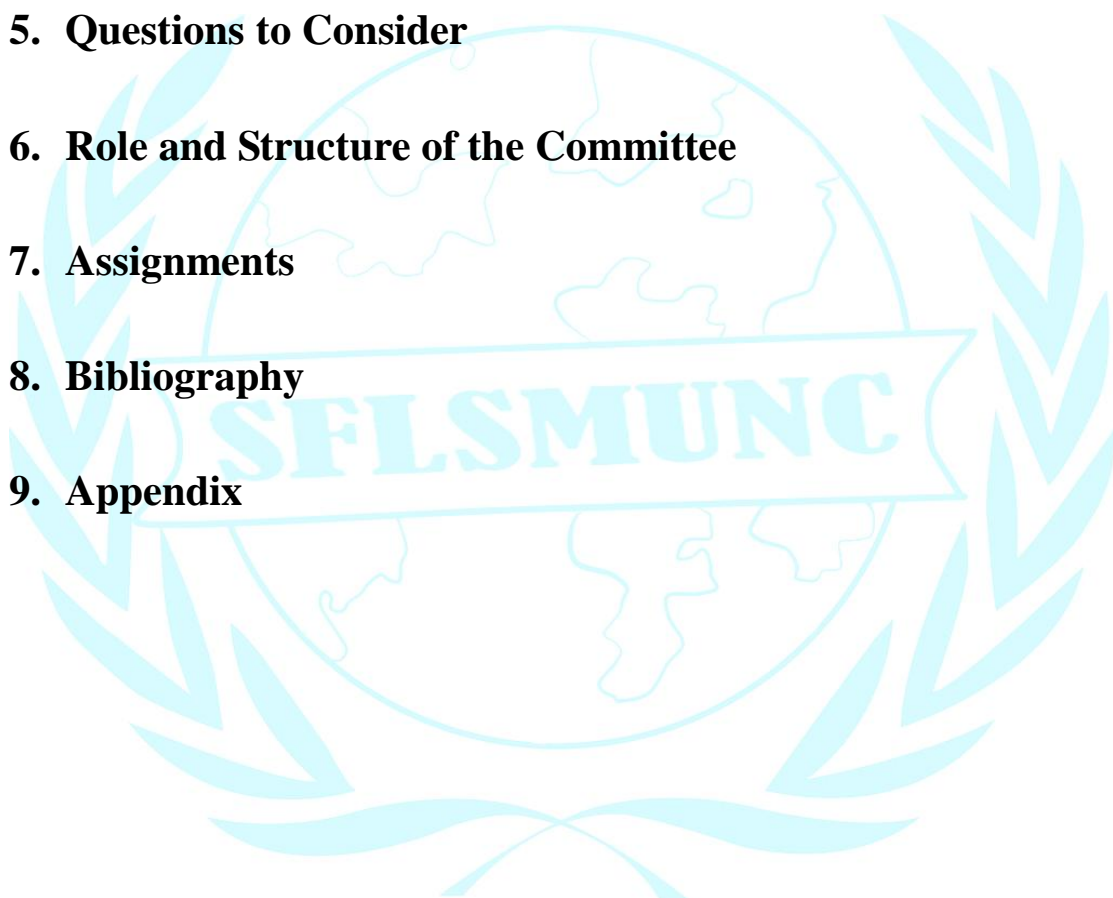
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2. Welcome letter

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the Cabinet of the United Kingdom!

More than two hundred years ago, in 1789, a revolution erupted in France, whose echoes can be heard even today. Monarchy, the old system, which had existed for more than a millennium, was overthrown. For the first time in history, the people led the campaign for a better country. As the world stepped into the 19th century, revolutions continued while remnants of an older era died even further away. But revolutions during this epoch were ignited by other causes. In 1831, 1839 and 1844, workers, instead of bourgeoisies, led the revolutions in France, Britain and Germany; these were the first proletarian movements. In the 20th century revolutions were seen all over the world. In 1911, a revolution started in China. In 1917, a revolution in Russia established the first communist country, the Soviet Union. Elsewhere in the world, revolution was a recurring theme for ex-colony countries and other countries of the Third World. In Cuba communist government was established; in Iran pro-American regime was overthrown. 1989 marked the downfall of communism in many European countries, eventually the Soviet Union itself in 1991. Even today, revolutions rage in the Middle East.

With so many revolutions, why do we choose the French Revolution? Moreover, why do we choose the British cabinet?

Like anything in this world, revolution has two sides. On one hand it symbolizes enlightenment of public opinion and the establishment of a new order, relentlessly pursuing liberty and equality. On the other hand it brings strife and conflict, which lead to anarchy, wars and genocides. Revolution is not confined to one country. It also affects other countries and even changes the very fabric of international politics.

The French Revolution was just such an event, after which the nation progressed to approach equality more with a fitter social ideology; yet thousands die in its course and important figures perished with the old regime. It exerted a widespread international and lasting influence in Europe, Britain, the nearest continental neighbor of France, was profoundly affected by the revolutionary upheaval. The French Revolution left no aspect of British life untouched. Not only did it affect British politics, government, religion and economic and social life, but it also gave rise to a massive and continuing debate in the British newspaper and periodical

press, in books and pamphlets, and in the growing genres of cartoon and caricature. It would be no exaggeration to claim that the nature of British society and politics had been fundamentally altered. The French Revolution was not only a political one, but also a philosophical one, one in ideology and beliefs, for it evoked French commons' sense of striving against inequality and consolidated the progress of the Enlightenment, by combining ethos and conducts.

In addition, to make these paragraphs easier to be comprehended, we here give an assistant example of China. China had a revolution in the 1900s as well, which was driven by a similar publics' will as that in the French Revolution. In 1911 monarchy was abolished by revolutionaries; in 1919 there was public participation. In 1949 a new political system of a totally different ideology was installed; in 1963 the revolution became the excuse for purges and persecutions. In 1978, in 1989 and even today economic and political reforms have been underway. China's revolution was also not without foreign intervention, including Soviet Union and the United States, although difference did exist between the ideologies and political systems of China and US.

It is for these reasons that we choose this Cabinet. Today we see the French Revolution from a different perspective, from a foreign perspective. We explore the lasting influence of the Revolution in both regional politics and global one. We find out how other countries see a revolution, just as how others see ours. From history, we learn, we know, and we change.

Looking forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely yours,
Wang Junjie

3. History and Information of the Committee

Overview

The Cabinet of the United Kingdom is the decision-making institution of His or Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom, composed of the Prime Minister and the most senior government ministers. The Cabinet is the ultimate decision-making executive body within the Westminster system. The Cabinet is also the executive committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, a body which has legislative, judicial and executive functions.



A typical Cabinet meeting nowadays.

History

The cabinet developed from the Privy Council in the 17th and early 18th centuries when the Council was too large to debate affairs effectively. During the reign of Charles II (1660–85) and Anne (1702–14), they began regularly consulting leading members of the Privy Council in order to reach decisions before meeting with the full council. By the reign of Anne, the weekly, sometimes daily meetings of this selected committee of leading ministers had become the de facto center of executive government, and the Privy Council's power was in inevitable decline. After George I of House Hanover (1714–27), who spoke little English, ceased to attend meetings with the committee in 1717, the decision-making process within the committee, known as cabinet, gradually became centred on a chief, or prime, minister. The office of Prime Minister

emerged during the long chief ministry (1721–1742) of Sir Robert Walpole and was definitively established by Sir William Pitt later in the century.ⁱ

Structure

The cabinet consists of about 15 to 25 members, or ministers, appointed by the prime minister, who in turn has been appointed by the monarch on the basis of his ability to command a majority of votes in the House of Commons.ⁱⁱ Cabinet members must all be members of the Parliament. The members of the cabinet are heads of the principal government departments, or ministries as they are called in United Kingdom. Other ministers may hold temporary offices and are included in the cabinet meetings on account of the value of their

ⁱ"cabinet." Encyclopædia Britannica. [Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite](#). Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013.

ⁱⁱ"cabinet." Encyclopædia Britannica. [Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite](#). Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013.

counsel or degree of involvement.

While there may be disagreement between Cabinet members, individual members must be willing and able to publicly defend the cabinet's policies. Cabinet members can freely disagree with each other within cabinet meetings, but once a decision or a policy has been reached, all are required to support the cabinet's policies, in both the Parliament and the public.

Cabinet ministers are responsible for their departments, but the Cabinet as a whole is accountable to the Parliament for its actions. A vote of non-confidence or the failure of a major legislative bill or act in the House of Commons can mean a cabinet's fall from power and the resignation of its members. Individual ministers rarely take sole responsibility for the policy.

Further information:

Prime Minister

The position of the Prime Minister is created during the reign of George I, the first king of Hanover origin. As is explained above, George I seldom attended the Cabinet meeting and left the chief executive power to a premier minister, later known as Prime Minister. While nowadays the Prime Minister is clearly the head of government, with the power to appoint and dismiss Cabinet ministers and to control the Cabinet's agenda, in 18th century and 19th century the Prime Minister was merely *primus inter pares* (first among equals), which meant that the Prime Minister was not superior to other ministers but only a leader in the Cabinet.ⁱⁱⁱ

ⁱⁱⁱ "Composition. Cabinet of the United Kingdom –

Privy Council

The Privy Council is historically the British sovereign's private council. Once powerful, the Privy Council has long ceased to be an active body, having lost most of its judicial and political functions since the middle of the 17th century, as a result of the decline of the sovereign's power.

The Privy Council is descended from the Curia Regis, or King's Court, which was made up of the king's household officials, and other advisers. This group performed all the functions of government in either small groups, which became the king's council, or large groups, which grew into the great council and Parliament. By the time of the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509), the king's council had become the instrument of the crown. The council system worked well as long as the king was capable of choosing the right men and providing leadership. The kings from the house of Stuart were unable to do this, and jealousy and anger at the council's political activities grew among parliamentarians and common lawyers. Amid the religious and constitutional controversies of the mid-17th century, the council system was swept away, but the Privy Council was never formally abolished. From the time of the accession of George I (1714–27), the Privy Council became a purely formal body meeting for formal affairs.^{iv}

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia". n.p. n.d. Retrieved August 10th, 2013.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cabinet_of_the_United_Kingdom#cite_note-oedCabinet-3>

^{iv}"privy council." Encyclopædia Britannica.

Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013.

4. French Revolution: 1789-1794

i. An Ancient Hate(Background Information for French Revolution)

From the establishment, the French monarchy had had no settled form, no fixed and recognized right and power. During the early medieval era, the crown was elective, a mere military or religious leader while the nation as a whole acted as the sovereign.^v Individual states with in France were no different with a kingdom but in name.^{vi} In later history, under the feudal system, the royal decentralization gradually crumbled. Absolute power ascended as the influence of the crown grew with events such as Hundred Years' War and French Wars of Religion. Power became more and more concentrated as it had passed from the many to the few, at last from the few to one alone.^{vii} During centuries of continuous efforts, the kings of France had battered down the feudal edifice, establishing themselves upon its ruins, having step by step usurped the fiefs, subdued the vassals, suppressed the parliaments and assumed the legislative power.^{viii} The states-general, the Parliament in France, were only

convoked on pressing occasions for the purpose of obtaining subsidies. They were composed of the three estates of the nation, the clergy, the nobility and the commons. The strongest and most determined opposition to the power of the kings, however, was not these assemblies, which the kings could annul at will. The greatest threat was from the nobles justifying their own sovereignty and political influence. Their struggle ended as well when their last campaign, the Fronde, ended with the king prevailing. Under Louis XIV, absolute monarchy had established itself without dispute.^{ix}

Under the absolute monarchy, the government of France was arbitrary. The monarchs had much more power than the barriers that opposed the encroachments of this immense authority. The crown disposed of persons by letters de cachet, of property by confiscation, of the public revenue by imposts.^x The only trivial liberties in France were in the hands of the privileged classes, the nobility and the clergy.

In this so enslaved France, rest of the power was even more

^vMignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{vi} "State building into the Kingdom of France (987-1453). *History of France – Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*". n.p. n.d. Retrieved August 11th, 2013, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_France>

^{vii}Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{viii}Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{ix}Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^xMignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

miserably organized. The nation, divided into three estates, was a prey to inequality. Even the each estate itself was subdivided into more classes. Nobility was divided into courtiers, ennobled parvenus, judges and landowners. Clergy was divided into bishops, destined for wealth and power, and priests, destined for poverty. The commons was divided into many corporations according to their occupations. Though there were relatively poor nobles and priests, it was the third estate that suffered the most. In the 18th century, of the total population of 24.5 millions, only 2% were clergy and nobility, but they owned 35% of the total available lands. The third estate, some 24 million strong, owned a mere 30% while burdened with feudal rents to the nobility, tithes to the clergy and taxes to the king.^{xi} Yet they enjoyed no political right and were admitted into no public employments.

Under the reign of Louis XIV, this arbitrary became despotic. Though known as “Sun King”, Louis XIV was only great in raising the influence of France in Europe. His lavish lifestyle and years of war had crippled the treasury. During his reign, Louis XIV quelled all kind of resistance, including aristocracy, parliaments and even Protestants. The Edict of Nantes, the symbol of religious tolerance, was effectively revoked. The immense power of Louis XIV was exercised internally against other power and heretics; externally he fought against all Europe. During his reign, France fought three major wars: the Franco-Dutch War, the

War of the League of Augsburg, and the War of the Spanish Succession.^{xii} There were also two lesser conflicts: the War of Devolution and the War of the Reunions. The wounds of France were hidden by laurels, her groans drowned in songs of victory.^{xiii} Sooner or later, genius would die, victory would end and a chain of reaction would initiate.

Measures of a grand prospective disappeared with the departure of a great man and the arrival of a lesser ruler. Under Louis XV, France continued war throughout Europe and even in America, but with little glory.^{xiv} France’ withdrawal from America after its defeat in the Seven Years’ War not only left its weak treasury at the verge of bankruptcy, but also considerably lessened the king’ influence. Anarchy crept into its bosom; the government fell into the hands of mistresses. The monarch, after he had attained manhood, assisted in corrupting the manners of the court by his degenerate example. The parliament gradually became more popular as it stood for the idea of opposing the strong and supporting the weak.^{xv} A new power had arisen, the power of opinion, ignited by Enlightenment and its leading thinkers, not only against the sovereign, but against monarchy itself.

^{xii} “Louis XIV of France– Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia”. n.p. n.d. Retrieved August 11th, 2013, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis_XIV_of_France>

^{xiii} Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{xiv} Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xv} Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{xi} Stavrianos, L.S. *A Global History: From Prehistory to the 21st Century*. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006.

ii. France before the Revolution

In 1775, Louis XVI ascended the throne of France. Under his reign is a major European country, yet under its skin there were countless diseases.

The economy of France was booming. Though France had lost much of its oversea colony, it still controlled Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti), which was a major production center of sugar, coffee and other tropical luxuries. France's overseas trade had grown fivefold over the past century. With the thriving economy trading tycoons gradually became richer and richer. Soft hands, formal clothing, servants and incomes and possessions far beyond the dreams of the average Frenchman marked out the members of the dominant classes.^{xvi} There were about 2 millions of them, including hundreds of thousands of nobles and more than a million of rich middle class, the bourgeoisie. There were more than twice as many bourgeoisies under Louis XVI than in the years of Louis XIV. As the whole population had grown by a mere quarter, the relative weight of the bourgeoisie was increasing rapidly. Their share of wealth was enormous, almost a fifth of all French wealth.

Trade and manufacture, however profitable, were not secure. Soon the rich bourgeoisie began purchasing the more steady investments, lands. Gradually richer bourgeoisies became



landowners. On the other hand, ennoblement was the ultimate recognition for any bourgeoisie. Apart from the glamour, distinction and position noble status brought, there were also a range of privileges. They formed a separate order or estate in the society. Nobles could carry swords and made display of special coat of arms. They were tried in special courts, and they were not subject to the conscription procedure. Above all they enjoyed substantial fiscal advantages, escaping taxes and monopolies^{xvii}. The two reasons combined gave birth to a new

^{xvi}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

class of nobles, price parvenus. Rich people became nobles while nobles became richer because of the new richer ones.

It is estimated that there were about 120,000 to 350,000 nobles in France at the time. Though small in number compared to other bourgeoisie and commoners, they owned a third of the land and feudal rights of the rest. They owned all the most valuable offices and positions, and bishops took up to a quarter of the Church's revenue. France under Louis XVI was governed by neither nobility nor bourgeoisie, but by a plutocracy of the richest nobles and bourgeoisies.

For the bourgeoisie who were not so rich, there options were government offices. Almost all executive offices were available for purchase, from presidents in the parliament to the humble sheriffs in countryside. Under Louis XVI there were over 70,000 venal offices.



Yet common people were poorer than ever. Arthur Young, an Englishmen traveler in France noted that, "All the country girls and women are without shoes or stockings. This is a poverty that strikes at the root of national

prosperity."^{xviii} The condition in cities and towns was no better. Most town-dwellers were country people by birth that had left their over-populated villages for a livelihood. Urban poverty was concentrated and eye-catching; a pool of labour there was never enough work to drain. "Misery..." complained a Rennes magistrate in 1772, "has thrown into the towns' people who overburden them with their uselessness, and who find nothing to do, because there is not enough for the people who live there."^{xix} The death rate in the insanitary towns was so high that they could not have flourished without the steady flow of man.^{xx} For common tradesmen revenues from investment in the government suffered as a result of states bankruptcies and debt.

The behavior of the poor was even making matters worse. If they could not find any work, they turned to begging. When begging failed, intimidation proved to be a better choice for many, which was a very short step to crime. Petty theft was an ordinary crime during the late 18th century. Another was smuggling. In towns, women in desperate conditions became prostitutes, despite the fact that it led to disease and further degradation. In the 1760s there were 25000 prostitutes in Paris.^{xxi} Besides, there was the rise in the number of abandoned children. By the 1780s 40,000 children were abandoned per year. French economy may prove

^{xviii}Maxwell, C. *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*. Cambridge, 1929.

^{xix}Hufton, O.H. *Towards an Understanding of the Poor of 18th Century France*, in *French Government and Society 1500-1850: Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban*. London, 1973.

^{xx}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xxi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

well enough for the rich, yet it could not provide a decent living for all the people.

All these are evidences that as the poor grew poorer and more numerous, the rich too were increasing in number and wealth. “The distance”, wrote Mercier in 1783, “which separates the rich from other people is growing daily and poverty becomes more insupportable at the sight of the astonishing progress of luxury which tires the view of the indigent. Hatred grows bitterer and the state is divided into two classes: the greedy and insensitive and the murmuring malcontents.”^{xxii}

Inflation was serious as well because of the polarization in the society. While every one believed that the price of bread should be controlled at an acceptable level, this was often not the case as the harvests were uncertain between 1768 and 1778. The turbulence was aggravated by the life of government control of grain trade. Riot erupted in 1768, 1770 and 1773. Even just a month before the coronation of Louis XVI, countryside against Paris was shaken by rioting against high bread prices. Social discontent continued during the reign of the new king, with tensions broke out again in 1778, 1784 and 1785.

The defense in France was also staggering. Multiple defeats on the battlefield had made French army lamentable. Swept on the sea by the British and on the battlefield by Prussians, no other government institutions had demonstrated such

obvious inadequacy. Though 180,000 soldiers strong, French army has not fought on its own soil for three generations, and it had no experience of dealing with civil unrest either. Though Louis XVI had tried to build a strong navy, and the size of French navy was considerable, the annual cost of it also had quadrupled from 1776 to 1783, bringing bankruptcy.

Apart from the army, law-enforcement force was brittle, having only a mounted police force of 3,000. Though all towns had watchmen, the number hardly exceeded 100. Only Paris had almost 2,000 officers in addition to the French and Swiss guards. In fact, France had more magistrates than policemen.

Though a powerful country, France had an outdated political and social system. Its biggest rival, Britain, had been a politically advanced country since the Glorious Revolution. Prussia and Austria, major powers in central Europe, had also finished their reforms based on Enlightenment ideologies. Sweden, the greatest country in northern Europe, had finished its reform during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus in the 17th century. It was necessary, therefore, to reform the system in France and correct its wrongs.

Such is the condition of France when Louis XVI took the throne. Louis XVI was such an honorable prince as Dauphine that he was expected to be a good and virtuous king. And he did improve the condition of the people for a while, abolishing some old systems, even restoring the parliament. Unfortunately, Louis was easily affected by people around him, who did not want

^{xxii}Durand, Y. *Les FermiersG én éaux au XVIII si ècle*. Paris, 1971.

to change. As history had proved, Louis XVI was a king with high aspirations yet inadequate ability.^{xxiii}

When news of brewing rebellion against Britain in the colony reached Paris, Louis XVI, eager to avenge on the ancient antagonist, decided to lend support to the rebels. The descendent of absolute monarchs who would have crushed rebels was now an ally to the rebel. Ignoring all consequences, Louis sent a large army and navy to help the rebels who fought against the government because of taxes which were even less than those of France, who despised nobility who were even better than those of France, who wanted to abolish a king. When French soldiers returned home six years later, they would tell stories of an oppressed people rising up to fight the king.^{xxiv}



America was free, and the objective of Louis XVI was accomplished. Yet glory was short-lived. Expenses for the war and extravagance of the court had severely crippled the economy. Both refund from America and commercial treaty with Britain failed to suffice.^{xxv} In 1787, Louis had to impose new and heavier taxes, which he needed the parliament to pass. However, the time when king could manipulate parliament

at will was gone. Parliament was now symbol of the people and subsequently refused to register the edict. Unable to persuade the parliament, ministers suggested the convention of another assembly, Assembly of the Notables, which was a council of nobles, clergies and important people. The proposal, however, was rejected once again in the council in February. Louis decided to force the parliament to pass the edict. In August, the might of the king worked for a while, and the edict was registered. The next day, however, the parliament declared that the edict was invalid, once again thwarting the king's plan. The wrathful king ordered soldiers to banish members of

the parliament, an act enraging not only parliaments of other provinces but also the public. Under the pressure of these parties, Louis was forced to revoke the exile. The king personally attended the meeting of parliament in November, but the parliament was determined. In May 1788, Louis once again forced the parliament to pass the edict. This time, he was faced with riots. Uprising erupted in several provinces, and even soldiers would not shoot the rioters.^{xxvi} Facing the verge of bankruptcy, the king had no choice but to recall the exiled and appoint Necker, a favorite of the public, as the minister of finance. At the advice of Necker, Louis agreed to assemble, for the first time since 1614, the states-general.

^{xxiii}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

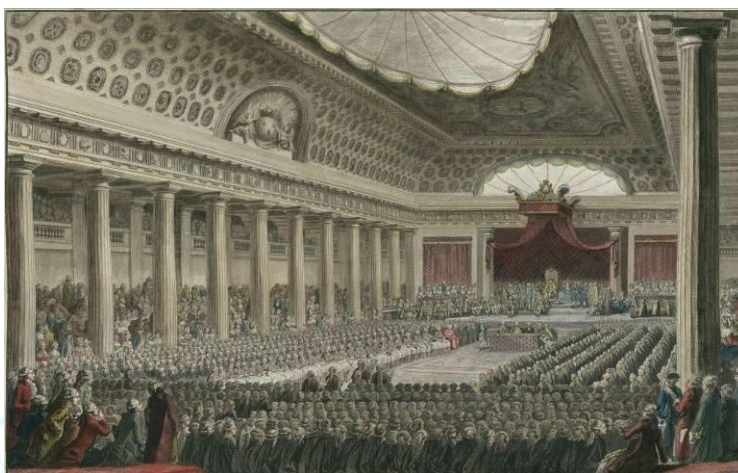
^{xxiv}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xxv}Baines, Edward. *History of the Wars of the French Revolution, from the Breaking out of the War in 1792, to the Restoration of a General Peace in 1815*. London, 1817.

^{xxvi}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

iii. Eve of the Storm

The long-expected states-general were held in Versailles on May 5th, 1789. After opening speech by Louis XVI, the keeper of the seal and Necker, the meeting began. Almost instantly disagreements rose. Nobility preferred the states-general to vote according to order, or estate. In other words, each estate would have one vote, with three votes in total. The commoners preferred to vote according to the poll. In other words, each delegate would have one vote, since the commoners were numerically superior. This parley lasted for over three weeks without a conclusion, so each estate began holding meetings of its own. Finally the third estate decided to act. Under the leadership of Abbé Sieyès, on 17th of June, the commons constituted themselves the National Assembly.^{xxvii} The news struck the king greatly. Also disapproving of the third estate's action, advised the king to hold a Royal Session to reassert his authority and to make concessions. Though the king accepted the proposal, the unsatisfied queen and her party secretly modified the king's speeches. The decision of the Royal Session was not immediately notified to the estates, so the estates arrived at each of their own meeting places on June 20 only to find the gates were closed. The commons were outraged at the decision and



decided to continue their meeting. Due to the weather condition, the commons chose a nearby indoor tennis court as the meeting place. There, the deputies took a solemn oath that they would never disperse until the constitution of the realm and public regeneration were established and assured.^{xxviii} Two days later, the chamber of clergy declared their acceptance of the National Assembly. Some nobles join the commons as well. The Assembly immediately declared its legislative power and the illegality of previous imposts. The actions of the assembly won the enthusiasm of the whole nation, but the nobles and the court was extremely dissatisfied. Once again Louis XVI was easily affected by people around him. On June 23rd, Louis annulled the decree of the Assembly during the joint session of the three estates. He expressed message that he would make compromises but did not speak specifically. When the session was over, the king asked all estates to leave before leaving for the palace himself,

^{xxvii}Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{xxviii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

but the commons were motionless. When the Grand Master of Ceremonies repeated the king's orders, one of the leaders, Mirabeau declared that nothing but bayonets could force the National Assembly to move.^{xxix} The influence of the Assembly gradually expanded and by June 27th, all the members of the estate had joined the Assembly.^{xxx} Reform, it seemed, was complete.

Parisians were filled with frenzy



after hearing the news. Crowds roamed the streets of Paris and Versailles. The confidence of the Assembly and the public came from the belief that Necker was the friend of liberty. They assumed that as long as Necker was the minister, hostility from the court was impossible. Yet reform was far from over. In response to the public and the Assembly, the court stationed an army of 25,000 around Paris. The Assembly demanded the withdrawal of the troops but was refused. On July 11th, Necker and three other ministers were dismissed.^{xxxi} There

position was replaced with enemies of liberty. Suspicion and fear of the court's motives were widespread. Everyone was terrified at the troop movement and the dismissal of their protector. As frenzy cooled down, the problem of food shortage and high price was once again imminent. Assembly tried to solve the problem but failed, while the bread price crept up to the peak. As the news of Necker's dismissal spread, the city was

plunged into fear and anger. Soon almost everyone decided to act and take up arms, both to carry on the reform and to defend themselves. The resolution of the public grew stronger when rumors of chivalry attack spread. Angry

people assisted by French guards rushed into the soldiers and drove them out of the city. It was widely expected that a full size army would soon return.^{xxxii} During the night of July 12th, arms were dispersed, houses became fortresses and citizens became soldiers.

Morning came. No soldiers were to be seen. But public tranquility was impossible to return. Shops had all closed, and business had stopped. Patrols were sent out each night, and people rushed to every arsenal to seize weapons. A storm was brewing.

^{xxix}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xxx}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xxxi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xxxii}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

iv. To the Bastille!

On the night of July 13th, a correspondence was discovered by the Parisians. It was discovered with horror and rage that the Mayor of Paris, who had professed himself friend of the people, was contacting the enemy of the public to betray them. The Mayor had asked the army outside the city to enter Paris the following evening. The alarmed public decided to take the offensive. The next morning people found cannon and twenty thousand muskets in L' Hotel des Invalides, which were instantly dragged to the next target of the revolution, the Bastille. For decades this prison had been the terror and nightmare of the French people. On the memorable morning of July 14th, 1789, forty thousand Parisians, armed

soldiers, marched towards the towering prison.^{xxxiii} It did not seem possible to take such a fortress without a bloody fight, so people proposed a negotiation. They demanded that the prisoners should be set free and the prison would be handed over. The governor of Bastille complied and allowed several hundred people to enter and inspect. But no sooner had they entered than the gate was shut and the drawbridge was lifted. Soldiers in the prison fired upon the confused people, killing hundreds. People outside the Bastille immediately began the attack. Ordinary citizens tried to attack but failed. It was only the expertise of French guards that saved the battle. The outer wall was breached by cannons and soon people poured into the



with various kinds of weapons, with an interminglement of a few hundreds of

^{xxxiii}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

Bastille. The governor, seeing no hope of survival, decided to set fire to the arsenal, containing two hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, which could not only kill everyone in the prison, but also destroy half the city of Paris. Fortunately, his lunatic attempt was stopped by two lieutenants. The enraged people then seized the governor and other officials, and set the prisoners free. The prisoners were lifted out and carried back to the city in triumph. On the other hand, the governor and several officers in the Bastille were executed. Ironically, the prisoners confined in the Bastilles were no more than seven. After the battle was over, the Bastille was leveled to the ground.

The news of the destruction of the Bastille soon reached the royal court. Despite efforts of minister trying to withhold the terrible news, the king soon realized that an army could soon descend upon his palace and seize him. Fearing for their lives, many ministers and nobles had fled the country. The king himself agreed to communicate with the Assembly so that he could ensure his safety. Only two months had passed, yet the King of France could not attend the meeting with the same grandeur two months before. Louis urged the Assembly to restore peace and stability, and states that he had utmost trust in the Assembly.^{xxxiv} When he came out from the meeting, he was greeted with applause and cheers. It seemed that both sides were contented and free. The estates-general were gone. They had been replaced by the National Assembly, which had no distinction of estates, wielding sovereignty of the

nation. This institution was trusted with the mission of creating the first constitution. People had won freedom from tyranny, and they had done that themselves. A new era had begun. This was not a reform. This was not a revolt. This was a Revolution.

^{xxxiv}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

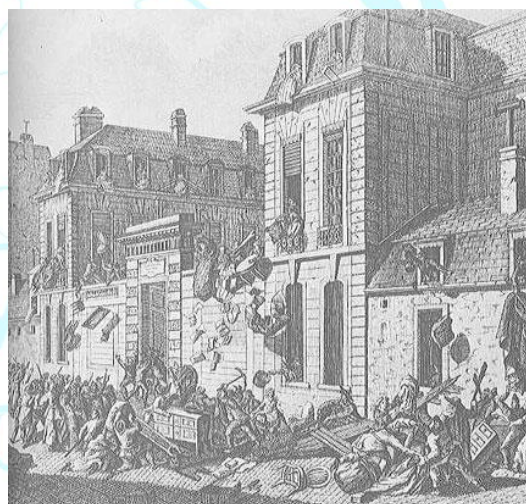
v. Great Fear

When the storm cleared, once again food shortage needed to be tackled. Necker returned to his post of minister of finance, easing everyone's mind. But public tension was still high. Several people accused of interfering with public liberty had been executed. While unrest had eased in Paris, elsewhere in the country riots caused by food shortage were still high. Shops, city halls were sacked in cities and towns. Self-appointed committees were set up to monitor grain supply. Property owners were drawn together by the fear of anarchism, and in commercial centers businessmen attended political activity to protect their properties.^{xxxv} Nobles and clergy sometimes tried to assist as well out of the same reason, but they were often looked upon with suspicious eyes. Elsewhere their destiny was far worse.

The main reason rural unrest was grain shortage. Peasants expected lightening of their burden, notably taxes. The rumor of plots to thwart the riot by starving the rioters was also widely spread. Therefore, when news of king's concession reached rural areas, it symbolized the defeat of the privileged classes and the failure of noble's "evil plot". Peasants now dared to refuse to pay the taxes, rents and tithes to nobility and clergy and were ready to fend off any agent or brigand hired to collect the taxes. This was known as the "Great Fear", a massive panic that swept almost all provinces. Peasants assembled and armed themselves, prepared to fight the

"ruthless hirelings" of greedy aristocracy.^{xxxvi}

Yet reasonless fear was not the only problem. In many areas villagers, like Parisians on July 14th, decided not to wait for the nobles. Instead, they were determined to defeat aristocrats by striking preemptively. They might raid the barns of nobles to take back their properties, or even attacking manor



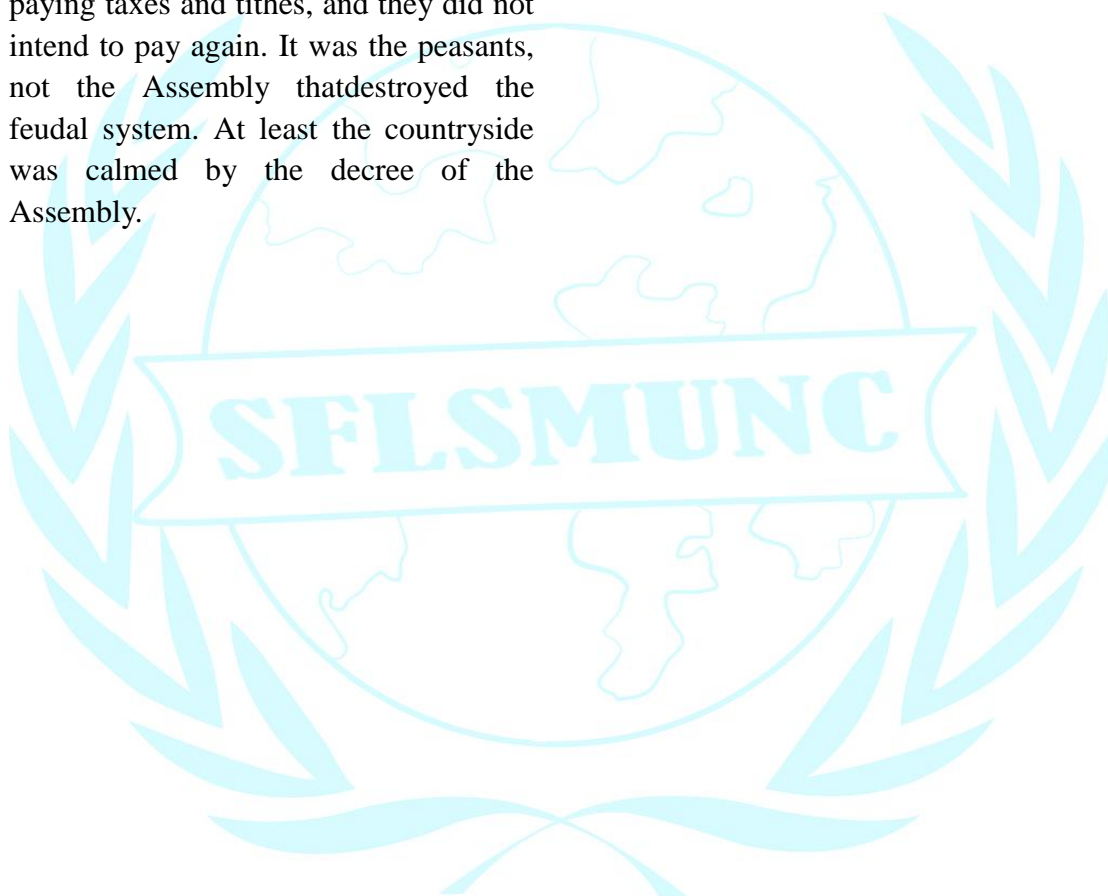
houses and castles. The damage, however, was not as great as imagined, as most people only destroy symbolic objects such as legal papers---as long as nobles didn't resist. A manor was blown up by an explosion at Quincey, and elsewhere several castles and abbeys were sacked.^{xxxvii} Remote regions were especially out of control. Reports of riot, pillage and arson poured into Paris seeking help from the Assembly. Inside the Assembly, the opinions were divided. Some urged people to stay calm whereas other advocated for the abolishment of feudalism. Sessions of argument went

^{xxxv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xxxvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xxxvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

on for nights without a decisive agreement. The result finally came after a whole night's session. Frenchmen, it was decided, would enjoy complete civil and fiscal equality.^{xxxviii} It took another six month to arrange the details. The final outcome was not so generous, though. Most feudal dues would continue until compensation was paid. Tithes were abolished. By August 11th peasants all over France had stopped paying taxes and tithes, and they did not intend to pay again. It was the peasants, not the Assembly that destroyed the feudal system. At least the countryside was calmed by the decree of the Assembly.



^{xxxviii}Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis.
History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814.
Tredition Classics, 2011.

vi. Reform and Revolution

The nightlong discussion of August 4th not only swept away feudal system, but also shook the very foundation of French social structure. Privilege, a fundamental principle for centuries, was renounced. The whole structure of executive, legislature and judiciary government would change.^{xxxix} The deputies of the Assembly had gone far beyond what they had started for, far beyond a single constitution. They were now constructing a brand new nation.

Still, a constitution was needed. Most deputies of the Assembly wanted to create a declaration as the preface of the constitution, possibly modeled after the similar *Declaration of Independence* in America. In July several drafts were submitted. On August 26, after weeks of fierce discussion, the *Declaration of the Rights of Men and the Citizen* was finally adopted, which had become the

founding document of the revolution. In the 17 articles of the Declaration, nine are specifically about the rule of the law. Article VI defines law as the expression of general will and indirect participation of all citizens. Article III declares that sovereignty rest in the nation instead of monarch or any other individual. Article II declares that men are born equal and free in rights and that the final goal of political institutions is to preserve the rights of liberty, security and resistance to oppression. Article XVI further asserts the necessity of separation of power. Privilege was formally abolished as article XIII and article VI announced the equality in both taxation and public offices.^{xl} The only vague definition in the Declaration was the freedom of thought. Some articles also specifically outlined the duties of citizens, which were not appropriate in a declaration of rights. Whatever its faults were, the Declaration of Rights has been regarded as the revolution's first great manifesto and has inspired generations to come.

In the constitution drawing committee of the Assembly, most people were supporters and admirers of similar constitutions in Britain. They believed that the king should have the same veto power as that of the British monarch and that there should be a standing senate in the form of House of Lords in addition to the Assembly.^{xli} But their proposition was rejected by other patriotic heroes. Both poorer nobles and commons



^{xxxix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xl}Baines, Edward. *History of the Wars of the French Revolution, from the Breaking out of the War in 1792, to the Restoration of a General Peace in 1815*. London, 1817.

^{xli}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

expressed disapproval as well. The design of British system was formally vetoed by a vote on September 10th. In order to let the king approve the Declaration, the Assembly, however, did adopt a suspensive veto power for the king. This move attracted public mistrust, causing several uproars in Paris. Some people even tried to march to Versailles, where the king and the Assembly resided. On the other hand, pamphlets and newspapers further expressed denunciations of the veto power. The tension was worsened with



the high food price due to hot weather. The king, fearing another revolt, summoned the notorious well-disciplined Flanders Regiment to Versailles to protect him. Encouraged by the security brought by the Regiment, Louis decided to adopt only a few of the Assembly's decree.^{xlii} The deputies felt betrayed. The hungry and angry Parisians were even more enraged when they heard rumors of reception banquets to welcome the Flanders Regiment. It was said that the bodyguards and the Regiment gave toast to the "king, queen, dauphine and the royal family"^{xliii}, but not the nation. It was even said that the national cockade was trampled by the

guards. In fact, the incident was nothing but a small entertainment held by the guards and the Regiment, which the king joined for a while out of curiosity. When soldiers were drunk and confused, they would certainly do absurd things, such as carelessly trampling on the cockade that had fallen. But the public never knew these. On October 5th, believing that the royal court had once again tried to starve them, Parisians, notably crowds of women, assembled and marched to the Hotel de Ville, city hall of Paris. In the afternoon they marched to Versailles

with cannons and other weapons. 7,000, including many women, reached the Assembly in the evening and demanded punishment for the guards and bread.^{xliv} The National Guards under the leadership of La Fayette came as well, maintaining order in the uproar. La Fayette

requested the king to go to Paris, but the king made no response. Angry mob rushed into the palace and nearly broke into the queen's quarters. In the morning of October 6th, the king announced that he would go to Paris, with the royal deposit of flour. After their arrival, the royal family was confined to the palace of Tuileries, more prisoners than princes. The Assembly followed and established themselves in a nearby school.



^{xlii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xliii}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xliv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Once the storm disappeared, the Assembly resumed its discussions of the constitution. The theme of the new constitution was to keep the executive power weak. Despotism must have no opportunity to revive again in France. The King of the France became the King of the French, meaning that the king did not own the country. He could propose no laws, and could only postpone the legislation for a maximum of three years. He could only choose ministers according to the laws, and could not appoint officials in the legislative system.

In voting procedure the Assembly created the category of active citizens, to prevent violent mobs and gangsters from voting. Only active citizens, who were men over 25 paying the equivalent of three days' unskilled labour in taxes, could vote.^{xliv} Yet the voting power was given to specially elected deputies, who were elected by electors, who were chosen by the active citizens. In fact, this complicated system of voting was even more biased than the estates-general. The new system, no doubt, attracted much controversy.

The Assembly further decided that public offices, except ministers, must be elected. Old executive and judiciary systems were gradually put into vacation and later abolished. The structure of the country was changed as well. Provinces, municipalities and bishoprics were changed into 83 departments, each governed by elected councils and officials.

The Assembly also tried to rationalize the militias established during

the Revolution and placed them under the umbrella of National Guard. Only the Guards in Paris, however, were well organized and armed under the leadership of La Fayette, a military professional. Though unwilling to call on the army to maintain public order, the Assembly authorized the use of martial laws during times of tumults. Membership of the army was also confined to active citizens to maintain discipline and order.

Though some were controversial, these actions of the Assembly helped to cooled down the hot minds of the Frenchmen and brought relative peace and stability in the whole country. A year after the storming of the Bastille, a great celebration was held in Champ de Mars on July 14th, 1790. National guards from all over the country, some 350,000 strong, converged in Paris to renew their oath to the constitution.^{xlvi} Enthusiasm was high; it marked a high point of national consensus of the Revolution. Life, it seemed, would be better.

Yet life was not getting better. Nobles were still not a part of the country, not because of persecution but because of fear. In January 1790 a new wave of chateau-attack began.^{xlvi} Each day nobles flee the country and sought refuge in England or Switzerland. Violent resistance against landowners would continue into 1791.

Another system on the verge of breakdown was the taxation system. Though tax was one of the main reasons of the Revolution, it was necessary for

^{xliv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xlvi}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{xlvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

the state to run. Yet tax evasion was very common now, since it was hard to restore tax-paying. Tax-collecting officials were often threatened and beaten. Recognizing the notoriety of taxes, the Assembly gradually abolished most taxes, including the much hated taxes on salt and tobacco. Only tax on movables, land tax and commercial profit tax were retained.

As the Assembly concerned itself more and more with the whole state, it began to realize the reason of the estates-general in 1789. Fiscal crisis was still insurmountable. Once the golden boy of the public, Necker was unable to solve the crisis and quickly lost the favor of the public. Short-time debt alone was estimates at over 707 millions livres in November 1789 and it rose to 2 billions in 1790. Under the pressure of financial difficulties, the Assembly decided to nationalize the lands of the Church.

The plan was first proposed in August 1789 and was formally brought the session on October 10th. The extent of dechristianization was debated throughout the October. Clergy declared that these lands had belonged to the Church since medieval era, and some deputies pointed out the contingency of inflation. But these voices of disagreements were considered self-interested.^{xlvi} On November 3rd, 1789, the motion of placing ecclesiastical lands at the disposal of the nation was passed after a vote in the Assembly. Necker rejected such move and proposed liquidating the debt through a limited issue of credit ticket issued by the national bank. Such credit

bonds were met with suspicion and mockery, since the last similar attempt in 1720 had failed. In December 1789, such bonds of land called assignats were formally issued. In April next year,



assignats were recognized as legal tenders in denominations of 300 and 200 livres. Still the deficit was obvious. The Assembly was forced to increase the numbers of assignats issue in October 1790. By then, support of assignats had become the symbol of commitment to the Revolution, irrespective of the consequences of such a multiplication of currency.^{xlix} Despised by other deputies and questioned by the public of his devotion, Necker resigned in September 1790.

Thus, the first stage of the Revolution was over. The Assembly had tried to endow France with a constitutional monarchy, civil equality and individual liberty. But its actions were vague and ambiguous. In general, changes had been well received, and were even greeted with enthusiasm from both the commons and the bourgeoisies. These great reforms could not have been achieved without this national consensus of all people, a consensus that was peaceful but quickly falling apart.¹

^{xlvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xlix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

¹Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

vii. Breakdown of Harmony

The first year of the revolution witnessed much violence and quarrel, but generally the process was smooth and harmonious. Yet in the second year, strife gradually appeared.

The first unsatisfied people were the clergy. Though the first privileged estate to join the Revolution, clergy had lost almost all it had during the revolution. Tithes were abolished; monasteries were disbanded. Even the Church's land had been confiscated. In April 1790, the motion to declare Catholicism the national religion was vetoed as well. Elsewhere in the country shocked Catholics witnessed the shift of power to Protestants, who controlled industry and militias. Rumors of a plot of the Protestants spread, and sectarian tension rose. On May 10th, Catholics broke into riots in Montauban to prevent officials from confiscating church properties.^{li} On June 13th, Protestant National Guards in Nimes fired upon rival companies of Catholics, killing more than 300. To many local Catholics, the Revolution now was the triumph of an old and vengeful enemy.^{lii}

Growing dissent finally attracted the attention of the Pope, who was already alarmed at the end of the Annates as a result of the decrees in August 1789. Avignon, which long had been a papal land, was also demanding integration into France. After Pope condemned the Declaration of Rights and other decrees, papal forces in

Avignon soon recaptured power. The riots were put down with the help of National Guards. The city, though, was not immediately accepted as part of France since the Assembly was aware of the international ramification.

Not only sought to take the land and revenue of the church, the Assembly also tried to reform the church itself. At first the reform was merely trying to restore discipline and purity to the church, but later strides were much bigger than intended. First the Assembly asked the king to wind up the Concordat of 1516, which governed relations between Rome and the French Catholic Church^{liii}; the Assembly would reform the church without consulting the head of the Church. On July 12th, 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was passed. Church was dissolved and clergy became employees of the nation. Bishops and parishes were greatly reduced in number, since the Assembly considered contemplation useless for the revolution. All clerics were to be elected like other public officials by regional councils.

The Civil Constitution again caused wide controversy. While most clerics did not oppose the Constitution, they were still waiting the Pope's approval, which was obviously impossible. Conservative people denounce the Civil Constitution as an attack on faith while patriotic people related the support of the Constitution to the commitment of the Revolution, like the assignats. Adding to

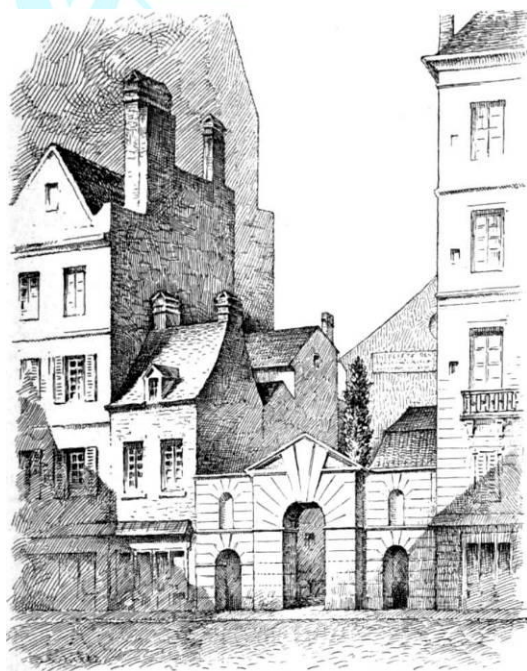
^{li}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{liii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

the voice of the patriots was the proliferation of an organization called Jacobins Club. When the National Assembly moved to Paris in October 1789, its radical members formed a club to discuss and coordinate policies and positions in the way of a similar club called Breton Club. The club met in a Jacobin convent near the Assembly and renamed itself the “Society of the Friends of the Constitution” in January 1790. As its influence grew, new affiliations were set up in other towns. From two dozens in February 1790 they rapidly grew to 152 in August, and over 200 in November.^{liv} By July 1790, there were over 1200 members in the Paris Jacobins.

Religious disputes finally led to



counterrevolutionary. In August 1790 a group of National Guards met in a valley. Though their activity was at first patriotic, they were taken over by the leaders of Nîmes Catholics after they were defeated in the riots. They

^{liv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

declared themselves to be can insurrection, and denounced the Protestant control. The meeting was then dispersed and created a committee to organize actions and contact the exiled Count d'Artois, brother to the king, who dreamed of armed intervention to reverse the revolution.^{lv}

To these dissidents and other opposing groups, the Civil Constitution was a justified cause of uproar. In October 30 bishops announced their refusal of change and were then expelled by other radical patriots, notably Jacobins. In October and November new bishops were elected, but this time the clergy did not merely accept its fate. There were protests. Disputes between revolutionaries, which never had been seen during the revolution, were now inevitable. The first elected bishop was refused confirmation by the archbishop of Rennes; the bishop of Soissons was dismissed for denouncing the Civil Constitution.^{lvi} 104 priests in Nantes did the same and their salaries were stopped. In reaction the Assembly decided to dismiss all clerics who did not accept the Civil Constitution. Furthermore, the Assembly required all clergy to swear an oath to the nation and the law.

This marked a turning point of the Revolution. The oath later was proved to be the Assembly's most serious mistake.^{lvii} For the first time revolutionaries forced citizens, the very people who supported the Revolution, to choose and to declare if they were “with me or against me”. Months had passed,

^{lv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lvi}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{lvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

yet no more than a quarter of the clerics took the oath. As the deadline of oath taking approached, on January 4th, 1791, the Assembly was surrounded by crowds shouting for nonjurors to be executed. In countryside, however, clergy resistance was steadfast. Even in the end only about 54% of the clergy took the oath. More than a third of the country was signaling that the revolution had gone too far.^{lviii} On March 10th, 1791, the pope broke his silence, criticizing the oath. In April he asked bishops not to take the oath, an order that was made public in May. The orders from the Pope further reduced the numbers of oath takers: a mere 10 percent. Parisians responded by burning pope's effigy. The breach between France and the Roman Church was now complete.

The forces of counter-revolution had acquired a popular base. In autumn of 1790, Count d'Artois planned an insurrection in Lyons but failed. Another attempt failed again in February 1791. Antagonism in the National Guard was also brewing, erupting into mutiny in the summer of 1790. The future of the Assembly was suddenly clouded.

^{lviii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

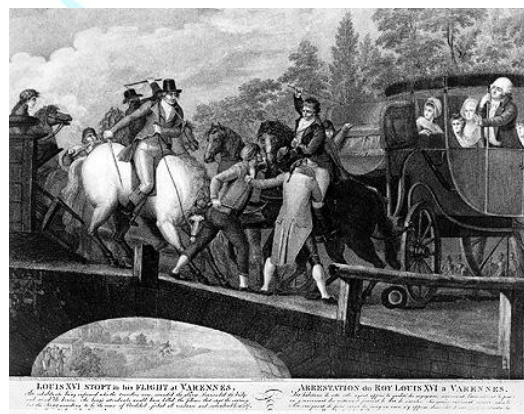
viii. A Fleeing Monarch

On the other hand, while his brother Count d'Artois was planning the rescue of the king, Louis himself was also considering escaping. It was rather unwise for him to act so rashly when the prospects for royal support began to brighten as the Assembly was severely criticized. Though the king had duly approved several documents of the Assembly, he had done so with clear misgivings. When he heard the news of clergy's rejection and the announcement of the Pope, his doubts were reinforced. It was no surprise that when his maidens begged to be allowed to go to Rome to consult the Pope in February 1791, Louis personally supervised arrangements for their secret journey.^{lix} Supported by the Jacobins, crowds of people, again mainly women, demonstrated outside royal residence, suspecting a plan of piecemeal escape. Therefore La Fayette and the National Guards spent almost all the spring of 1791 dispersing anti-royal and anti-clerical demonstrations.^{lx} These demonstrations and the constant presence of the Guards, who were actually trying to protect the royal family, convinced the king that he was now a prisoner. He began to make preparations for flight.

Rumors of the king's piecemeal escape reached the Assembly, and it was agreed that the Revolution could go no further under such condition unless a constitution was created. As the

keystone of the constitution, the king could not abscond. Barnave, Duport and Lameth, the triumvirate in the Assembly, gradually fell out of favor due to their moderate views of monarchy amid rumors of the king's flight. A number of obscure and more radical deputies came into light, whose leader was Robespierre. As a British ambassador pointed out, their objective was to annihilate the monarchy, however limited.^{lxi} Soon Robespierre began to show his ability and influence. His motions were passed in meetings of April and May, which were important for the subsequent events. He was also beginning to dominate the Jacobins Club as well.

None of the political transition in the Assembly affected the king's plan. The king had drawn up a manifesto denying all that had been done since October 1789, which he planned to leave behind. Escorts were prepared as the royal family secretly fled to Luxemburg. On the night of June 20th, 1791, they slipped out of the Tuileries and guards that had been doubled after the rumors spread. The size of the escort, however, drew the attention. The next evening the



^{lix}Kelly, Christopher. *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event*. London: Weed and Rider, 1820.

^{lx}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxi}Browning, O. *The Despatches of Earl Gower*. Cambridge, 1885.

king was recognized in Varennes and was detained. On the morning of June 22nd, they were brought back to Paris.

The flight of Louis was the second turning point of the Revolution. The darkest nightmares of Parisians had come true. In his letter Louis denounced the Revolution and complained of anarchy, betrayal, imprisonment and the new religious order. The hopes and dreams of the crown had failed. A petition was delivered to the Assembly to depose the king. Constitutional monarchy was at peril; republicans now seemed to prevail. But the Assembly was more frightened than enraged. Deposing the king not only meant that the constitution, which had been working at for so long, had to be rewritten, but also would strengthen the power of the more radical deputies.^{lxii} On June 22nd, the Assembly came out with a solution. It announced that the king had been kidnapped and the letter was forged. Most deputies of the Assembly were determined to retain the monarchy for the constitution.

In all France the flight caused panic. National Guards were stationed in towns in the event of riots or plots. In many towns persecution against the clergy resumed since many people regarded the clergy as allies of the evil aristocrats. The Jacobins Club also was revitalized. By July there were more than 900 clubs all over the country. But the Jacobins' development was fueled only

by a desire of debate and discussion rather than a common goal. Republican's supporters were as few as believers of the kidnapping theory. Yet the club was united when members heard on July 15th that the Assembly held the king blameless. That night members of other radical groups joined the Jacobins in drawing up a petition against the king's restoration. The final draft of the petition was, however, more of a manifesto of republicans. The result was the split of the Jacobins Club. La Fayette, Lameth and many members were still monarchists and decided to secede.^{lxiii} They set themselves up as a rival club meeting in the former convent of the Feuillants. On July 17th the petition was signed on the Champ de Mars by the crowd. But before all had signed, two unfortunate people sleeping beneath the patriotic altar were dragged out and killed by the over-excited and suspicious crowd. This gave Bailly, mayor of Paris, an excuse for martial law under the decree mentioned earlier in October 1789. The National Guard marched to the square and opened fire upon the largely unarmed crowd, who



threw stones in response. More than 50 were killed and hundreds more were

^{lxii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxiii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

injured. During the following week more than 200 activists of republican movement were arrested, the rest hiding or fleeing. Radical movements and clubs, even the Jacobins, were temporarily shattered.^{lxiv} The Assembly now could focus on the constitution without further pressure.

The triumvirate, who once were bitter rivals to the court, now decided to present amendments that would make the constitution more acceptable to the king. The Civil Constitution was excluded from the constitution, which meant that it could be altered with ease through normal legislative procedure like other laws, instead of going through the complicated and prolonged process of constitution amendment. Impressed by the unexpected influence of the press, the Feuillants further carries out a law to restrict the freedom of the press. Lameth even dreamed of an absolute veto for the monarch. In August, a law was passed imposing penalties on emigrants to other countries in fear of the revolution, since thousands in the army had also abandoned their posts.

On September 3rd, 1791, the constitution was completed and presented to the king. On the 13th of September, he signified his acceptance, amid scenes of rejoicing and a general amnesty. It was believed that the Revolution was complete, and a normal life of constitutional monarch would begin.

Since the task of creating a constitution was complete, the Assembly was disbanded as well. The Assembly, as

the driving force in the Revolution, had achieved much during the Revolution. It had dismantled the old system and created new one, whose orders and structures were remembered even today. When people of later eras talked of the principles of the Revolution, they were referring to exactly this constitution of 1791.^{lxv}

Yet seeds of hostility had been sown. The clergy was split from the commons, and counterrevolutionaries had found their public cause. The religious schism made it impossible for millions, including the king himself, to give the new order their sincere support.^{lxvi} A further split had appeared among members of the Assembly itself, providing further turbulence. As the British Ambassador pointed out in April 1791, “The present constitution has no friend and cannot last.”^{lxvii}

^{lxiv}Mignet, Francois-Augustan-Marie-Alexis. *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*. Tredition Classics, 2011.

^{lxv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxvii}Browning, O. *The Despatches of Earl Gower*. Cambridge, 1885.

ix. Threats Within and Without

According to the new constitution, France would function as a constitutional monarch, where the king's power was exercised by the legislative institution called the Legislative Assembly. (From here all the "Assembly", unless specifically explained otherwise, means the Legislative Assembly) Since the deputies of the National Assembly were not allowed to join this Assembly, the new deputies were mostly commons, who were inexperienced and callow. Most of them did not possess the influence of previous deputies. The Assembly met for the first time on October 1st, 1791. During the following session, the newly-formed Assembly immediately regarded refractory priests as the most urgent issue. Another pressing priority was the emigrants. The Declaration of Pillnitz was still fresh in their minds, and the general amnesty had failed to stop the flow of emigrants. Good news for the leaders of the Revolution was that the king had been cooperative, and most new deputies had joined the Feuillants Club instead of Jacobins. Yet the private sessions of the Feuillants were not as popular and beneficial as the public and passionate discussions of the Jacobins. By December Jacobins once again gained support, debating important issues every night whereas the Feuillants focused on more irrelevant topics.

On October 20, Brissot, one of the leaders of the Jacobins, proposed confiscating the property of the emigrants. The amended motion was

passed in November, yet the king refused to approve. Under the constitution the king did possess the power of veto. Suspicion arose that the king and the royal family was shielding the emigrants, the sworn enemies of the Revolution. The suspicion was deepened by later events concerning refractory priests.

In October, after Avignon was formally annexed into France, papal supporters killed an official of the new municipality. The annexationists retorted on October 16th by murdering imprisoned papal supporters, killing sixty. Elsewhere stories of nonjurors defiance poured into the capital. The Assembly decreed that all nonjurors should take a new oath or lost the pensions and salaries. Once again the king vetoed the decree in December.

The disappointed Assembly turned attention to the supporters of the emigrants. On November 29th a decree was sent to the king urging him to contact the electors of Trier and Mainz in the Holy Roman Empire. This proposal could lead to war, yet there was wide public support. Many people, including La Fayette, thought that a war could revitalize the revolution and the army. On December 14th, the king issued an ultimatum to the elector of Trier, an action greeted with enthusiasm and applause in the Assembly. The widely expected war, however, did not come. The electors of Trier and Mainz immediately disbanded the emigrants. As 1792 dawned, it was obvious that the internal problems of France could only

be solved by herself.^{lxviii}

Many people, however, had now committed themselves to war as a panacea. In December a debate began in the Jacobins during which Robespierre pointed out that war would bring either military dictatorship or foreign intervention. But he was increasingly isolated. Brissot declared that war was necessary in the Revolution. He claimed that war could restore the value of the assignats; nothing could stop the liberated people from bringing down other aristocrats and despots. When the news arrived that the suzerain of the electors, Emperor himself, had decided to intervene, crazed people were excited that they would now strike directly at the true enemy, the Empire. The efforts of Robespierre and the Feuillants, an ironic alliance, were in vain. In January the Assembly demanded that the Emperor declare his peaceful intentions. The Emperor responded defiantly yet denouncing war, and there was uproar in Paris accusing the foreign ministry, even the king. In March, the Emperor suddenly died. The foreign ministry was replaced by more radical and warmongering ministers. On 20th of April, France declared war against king of Hungary and Bohemia, since Francis II was not yet the Emperor. The objective of the war include: to teach Austrians a lesson and to stop foreign interference; to destroy the base of emigrants and counterrevolutionaries; to depose the despots and liberate other people; to neutralize emigrants and refractory priests by declaring them spies and traitors. Also the attention of French people and different political factions

would turn against the common enemy.

But another crisis had erupted in the other side of the Atlantic. In 1791 slaves in Saint-Domingue rebelled, killing thousands and burning hundreds of plantations. It later developed into the only successful slave rebellion.^{lxix} The impact was more than losing a colony. Sugar and coffee prices tripled in 1792, leading to riots and raids. Grain shortage arose again, and there was devaluation in both livres and assignats.

In the south conflict was spreading. Clashes between angry mobs and counterrevolutionaries happened each day. In March 1792, 6,000 men took the city of Chiffon. Another wave of rural violence also began. Castles were sacked and priests were killed.

Meanwhile, the Assembly was attending to the war. Battle hymns swept the frontline of French army while at home a new way of shedding the blood of enemy was found: guillotine. The battle, however, was not asswift and expeditious as the guillotine. The French attack in Austrian Netherlands (present-day Belgium) met with disaster. Fortunately Austrian army decided to wait its Prussian ally, who did not declare war until May 21st. The humiliating defeat produced loud recriminations in Paris. Frantic to find scapegoats, the Brissotins, the advocates of war, accused the king, generals, and the royal family.^{lxx} Ministers declared that the current disturbed state of the country was due to royal behavior. The king could not tolerate such criticism

^{lxviii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxx}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

and immediately dismissed these ministers. La Fayette, on the other hand, blamed the Jacobins. His intervention merely confirmed the public distrust. To prevent an alleged military coup by La Fayette, Parisians, who had once again become politically active since the sugar shortage in spring, planned another public intervention.

On the morning of June 20th, more than 10,000 armed demonstrators converged on the Tuileries to threaten the king. Louis, however, was unusually valiant. He refused to be intimidated and proclaim himself friend to the constitution and liberty. The crowd was later dispersed. The news of king's courage won him sympathy and support. La Fayette also seized the chance to intensify his campaign against the radicals. Yet the demonstrators were not easily disheartened. They began to prepare even larger uprisings.

Important anniversaries drew near. On July 14th, there would be parades and ceremonies. To prevent demonstration of June 20th from happening again, Guards were moved into major cities. It was during this time that *La Marseillaise* was first sung, which was later adopted as the marching song of the National Guards.^{lxxi} Jacobins and the popular societies tried every effort to draft the Guards and volunteers in Paris into their struggle and demonstration. They urged the

Assembly to impeach La Fayette and to annul the royal veto. As the ceremony of July 14th was held, radicals were already talking of storming the Tuileries and establish a republic.

This time the plan was more coordinated. Premature assaults were stopped and sans-culottes were mobilized. The Jacobin Club was now increasingly open in its support for the overthrow of monarchy. The mounting sense of urgency was only increased by the news that the enemy had now crossed the northeast frontier.^{lxxii} The allied commander of the Austro-Prussian army declared that the aim of the Empire was to end the anarchy in France and save the throne and altar. All in the capital were declared accountable for the safety of the king. Hearing the news, the Assembly authorized distribution of arms to citizens. Elsewhere in the city, supporters of the dismissed ministers openly called for deposition. Their voice was resounded in other sections of the country, even in the Assembly. Yet the deputies were not expecting the total overthrow, so the insurrection of



^{lxxi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxxii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

both the crown and the Assembly. The final signal came when on 8th of August,



the deputies refused to indict La Fayette for earlier desertion of command. On 10th of August 1792, republicans seized power from the city council of Paris in Hotel de Ville. Then they ordered the National Guards to march on the Tuileries. Almost 20000 people marched into the palace and massacred the 900 Swiss Guards protecting the royal family, killing 600. The royal family was taken into custody and was transferred to the keep of the Temple, a medieval fortress in the northeastern suburbs. As crowds raged through Paris destroying royal symbols, the Assembly had to declare that the monarchy was suspended until a national convention was held to decide the future form of the government.

Power now lay with the new Paris Commune, once the city council of Paris. It was dominated by Jacobin leaders such as Georges Danton. The Assembly held a rump session to appoint the ministers: no more than a third, which was 300 people, were present and most of them were Jacobins. Not surprisingly, Danton was appointed as the new minister of justice. The rump Assembly did almost everything the Commune wanted during the next six weeks. The first thing the Commune did was

vengeance on the enemies of public will. La Fayette barely escaped, who later fled to Austria. A special tribunal was set up to try the public enemy, and the guillotine was put into use on August 25th. Refractory priests were ordered to leave the country or deported to Guiana. Added to the chaos were the victories of Prussian army. Longwy fell without resistance, convincing the Commune that there were traitors in the country. 3000 more were arrested on August 30th and 31st. Even with such extreme measures, many people in the commune were unsatisfied. The trigger was further bad news from the front. Verdun came under Prussian siege and was conquered on September 2nd. From there the Prussian army could easily reach Paris. The Commune called for volunteers to defend the city, yet most of the sans-culottes were terrified



of the potential breakout of imprisoned counterrevolutionaries.^{lxxiii} Panicked citizens attacked the prisoners on transfer and the Commune intervened, only to coordinate the massacres. Prisons were broken into, and prisoners was tried and found guilty or innocent by tribunals. Between 1100 and 1400 prisoners in Paris were executed between September 2nd and September 7th.^{lxxiv} Though generally accepted by Parisians, the massacre was not commended by any factions in the Assembly. Both Jacobins and Brissotins accused each other of responsibility of the bloodshed.

This bloody purging certainly calmed the sans-culottes. Twenty thousand men marched to face the Prussians. On September 20th, the Frenchmen, who could not strictly be referred to as an army, made a stand in Valmy against the Prussians. Though untrained and outgunned, Frenchmen fought with an enthusiasm and determination that had not been seen for decades.^{lxxv} Though suffered greater loss, the French army withstood the prestigious Austrian army and the highly trained and well organized Prussian army. The battle of Valmy marked a turning point in French army, which would later become another dominant military force.

^{lxxiii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxxiv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxxv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

x. The Birth of a Republic and the Death of a King

At the same time, the proposed National Convention finally met in Paris. Activists and Jacobins had been talking of the need to produce a new constitution throughout July. Thus on August 10th, after the Commune's seizure of power, the Assembly invited the French people to form a Convention. The next day it was decided that the new Convention would be elected without distinction. The election took place on August 27th and September 2nd. Due to the chaos caused by Prussian advance, many deputies were again chosen for the Convention since they were relatively well known. Among these were Brissot and his circle, now called Girondist, since their leader was from the estuary of Gironde. Danton and Robespierre were also elected as members. Marat, a notorious journalist who had proposed the massacre of prisoners, held a seat in the Convention as well. Foreign friends of the Revolution, including Thomas Paine and Joseph Priestley, were elected, too. With the birth of the Convention, the Legislative Assembly died. It had performed its functions; in its dying days, however, the Assembly was a mere ornament.

After the Convention was formed, drafting of the new constitution began. Papers found in Tuileries in August 10th confirmed suspicions of the king's treachery. On September 21st, the cornerstone of the new constitution was laid: monarchy in France was formally abolished. French First Republic was established. The next day, September 22nd, was later chosen as the first day of

Year 1 of the Republic. Abolishing the monarch, however, was much different from deposing one. Much of the autumn and winter was spent deciding what to do with Louis XVI. The Girondists preferred to do nothing, keeping the king as a hostage. Radical groups in the Commune and in the Jacobin Club thought otherwise. These radical groups were to become a single radical left-wing group called the Mountain or the Montagnards. As more evidence of the king's wrongdoings was found, the Mountain was determined to put the king on trial. It was controversial, however, if a king could be tried by any court. Robespierre, who was already accused of aspiring to dictatorship, announced his opinion on December 3rd: "Louis cannot be judged. He has already been judged. He has been condemned or this Republic is not blameless. If Louis can still be put on trial, he can be acquitted; he might be innocent. In that case, what becomes of the Revolution... Louis must die so that the nation may live."^{lxxvi} Yet the legal training most deputies had received left them reluctant to condemn anyone without a hearing. It was overwhelmingly agreed to try the king before the representatives of the people, the Convention itself.^{lxxvii} On December 11th the king was brought from the Temple. With deliberation and dignity he responded to the accusations with

^{lxxvi}Stephens, H. Morse. *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution*. Oxford, 1892.

^{lxxvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

evasions and denials.^{lxxviii} Onlookers were impressed by his resolution in adversity, and this alarmed the radicals while encouraged the moderates. December 26th was devoted to the defending of Louis by Raymond de Seze, an eloquent advocate. Many were moved, and even the Commune was impressed by the defending speech. Yet everyone knew that there was only one verdict. The Girondists argued that the verdict should be confirmed by a referendum, since not all provinces hated the king like Paris, but was denied. On January 15th, 1793, a roll call of votes took place. 693 voted guilty, and none voted innocent. On the question of appeal to the public there was some division: 283 were for, but 424 were against. So it became clear that whatever the sentence was, it would be final. The debate on the sentence proceeded amid rumors that the sans-culottes would storm the prison and the Convention if any sentence other than execution were reached. Finally, on January 17th, the result was announced: 288 for imprisonment, 72 for delayed death penalty and 361 for immediate execution. Yet the people were merciful after

vote was proposed on January 18th: 310 against death and 380 for death. On Monday January 21st, 1793, Louis XVI went to the scaffold. According to Father Edgeworth, the priest before the execution, Louis was valiant at the end of his life: "The path leading to the scaffold was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the King was obliged to lean on my arm, and from the slowness with which he proceeded, I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold; silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to me; and in a voice so loud, I heard him pronounce distinctly these memorable words: 'I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I Pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed may never be visited on France.'"^{lxxix}

The republican revolution, brewing since the flight of Varennes, starting since August 10th, 1792, reached its climax. The destruction of the old system was now complete and irrevocable. As some had realized, the execution of Louis XVI only satisfied the radicals and the sans-culottes. All over Europe, probably in France too, the Revolution was now a monster.



appeals of some moderates. Another

^{lxxviii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxxix}Father Edgeworth's Memoirs, 1815.

xi. War on All Fronts

While people in Paris were arguing fiercely about the fate of the king, in the northeastern frontier the encouragement of war was still in effect. Though the Austro-Prussian army was defeated, in the euphoria of victory of Valmy the French proclaimed new war aims as the internal situation changed dramatically. Now the revolutionary war was to alarm not only monarchs, but also the entire social hierarchies upon which European countries lay.^{lxxx} Previous war was for the Kingdom of France, now it was fought for the newborn Republic.

The French army first marched north to attack the Austrian Netherlands, which was the objective of initial battles. On November 3rd, 1792, the army crossed the border and defeated an Austrian army on November 6th in Jemappes. A week later Brussels was taken and by the end of November all Austrian Netherlands were under French control, with Liège ripe for taken. In the south, the Kingdom of Sardinia was accused of sheltering counterrevolutionaries and was attacked. It joined the Austro-Prussia alliance later. Savoy was invaded and Nice was occupied. In Rhineland the archbishopric of Mainz was taken on October 21, Frankfurt on the 23rd.^{lxxxi}

It was astonishing that the French army, which had been so scattered and untrained, could accomplish so much. The main reason was its number. In the 1790s population of France reached 29 millions, providing sufficient conscripts for the army. In the battle of Jemappes on November 6th, for example, Austrian army had 14,000 soldiers while French army had over 40,000.^{lxxxii} There was also much enthusiastic volunteering, which provided 180,000 recruits who were eager to protect the fruits of the Revolution.^{lxxxiii} Despite mutiny and desertion, there were plenty of experienced NCOs, especially in artillery units. Though untrained, most recruits had military experience either in wars or in revolts.

On the other hand, the Empire was faced with threats from the east. In 1792 Polish nobles discontented with King Stanisław August Poniatowski's reform



of constitution form a confederation at

^{lxxx}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxxxi}Baines, Edward. *History of the Wars of the French Revolution, from the Breaking out of the War in 1792, to the Restoration of a General Peace in 1815*. London,

1817.

^{lxxxii}“Battle of Jemappes– Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia”. n.p. n.d. Retrieved August 13th, 2013, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Jemappes>

^{lxxxiii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Targowica and asked support from Russia. A month later Russian army invaded the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. By the end of August, the country was overrun and the king surrendered. The Empire, notably Prussia, had to concentrate the troop in the east. Prussia was expecting the second partition of Poland and was hoping to gain the port of Gdansk.

Whatever the reason of French victory was, the victory of war further convinced many Frenchmen that the Revolution's principles were invincible. They were now fully ready to expand their ambitions. On November 19, the Convention declared that France would accord fraternity and help to all peoples who wish to recover their liberty.^{lxxxiv} A month later on December 15th, generals of the French army were authorized to introduce French social systems to the occupied territories, including abolishment of taxes, tithes, nobility and all types of privilege. The new authority would restore liberty and equality in these lands and provide equipments and supplies necessary to the armies of the Republic. The meaning was clear: occupied territories would be expected to bear the cost of French presence.

The liberation of other people gradually became conquests in the minds of politicians. People in Savoy and Rhineland called for incorporation into France as soon as the French army entered these lands. Aware of the strategic importance of Rhineland, the Convention was cautious at first. In January 1793, however, Danton publicly declared that: "The limits of France are

marked out by nature. The borders of France should reach them at these four points: at the Ocean, at the Rhine, at the Alps and at the Pyrenees."^{lxxxv} Even moderates such as Brissot expressed similar opinions: "The French Republic must have the Rhine as its frontier."^{lxxxvi}

But Austrian Netherlands was not the Rhine frontier; it lay inside the territory of the Dutch Republic. It was obvious that any French presence near the coast of the North Sea would no doubt be opposed by the British. Britain undoubtedly disliked the Revolution and what it stood for. But it had no intention of direct intervention as long as no vital British interest was at stake. It all changed when France invaded Austrian Netherlands, for Britain had tried to keep the Low Countries out of French hands for centuries. When Louis XVI was detained, British public support for intervention was massive. On February 1st, 1793, France declared war against the Dutch Republic and the United Kingdom. Carried away by their passion and success, deputies of the Convention now bade defiance to the whole Europe. Savoy, Austrian Netherlands, Rhineland had all been incorporated into the Republic; the French army was unstoppable in southern Netherlands as well. The glory of France, it seemed, was restored.

But tide was now turning against France. The dispute between the Empire and Russia was settled, and Austro-Prussia alliance could now deal with this newborn republic. Frankfurt

^{lxxxiv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{lxxxv}Stephens, H. Morse. *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution*. Oxford, 1892.

^{lxxxvi}Blanning, T.C.W. *The Origins of the French Revolutionary Wars*. London, 1986.

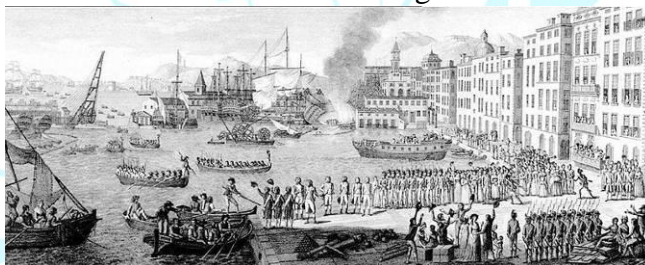
was already recaptured by Prussians in December of 1792, and Austrian army marched into Austrian Netherlands in March 1793. On March 18th 39,000 Austrians met 45,000 French soldiers in a decisive battle. Though experienced, the untrained French army could not defeat a well-trained army similar in number. French army was forced to retreat with heavy loss.

Earlier declaration of war against Britain proved fatal. Even before it formally entered the war, Britain had begun to engineer a grand anti-French alliance. As a junior branch of the House of Bourbon, Spain was contacted as early as 1792. After Louis XVI was executed, the French envoy in Spain was expelled. On March 7th, France declared war on Spain in retaliation and Spain joined the alliance by cooperating in a blockade of French coast. On March 25th, Russia was persuaded to join. A month later, Sardinia joined; in July so did Portugal and Naples. States in the Empire offered to provide mercenaries as well. Within month, a grand alliance against France, which was later known as the first coalition, was formed, composed of major powers in Europe. Members of this coalition included the Holy Roman Empire, which included Austria and Prussia, Great Britain, Dutch Republic, Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Tuscany, Portugal and even the distant Ottoman Empire.^{lxxxvii} This coalition was later known as the First Coalition.

Now France was in peril. It became

obvious that her previous victories were nothing but lucky flakes. The general of northern French army, Dumouriez, defected to Austrian side. In April Rhineland was lost. Meanwhile armed insurrection broke out in the Vendée. The main voice on foreign policy in the Convention's newly established Committee of Public Safety, Danton, began to seek conciliation. He even made a few clandestine approaches to coalition powers, which only showed how weak France was. In July Austrian Belgium was lost, and on July 12th Austrian army was once more on the French soil, taking Condé. A few weeks later, Valenciennes was lost and an Anglo-Hanoverian army laid siege to Dunkirk. In Germany, Mainz was lost on July 23rd; Roussillon was invaded by Spain and Toulon, the great naval harbor on the Mediterranean coast, was surrendered to the British by rebels.^{lxxxviii}

Such humiliating defeat caused



upheavals in Paris. Many blamed the defeat on traitors and enemy spies within their own rank, creating new suspicions among the public. In fact the reasons for French defeat were lack of training and over-confidence. After the victories in 1792, many soldiers returned to France under the impression that all was over. There were only 230,000 soldiers in the army all over France in

^{lxxxvii}“*War of the First Coalition*– Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia”.n.p. n.d. Retrieved August 13th, 2013, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_of_the_First_Coalition>

^{lxxxviii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

1793 while her enemies tripled.^{lxxxix} French defeat could be even more disastrous if the coalition was coordinated and acted as a whole. Britain wanted to return Austrian Netherlands to the Empire, at most taking the chance to seize other French colonies. Prussia and Austria were both unwilling to concentrate too many forces since Russia was still a big threat. Russia and Italian countries almost did nothing except harassing French merchant ships. This gave France a chance to move her recruits to frontline again. In September an indecisive battle at Hondschote raised the siege of Dunkirk. In October a French army supervised by Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, defeated the main Austrian army on French territory at Wattignies. Carnot's effort later would earn him the fame as the organizer of victory.

On February a conscription of 300,000 soldiers was decreed, which led to revolt in Vendée. In the summer of 1793 the number of soldiers rose to 645,000. In August the Convention declared a national scale mobilization. The resources of the whole country were now devoted to the war. All men between 18 and 25 were to join the army, while other worked in newly found factories and workshops. Church bells and lampposts were melted for metal. In September 1794 France had an army of

1,169,000.^{xc} Though training was not possible, the mere ferocity of French citizens could make up for training in some degree.

In autumn the allied action was stagnated due to lack of interest, and France was busy quelling the revolts caused by conscription. On December 19th, 1793, another French victory took place. Toulon was recaptured and the British fleet was driven out. One of the prominent roles in the battle was played by a young artillery commander called Napoleon Bonaparte. In two months he was a general, planning a march into Italy. In the north, the coalition hoped to breach the French line. In May 1794 a French victory in Tourcoing stopped the allies' advance. Six weeks later on 26th of June, another French victory at Fleurus forced Austrian army to retreat. Even on the sea France had some advances. In May French navy was sent into open sea to protect a major grain convoy. A confrontation between French



and British navy took place on June 1st, ending with serious French loss of 13 ships.^{xc1} But the convoy escaped intact.

^{lxxxix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xc}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xc1}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

In fact the victory of Fleurus marked a turning point in the war. The darkest days for the Revolutionary War were over, thanks again to insurrection in Poland. A Jacobin Club was even set up in Warsaw. The startled Prussia, Austria and Russia decided to intervene. By the end of 1794 the last convulsion of independent Poland was finished.^{xcii} Much of 1795 was spent by monarchs of Prussia, Austria and Russia on the third partition of Poland. To maximize her profit in the east, Prussia signed an armistice with France in 1794. It was ironic, though, that France never helped the revolution in Poland, which was very similar to the Revolution in France. Austria also withdrew from its Netherlands and Rhineland after its



defeat at Fleurus. In the winter of 1794 the Rhine froze and the French poured into Netherlands. In January 1795 William V of the Dutch Republic was forced to flee with the British army to Britain as pro-French organizations began to expel his minions. The Dutch thought that once Prussians and British were gone, the French would support their own reforms. Yet the true

French review was expressed by a general: "There can be no reason to treat her any differently from a conquered country. With very few exceptions the patriots of this country all timid adventurers led by ambitious intriguers, avid speculators who never dared to take up arms."^{xciii} As the French believed the Dutch to be fabulously rich, the Batavian Republic, as it now officially became, was required to pay 100 million florins and lend 100 million more when the peace treaty was signed in The Hague in May 1795. Territories were ceded, and the mouth of the Scheldt was now in the hands of France; the new Batavian Republic would also help to maintain a French army of 25,000. Dutch Republic was transformed into a puppet state of France, giving France control over its formidable navy. The coalition of 1793 was breaking up as each country focused more its own issues while France had become a great power both in army and in navy. In April 1795 Prussia signed the Peace of Basle with France. France would recognize Prussia's dominance in northern Germany while Prussia would give full control of Rhine's western banks. In July peace was made with Spain since the French army was now advancing into Catalonia and Basque. Spain was to cede western Saint-Domingue, which was of no immediate value since the Caribbean Sea was in the hands of Britain. By August 1795, only Austria, Britain, Portugal and Italian states were in the Coalition.

^{xcii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xciii}Schama, S. *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813*. London, 1977.

Austria was the most vulnerable. Distracted in the east and by internal conflicts, Austria had to rely on British support.^{xciv} There were also signs of Jacobinism inside the Empire, and there were conspiracies in Hungary and Moravia. Condition for the British was no better. War had been costly, and Toulon was lost. Britain now wanted to shift its focus from Continental Europe to West Indies, where commercial profit was far more than considerable. Domestic support was fading with societies calling for parliamentary reforms. In Ireland Catholics demanded equality with the Protestants. There were dissent in Ireland and the government feared a similar revolution in Ireland after agents were sent there from France. Several notorious acts were passed to widen the scope of treason and many activists were sent into exile or persecuted. Despite many threats, the unwavering France in the Low Countries pressed Austria and Britain to fight on.

In 1796, the focus of French military actions shifted to Austria, who had no continental ally. The plan was to strike into the heartlands of Germany while distracting it by harassing its territories in northern Italy. Napoleon Bonaparte, the victor in Toulon, was chosen for command in Italy. Lacking supplies and equipments,

he moved with unexpected speed, taking Austrians by Surprise and completely defeating Sardinia in a series of lightning battles.^{xcv} While the main army of France was advancing with a low pace in Germany, Napoleon had crossed the Alps and reached Milan. Austrians, in the meantime, was holding the Rhine with ease; Reinforcements were soon sent to Italy. Though the French army was able to defeat Naples and besiege Mantua, it did not have time for further advances. Napoleon held off several Austrian armies with brilliant tactics, yet he was no god. In 1797, French reinforcements arrived at last. Mantua surrendered in February and Napoleon was able to march north towards Vienna. Panic spread in the capital of Austria as



Napoleon advanced and Rhine was taken by the main French army. Austria

^{xciv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xcv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

sued for peace in April and the Treaty of Campo Formio was signed on October 19th, 1797. Austrian Netherlands was given to France; so were Rhine, Nette and Lur.^{xcvi} Client States of France established in Italy by Bonaparte were also recognized. Venice, once a great power, was split between France and Austria. One unusual feature of the whole operation was the independence of Napoleon. He often reached agreements with enemies of the Republic without consulting the government, even disobeying direct orders. The signs of a future leader were already visible.

On the other front, Britain was looking for peace. Spain joined France in 1796 and Austria could not hold for long. Queen Catherine in Russia also died in November of 1796. In France, another military prodigy, Hoche, who had quelled the Vendée rebellion, created another daring plan.^{xcvii} In December 1796, 15000 men set sail for Ireland, hoping to stir a rebellion in the soil of Great Britain. The plan failed due to misfortune and bad weather, but did arouse fear and anxiety in London. In February 1797, investors of national debt suddenly asked the England Bank to pay their bonds. Because of low wages, mutiny erupted in the Royal Navy in March and June, even leading to blockade of the mouth of Thames. Good news was that their loyalty in Britain was unquestionable, and the Royal Navy fought a decisive victory on October 11, 1797, capturing 11 Dutch warships without losing one of its

own.^{xcviii} Yet war-weariness was everywhere. Though Britain dominated the Sea, France dominated land; the war now was a stalemate. In June 1797 peace talks began. Yet it was affected by internal changes in France, and France was not ready to make concessions. Negotiations finally ended just weeks before Britain's victory over Dutch navy. The war, which had lasted for five years, was in fact over.

The initial objective of the war was to unite the different factions within France; the outcome, however, was far more fruitful. France had greatly expanded its territory, extending power into southern Europe and Germany. The Low Countries were taken; Lombardy was under French control. Both Austria and Britain proved unable to defeat France. The Republic had risen far above even the golden age of Louis XIV.

Yet as it will be revealed in the next chapter, France might be victorious in battlefield during the wars from 1792 to 1797; its internal politics was far from tranquil. The system in France would suffer many more tumultuous changes after the death of Louis XVI in 1793.

^{xcvi}“War of the First Coalition– Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia”.n.p. n.d. Retrieved August 13th, 2013, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_of_the_First_Coalition>

^{xcvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{xcviii}Baines, Edward. *History of the Wars of the French Revolution, from the Breaking out of the War in 1792, to the Restoration of a General Peace in 1815*. London, 1817.

Note: This chapter is the general information of the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797), an event engulfing the whole Europe while having little connection to the internal politics of France. Therefore this chapter covers the events during these five years as well as a glimpse of Europe politics. In the next chapter, we will return to the internal situation of France after the death of Louis XVI.



xii.Schism Indoor, Revolts Outdoor

From the beginning of the Revolution, Parisians had been the center of political outcry. Popular clubs contributed much to the fall of monarchy; sans-culottes were also the driving force of republicanism. In the dawn of the Convention, much of the power was already taken by Parisians from the Assembly. The country was ruled by a crowd who was no better than a capricious and bloodthirsty mob.^{xcix} When the Convention replaced the Assembly, it was aware of this internal threat of the over-excited public as well. Deputies in the Convention were deeply divided over whether they should do Paris' bidding, debating hotly for months in 1792. The Girondists were mostly against the influence of Paris, criticizing events such as mob insurrections on August 10th. They often gathered with their supporter in saloons of Roland and his wife. The Girondists were also convinced that Robespierre, Marat and Danton were responsible for the prison massacre in September 1792 and believed that they intended to seize national power.

The dispute over Paris led to another conflict. The Girondists supported the proposal of provincial constituencies while the Jacobins and the Montagnards denounced it as federalism and called it an attempt to dissipate the unity of the nation. Soon antagonism between the two factions appeared on almost any issue. Even the seats in the Convention were decided: Montagnards and Jacobins, who were

now sometimes synonymous, sat on the left wing high benches of the hall, thus gaining the name of the Mountain; Girondists sat on the right wing of the hall. Other uncommitted deputies, who later were referred to as the Plains, sat in the middle lower grounds. During October Girondists attacked Marat and called him an advocate of murder; Jacobins responded by calling Girondists insolent demagogues. When the Convention began to discuss the fate of the king, factions were driven even wider apart. The issue of execution and appeal was especially hotly debated. As was mentioned before, the result was only slightly favorable to the Jacobins. Meanwhile Jacobins had also become dominated by Montagnards radicals; all those who voted for imprisonment of the king or appeal for the king were excluded from the club.^c Jacobins were now equal to Montagnards. After the king's execution, the Jacobins turned their attention to vetoing the draft of constitutions by Girondists, most of which were advocating for provincial constituencies and power restriction of the executive system.

On foreign policies the clashed continued. It was the Girondists who proposed to accord fraternity and help to foreign revolutionaries, but Robespierre considered this proposal useless. When Girondists advocated caution in the war in 1793, the Montagnards mocked their cowardice and declared war on Britain, Netherlands and Spain.

^{xcix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^cDoyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

In all these political disagreements the Jacobins were certain of their public support. Yet the passion of Parisians was somewhat cooled after the death of the king; they now focused on everyday matters. Once again the proposals of the public were concerned with price control and food supply. Unwilling to interfere with free exchange of goods on the market, the Convention, even radicals, was determined to sustain free trade. But the economic situation in the capital was deteriorating. Assignats were down to 51% of their face value in January 1793.^{ci} The national mobilization had also caused shortage of basic commodities while the British blockade on the sea severed the shortage of sugar and other tropical products. Sugar price tripled and soap price doubled; prices of coffee and tobacco were also rising steadily.^{cii} When another petition to the Convention for price control was rejected on February 25th, the city was swept by a wave of attacks on grocery shops and warehouse.

On the other hand, battles on the frontline required new recruits. On February 24th the Convention decreed a conscription of 300,000 men, with each province allotted a quota. Such a return to old hated practice abolished four years ago was bound to be unpopular; only 150,000 were ever recruited.^{ciii} In some places, however, the decree was more than unpopular. In Vendée the attempts of conscription were met with violent resistance which

flared up into an open rebellion against the whole Revolution in weeks. The peasants resented their able-bodied young farmers being taken off to die in distant lands fighting unknown people.^{civ} They resented the fact that this decree was made by bourgeoisies from comfortable towns and cities, who could never understand the adversities in the countryside. They resented the National Guards for quelling their own countrymen when they should go to the battlefield and fight the very war the peasants now were fighting. They resented the injustice local pious priests suffer, who had guided the peasants for generations. These resentments had been simmering for over a year and finally erupted into revolts.

Much of rural Brittany also rose up in March of 1793, not only against the conscription. One Breton agitator proclaimed that: "If there's no king, there is no law."^{cv} But Brittany was



^{ci}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{ciii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002
^{cv}Sutherland, D. *The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany 1770-1796*. Oxford, 1982.

better garrisoned and the risings were soon put down. In the Vendee, however, rebellion was much larger. Towns were stormed and authority collapsed. By March 13th, the rebel had massed an army of 10,000. Crying “We want our king, our priests” as they marched, they wanted, as a republican noted, “to kill off all the so-called patriots.”^{cvi}

Reports of this unprecedented resistance soon reached Paris on the second week of March. The news of rebellion coincided with other increasingly bad news from the frontline in Austrian Netherlands, where the Austrian army had counterattacked after the threat in their east had been cleared.^{cvi} Dumouriez, general of the French army, star of the Girondists, refused to pull back to defend Paris; suspicions and fear arose in the capital. Another proposal to conscript volunteers was rejected, as previous attempts had led to only hostility. Sans-culottes in the capital blamed the defeat on both sides on unknown enemies in the capital and demanded a special tribunal. The call was taken up by the Jacobins. This proposal was passed; the fury and fear of the public were now centered on the Girondists, blaming their support for the inadequate Dumouriez. The Jacobins were also supportive of the uproar, who tries to undermine their sworn enemy. Armed bands attacked Girondist press and tried to arrest Girondist deputies. The Commune intervened and the National Guards were sent to maintain order. The Jacobins actually dared not to assault the Girondists, but the Girondists now were certain that the Jacobins not

only wanted to shut them up, but also wanted to kill them as well.^{cvi}

News from north and south got worse. Dumouriez openly renounced the Revolution and could have marched on to Paris if not for the refusal of cooperation of his army. Dumouriez would defect to Austria a month later. Girondists were under even more suspicion while the Jacobins had proposed many constructive ideas. A watching committee was established to scrutinize foreigner and other suspects; the Committee of General Defense, established in January to coordinate subcommittees in the Convention, was transformed into a smaller council called Committee of Public Safety for shorter response time and better coordination. By the time it began to function in April, the 25-member Committee was reduced to an even smaller 9-member council. Robespierre refused to enter since he doubted its usefulness; Danton would be the dominant voice in the Committee during the first several months.

The proposal in March was now effective; a Revolutionary Tribunal was set up against the enemies of the Revolution. Girondists saw this as a chance to take down Marat, and they motioned to abolish the immunity of deputies. Even within his own ranks, Marat was considered a liability; he previously asked the provinces to defend Paris against the cabals in the Convention. On April 12, condemned by Girondists, abandoned by Jacobins, Marat was impeached. The public, however, was enraged at this mistreatment of their “hero”. They demanded the expulsion of major

^{cvi}Tilly, C. *The Vendée*. Cambridge and London, 1964.

^{cvi}See contents of March, 1793 in previous chapter.

^{cvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Girondists leaders from the Convention. While most Jacobins endorsed the demand, considering Girondists as moderate and conservative, the ever-cautious Robespierre was reluctant to coerce the elected deputies.^{cix} After all, the will of Paris was not the will of France. To satisfy the sans-culottes, Marat was acquitted and was admitted back to the Convention.

Another reason Marat was detained for was his support for raiding the shops and warehouses for food, thus gaining him public support. After Marat returned to the Convention, Parisians thought it was a good time to renew the pressure on economic issues. They began to call for controls on bread price amid Girondist denunciations of the public ignorance on principles of economy. Jacobins, however, were wavering and in April they were supporting controls of price. Fearing economic disasters, Girondists were determined to prevent price control. On May 1st, the Convention was mobbed by demonstrators who pressed price control on bread. On May 3rd the Convention was forced to pass a law stipulating a maximum price for grain and bread, and giving authorities wide powers of search and requisition. The Jacobins now knew too well that the people could not be resisted when they need the public support, and they were willing to sacrifice greater goods for that.^{cx}

Another piece of alarming news was the break away of major provincial cities from the central authority in Paris. The first to waver was Marseilles, a port

city where conservative and mercantile communities were reluctant to commit either its energies or its wealth to the patriotic struggle.^{cx} In response in August 1792 a local Jacobin Club seized the control of city and sniped constantly at merchants even commerce was threatened now by blockade and upheavals in the West Indies. As patriots in the city were mostly in the front and there were rumors of loyalist attacks, the Marseilles Jacobins set up a similar Revolutionary Tribunal. They also decreed a forced loan on the rich to fund the Revolution. "After the former nobility", declared the Marseilles Jacobins, "the bourgeoisie is the class which weighs heaviest on the people."^{cxii} But soon the people were rallying behind the bourgeoisie against the Jacobins. Resistance broke out as the livelihood of port workers was affected by the stagnating commerce as well. On April 27th deputies of the city fled the city and proclaimed the city was in a state of counterrevolution. Three weeks later all Jacobins in Marseilles were arrested.

Elsewhere in southern France, protest against extremism was seen in many cities, including Nimes, Aix, Arles and Avignon. The fiercest resistance was in Lyons, the second large city in France. The silk industry, which was the basis of its economy, had been in crisis since 1789.^{cxiii} Worsening the problem, silk goods now were considered as ostentation, which was considered as dangerous. The continuous war also disrupted foreign markets and stopped

^{cix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cx}Schmidt, A. *Tableaux de la Révolution française*. Leipzig, 1867.

^{cxii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxiii}Scott. *Terror and Repression in Revolutionary Marseilles*.

^{cxiii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

the supply of raw material from Savoy. In November 1792 the Jacobins in Lyons took over the government to monitor grain supply and control food price, but had no other plans but to parrot the policies of Paris Jacobins. The maximum price decree was impossible to implement in tumultuous Lyons. On May 24th warehouses were sacked. The Convention ordered troops in Alpine front to march to Paris to maintain order. Fearing the troops would give the local Jacobins a coercive power, local guards stormed the city hall and overthrew the Jacobins commune. Lyons, too, was now in open revolt against the Convention.

Meanwhile revolts in the west were growing ever more serious. Towns after towns were captured by Vendée rebels. In spring of 1793, 45,000 men had joined the Catholic and royal armies.^{cxiv} Against them the Republic was scarcely able to find an army more than 15,000.^{cxv} The rebel-held territory continued to expand throughout May and June, even reaching the coast enabling potential British support. On June 7th, rebels took Doué pushing north towards the Loire.

By the summer of 1793, the crisis for the Republic was spectacularly terrible. Armies were retreating on all fronts; rebellions had erupted in major cities and were expanding. War was raging in the center of France as National Guards were often ambushed by the Vendée rebel. The response in Paris eventually even made these matters worse. After the maximum price

decree was passed on May 3rd, the economy of France deteriorated as was predicted by the Girondists. There was now public support for the foreseeing Girondists, especially in the provinces while the influence of the Jacobins was lessened since many of its members were now in other cities. Fearing a dictatorship of the Girondists, previous insurrection groups now tried to coordinate actions to purge some unpopular deputies. To counter this plot, a Commission of Twelve was created with Girondists majority. The purpose of the Commission was to investigate insurrectionist activity in Paris to prevent further intervention of public will.^{cxvi} The idea was, however, not actually proposed by Girondist. During the later course of May many insurrectionists were arrested under the order of the Commission. The Commission was determined to annihilate all popular insurrection groups in Paris. It was even hinted that any attack the Parisians made against the Convention and the Commission would be retaliated by other provinces.^{cxvii} Given the revolts erupting now in many provinces, both the public and the Jacobins were now uneasy. At the Jacobin Club on May 26th, Robespierre invited the people to rise up against the Convention's corrupted deputies. Later that night a tumultuous session took place in the Convention. Since some deputies had gone home, the vote to dissolve the Commission was passed. It was reinstated, however, two days later. What the deputies could not decide would soon be settled again by

^{cxiv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

the public.

On May 31st, insurrection groups in Paris deposed the Commune and reinstated a new one. But then the sans-culottes were divided. The radicals wanted to dissolve the whole Convention, deeming it useless and ineffective; others only sought the arrest of unpopular deputies. The moderated ones simply wanted to force the abandonment of the Commission of Twelve. But the defiance of deputies forced the crowd to take harsher actions. The unpopular deputies were arrested and the Commission was formally dissolved.

The next day was greeted with more terrible news. The Jacobins in Lyons were overthrown; the National Guards suffered another defeat in Vendée. The provincial revenge promised by the Girondists seemed to begin. The Jacobins concluded that if civil war was to be avoided, its mastermind must be removed from the national representation.^{cxviii} On June 2nd a new petition was presented to arrest 30 deputies. When it was then passed to the Committee of Public Safety for process, the petitioners wasted no time. Last night they had already rallied thousands of National Guards to secure the Convention. Any deputies who tried to leave in the interval were driven back, and it became clear that the only option was immediate arrest.

The Girondists were forged by revolutionary intransigence, an attitude of mind that was not prepared to compromise the principles of 1789.^{cxix}

That was why they offered defiance to Europe with war and resisted the call for price controls, which all men of education believed to be disastrous. That was why they invited to consult the whole France on issues such as executing the king. That was why they resisted the dictatorship of the capital in the grip of bloodthirsty mobs. Their notion was that the representatives of the sovereign must not be subjected to the fickle and murderous whim of the sans-culottes and the bloodthirsty and irresponsible demagogues.^{cxx}

These attitudes were wise in times of peace; yet there was no peace in France.^{cxxi} The Girondists failed to realize certain realities in 1793: Paris was the center and origin of the Revolution. Despite all incredulous actions of the Parisians, they must be appeased as they were the driving force of the Revolution.

Another reason for the downfall of the Girondists was failing to act as a whole. Despite the fact that both Girondists and Jacobins were mere political clubs, they were extremely similar to political parties in modern terms. At that era, though parties were considered as selfish and greedy factions, they already began to dominate politics in many countries, such as the Whig and Tory in Britain. Unlike the Girondists, the Jacobins often acted as a whole with few internal disagreements. They also tried to win over votes from other clubs and parties and to win the public support, strategies often employed nowadays. They were an organized party.

^{cxviii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxx}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Why did all the people wanted the Girondists to go? For Parisians the reason was simple: they could not tolerate people who called them anarchists and murderers. For the Jacobins they wanted to prevent a civil war between the Convention and the capital. Contrary to many people's belief, eliminating an opposition was only a secondary reason for the Jacobins.

The news of the arrest of the Girondists soon reached Gironde itself. The local factions, who had long been discontented with the Jacobins regime, rose up in rebellion. They asked support from other rebels and asked the people to march on Paris and restore the government. Marseilles, Lyons and other southern cities soon joined in June and July. Jacobins leaders in these cities were arrested and executed. Revolts also broke out in Brittany and Normandy. Thus began the "Federalist revolt" as was called by Parisians. Rumor in the capital was that 60 even 70 out of 86 provinces were against the Convention. In fact there were only eight, but they included the second, third, fourth largest cities of France.^{cxxii} The revolt, however, was not an attempt to break up the Republic; it was rather a revolt against Paris. The Revolution abandoned centralism, yet this principle was seemingly abandoned by the Convention. Most of the revolt leaders were not loyalists as well; they would only want to dismiss the Jacobin faction. The main reason for this revolt was emergency measures taken by the Convention: conscription, market control,

surveillance and forced loans. For many people this revolution was supposed to make life better not worse.

The revolt, however, was not as threatening as it seemed. Most rebels did not go too far away from their home; their forces were also few, often counting only thousands. Besides, factions in the revolt were divided: rebels in Vendée were loyalists and counterrevolutionaries while rebels in other regions were only anti-Jacobins. This federalist revolt was just separate upheavals that happened to take place at the same time. The schism between the rebels was the most obvious on June 29th when the Vendée rebel was defeated by the rebels in Nantes. This was most fortunate for Paris, which had been in chaos as well. 75 other deputies signed a secret protest in June. A draft of constitution was presented, which was designed to win public support. The separation of powers and decentralization once deemed essential were abandoned. There would be a unicameral legislature body elected annually by direct manhood suffrage. The legislature would then choose an executive council. The constitution draft did feature some advanced ideas, including public assistance and state education. Meanwhile steps were taken to appease the peasants, including the abolition of feudal privileges and the redistribution of cleric lands. On the other hand sans-culottes in Paris were preoccupied once again with food supply. The price of meat and bread was still high and there were raids and sacks of the shops. The struggles of the deputies were, however, brought to a halt when "Feudalists" struck Paris in mid-July.

^{cxxii} Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

On July 13th, 1793, Marat was stabbed to death by a Girondist supporter Charlotte Corday. This murder



galvanized the Jacobins into action. As disaster upon disaster was reported from

the war fronts and from rebel provinces, much more ruthless and determined action would be required. Previous leader of the Committee of Public Security, Danton was suspected of excessive trimming and had been voted off the Committee. Two weeks later on July 26th, Robespierre finally accepted nomination into the Committee after realizing its value. He declared that the priority now were food supply and popular laws. On the day a law against hoarding was passed, making it a capital crime. The constitution was adopted as well on August 10th, the anniversary of last year's insurrection.

The Convention's work was now finished. It could dissolve itself as the National Assembly and make way for a regular government. The next stage of the Revolution, however, witnessed the transition of the Republic to something else.

xiii. Reign of Terror: Anarchy

Summer of 1793 was the low-point for the Jacobins government: defeats on all fronts with enemy forces deep inside Flanders and Pyrenees; Vendée was in complete control of the rebels, with the only victorious general against them was dismissed. Lyons and Toulon were also in defiance. There were fears in Paris that there were thousands more agents like Charlotte Corday operating against the Republic. Jean Bon Saint-André pointed out in August that, “The evil which besets us is that we have no government.”^{cxxiii} Danton had proposed that the Committee be recognized as the provincial executive government but was rejected. The Committee never did become the government or enjoyed undisputed executive authority.^{cxxiv} But in the course of the next twelve months it was given the leadership to mobilize resources and put the crisis behind. The revolts in Brittany and Gironde were collapsing, and soon the Jacobins regained control. In July armies were sent from Alps to march against Lyons and Marseilles. By August Lyons was surrounded but continued resistance. Marseilles, however, began to panic. Cut off from the Republic, it faced the threat of bread shortage. Riots erupted in the city and some were proposing surrender to Britain. This caused controversy within the city and on August 23rd fighting broke out. Marseilles was soon taken and some rebels fled to Toulon, where they convinced other Toulon rebels to surrender to the British. On August 27th, Toulon was in the hands of the British.

^{cxxiii}Hardman, J. *French Revolution Documents*. Oxford, 1973.

^{cxxiv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Meanwhile in Paris, the *enragés*, the very people who had led the insurrection in June 2nd, were now expanding their influence. The *enragés* were extremely radical groups who usually stood with the Jacobins, but their ambition brought them hostility from the Jacobins. For the *enragés*, the only answer to the nation’s problems lay in the ruthless use of the guillotine, in terror. One of their leaders, Hébert, ran a best-selling popular paper in France, who also began to make the Jacobins accept their proposals. The economic situations favored him. Over the summer the assignat had continued to decline, reaching a mere 22 % of its face value.^{cxxv} Weeks of hot weather had produced a good harvest, but many watermills were becalmed by drought, so flour remained scarce.^{cxxvi} All basic goods had risen in price since June and some quite spectacularly: soap was up threefold. For all these shortages the Convention was blamed. When on September 2nd news arrived of the loss of Toulon, the popular anger was focused on the Convention and the Committee. On September 4th, a spontaneous demonstration broke out by manual workers for higher wages and more bread. Hébert was quick to turn it to the *enragés*’ advantage. They persuaded the crowd to reassemble the next day for a march on the Convention. In the evening they got the support of the Jacobins, despite protests from Robespierre, who was the current president of the Convention. Thousands of *sans-culottes* gathered at the

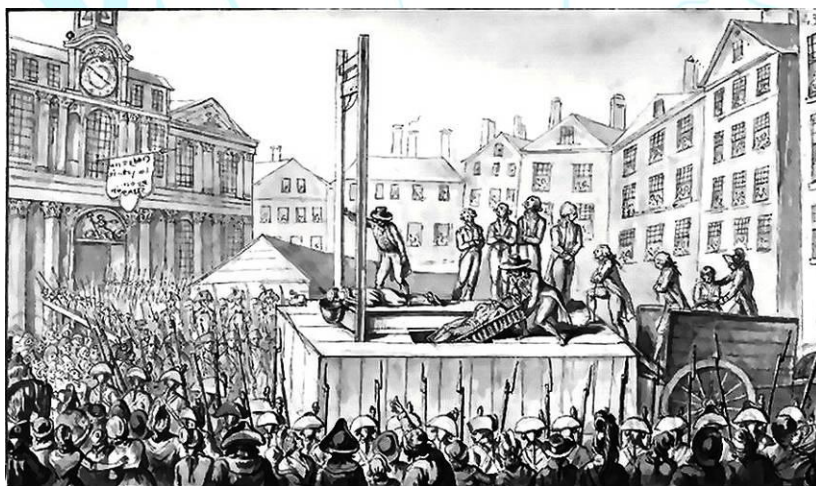
^{cxxv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Convention and blamed the shortages and failures on the deputies. They demanded the creation of a Revolutionary Army who would fight against hoarders and unpatriotic people. The motion was passed on the spot. Danton expressed support and further motioned to increase arms production so every patriot could have a musket. The proposal was met with acclamation and delirium. This was the second time in three months that the sans-culottes had coerced the Convention. Over the next few weeks the Convention was forced to commit itself to radical actions. A law of suspects was passed on September 17th, which empowered the watch committees set up in March to arrest anyone who seemed to be enemies of liberty.^{cxxvii} In other words, almost anyone could be arrested now. On September 29th, a general maximum law was passed which imposed price controls on a wide range of goods defined as of first necessity

queen, which Robespierre tried his best to impede. But the news broke of a plot to free the queen on September 9th, and after that her date was inevitable. The first execution, however, was neither the queen nor the Girondists. In the course of September leading members of the enragés were arrested, possibly by political rivalries. On October 10th, the Convention formally accepted the reality of this time of emergency. Its processes were too cumbersome and slow. “It is impossible”, declared Saint-Just in the name of the Committee, “for revolutionary laws to be executed if the government itself is not constituted in a revolutionary way.”^{cxxviii} The Committee was proposed to take on the central direction of the state as a wartime measure.

Thus began the Reign of Terror, the most famous stage of the French Revolution, when in the course of nine



from food and drink to fuel, clothing and even tobacco. The Revolutionary Army was established, and its control went to the enragés, to the dismay of the Committee. There were also calls for the trial of the Girondists and the former

months 16,000 people perished under the cold blade of the guillotine while the whole Europe watched with horror.^{cxxix} The Terror, which did not end until far into 1794, began with famous victims. The former queen, Marie-Antoinette,

went to the scaffold on October 17th. On October 31st, 21 Girondists, including Brissot, followed here, after a show trial that was cancelled due to the eloquence

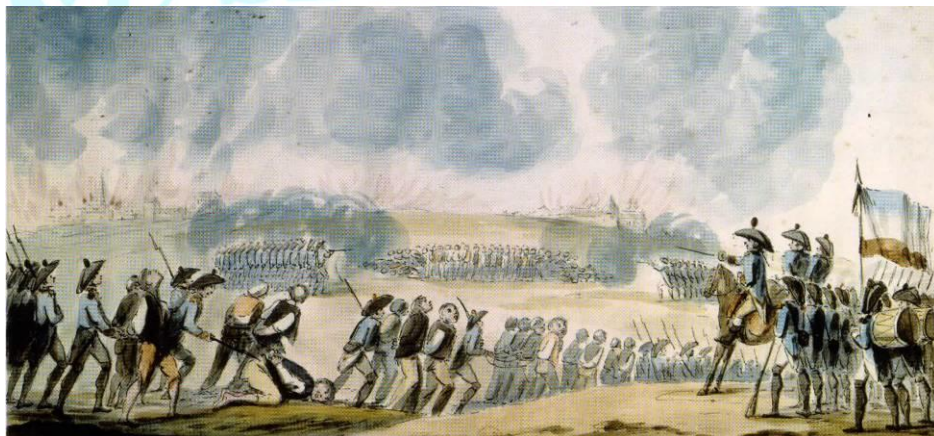
^{cxxvii}Thompson, J.M. *French Revolution Documents*. Oxford, 1933.

^{cxxviii}Hardman, J. *French Revolution Documents*. Oxford, 1973.

^{cxxix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

of the Girondists.^{cxxx} Those who had signed the protest in June were imprisoned. Many more Girondists leaders were executed or committed suicide in November, including Roland and the famous Madame Roland, who cried, “Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!” when she was executed.^{cxxxi}

Only 177 people, however, were executed in 1793 in Paris; many victims were executed in other provinces.^{cxxxii} The resisting Lyons surrendered in October. Reviled in Paris, it had resisted Republic’s attack for more than three months. The Committee was resolved to make Lyons an example and tried to destroy Lyons. The Revolutionary Army, which was now fully under the authority of the Committee, was brought from Paris. Leveling the whole city to the ground,



however, was by no means acceptable; instead thousands were imprisoned, but only hundreds were tried. Paris thought 20 deaths a day was not enough, and a special “Tribunal of Seven” was established to speed matters up. The

Tribunal was exceedingly efficient: 300 were executed in a few days. In December the guillotine blades were getting blunt so cannons and muskets were used for execution. The condemned men were often directly blown into graves by cannon-fire. By the end of the year, 1880 Lyonnais were killed. As a German traveler in Lyons described, “Whole ranges of houses, always the most beautiful ones, are burnt. Churches, convents and farms were in ruins. When I came to the guillotine, the blood of the executed was all over the street. The grass and flowers in gardens were crimson with blood.”^{cxxxiii}

The army who had taken Lyons in October had marched south to Toulon. Though the coalition forces were not reinforced, they could keep supplied from the sea as long as they occupied the fortresses in the heights. A siege

went on for three months until on December 17th French artillery under the command of Captain Napoleon Bonaparte

drove the British and Spanish troops from the forts. 800 rebels in Toulon were immediately executed once the city was in French hands. 282 more were sent to the guillotine in the next month for allowing the enemy to destroy two-thirds of the French Mediterranean fleet. In Marseilles 289 were executed

^{cxxx}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxxii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxxiii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxxiii}Bauer, W. *UnAllemand en France sous la terreur: Souvenirs de Frédéric-Christian Laukhard*. Paris, 1915.

while in Bordeaux 302 were executed, both were very mild sentences.^{cxxxiv}

In October 1793, another campaign against the Vendée rebels began after local republican army had suffered two defeats in September. On October 17th the republican army fought a decisive victory. Rebels were forced to flee to the nearest port to seek British support. The British, however, were not there due to the low speed of communication. Rebels now were caught between republican army and republican garrisons. On December 12th, the republican forces at last caught up with the rebels. Though many escaped during the night, no mercy was given to the remaining rebels. According to a captain in the republican army, “The road to Laval is strewn with corpses. Women, priests, children, all have been put to death. Nobody was spared.” About 10,000, many of them innocent, died during the massacre. On December 23rd, the last remnant of the Vendée rebels, about 4000 people, was destroyed. The Vendée war was over, but the Republic’s vengeance was far from over. Over the spring of 1794 soldiers ravaged and massacred the heartland of rebellion. The captain of these soldiers declared, “We are entering insurgent country. I order you to burn everything that can be burnt and kill any locals whom you meet on your way. There might be a few patriots in this country, but they are expendable in this revolution.”^{cxxxv} The atrocities of republican army even include gang rape

and infanticide. It was estimated that about 200,000 people died during the whole Vendée war.^{cxxxvi}

Though the number of victims was far less than that of the Vendée war, Terror in Nantes was no less horrible. 42% of the total executions of the Terror were carried out in the three provinces around Vendée.^{cxxxvii} Various special courts and tribunals in Nantes accounted for 3,548 executions.^{cxxxviii} As in Lyons, the guillotine in Nantes could scarcely cope with the flood of victims. Yet the prisons were overflowing, ravaged by epidemics, and there was not enough food to feed citizens, let alone traitors and rebels. Therefore, the most notorious expedient of the whole Terror



was executed: the noyades (French for “drowning”). 90 people were pushed into the Loire hog-tied on November 19th. In the following six weeks 1,800 or more were executed in the same way. Hundreds were shot as well.^{cxxxix}

^{cxxxvi}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxxvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxxviii}Sécher, R. *Le Génocide franco-français: La Vendée-Vengé* Paris, 1986.

^{cxxxix}Sécher, R. *Le Génocide franco-français: La Vendée-Vengé* Paris, 1986.

^{cxxxiv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxxxv}Sécher, R. *Le Génocide franco-français: La Vendée-Vengé* Paris, 1986.

Throughout the autumn of 1793, representatives of the Committee in each province had wielded far more power than they were endowed with. They were free to interpret their role and were often ignoring laws and even direct orders from Paris. This phase of the Terror was anarchic, uncoordinated and little subject to central direction.^{cxl} Its characteristic instrument was the Revolutionary Army. Terroristic jacks-of-all-trades, their purpose was to intimidate, punish, arrest and repress anyone merely suspected of activities that could be deemed hostile to the Revolution.^{cxli} Most of the army was assemble in local towns for the knowledge of suspects. The powers of the watch committees were also extended considerably. Onto them devolved the responsibility of implementing the law of suspects passed in September, as well as a range of other powers such as issuing identity certificates.^{cxlii} Originally only foreigners were required to carry these documents, but now the requirement was general. People without these certificates were subject to arrest and imprisonment; up to 500,000 people were imprisoned as suspects during the Terror. About 10,000 died in custody. The true total of those who died under the Terror (excluding the Vendée) may be twice the official figure -- around 42,000 people. The victims were not all members of the former privileged orders. In fact only 9% were nobles while 7% were clerics. Most of the victims were no doubt unfortunate middle classes who committed crimes at

a wrong time.

Nor was the Terror's influence equal. In frontier and rebellion regions death tolls were surprisingly high; in other regions the Terror was sometimes just persecutions. Catholic religion suffered wide attack throughout the country and dechristianization was a principal theme in the Terror. Churches were burned and statues were destroyed. Some people declared that the only religion in France was that of the Revolution. Even the Gregorian calendar was replaced by a Republican calendar (1792 A.D. was Year 1), whose months' names were changed to those of weathers or climates. On November 7th, Gobel, the elected constitutional bishop, came to the convention and ceremonially resigned. Removing the Episcopal insignia, he put on a cap of liberty and declared that the only religion of a free people should be that of Liberty and Equality. In some parts, however, Catholic support was unwavering. The Committee also realized the counter-productive effects of dechristianization.^{cxliii} Robespierre in particular, who believed that religious faith was indispensable to an orderly and civilized society, sounded the alarm.^{cxliv} On December 6th a decree was passed by the Convention restoring religious freedom. But it was too late. All over France Jacobin zealots bullied priests into renunciation and closed churches. It was only at the end of 1793 that the dechristianization movement was calmed down.

On the other hand, the chaos which dechristianization provoked pushed the

^{cxl}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxli}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{cxlii} Ibid.

^{cxliii} Ibid.

^{cxliv} Ibid.

Committee to take a firmer grip on the government. On December 4th another decree was passed setting the future structure of the government. The principle of the decree was extreme centralization. Executive power, though subject to the Convention, was vested in the Committee of Public Safety.^{cxlv} The target of the law was the representative in each province, who has ruled the assigned territory with almost personal will. According to the new law, each province would be governed by local councils, which answered directly to the Committee, thus bypassing all government ministries. Also temporary institutions, including various Revolutionary armies, were abolished. The Committee was now aiming at uniform and obedient administrations, which would respond rapidly to central initiatives while incapable of resisting, adapting or varying government policies.^{cxlvi} Though contrary to the constitution, decentralization and separation of powers were considered ideals for calmer times, as Robespierre pointed out on December 25th, “The goal of constitutional government is to preserve the Republic; the goal of revolutionary government is to found it. The Revolution is the war of liberty against its enemies; the constitution is the regime of liberty victorious and peaceful. Revolutionary government requires extraordinary activity.”^{cxlvii}

Thus the Law of 14 Frimaire, as was called after the fashion of the new Republican calendar, heralded the end of the anarchic Terror, the end of the depredations of the Revolutionary Army,

the end of dechristianization and the end of proconsular autonomy.^{cxlviii} It established the first central government in France since 1789.

Other attempts to counter the crises in the Republic were also gradually more effective. Price control was adopted and enforced; the devaluation of assignats was stopped, rising to 33% of face value in November and to 48% in December.^{cxlix} Forced loans from the rich also helped to save the collapsing economy. It was decreed that all income over 6,000 livres for the unmarried and 10,000 livres for families would be taxed on a much higher scale. In the spring of 1794 the Committee further drew up decrees to confiscate properties of the enemies of the Revolution, which could include everyone who was detained.

As the darkest days for the Republic passed, opposition to the Terror arose. As one deputy in the Convention recalled later, “Nobody had dreamed of establishing a system of terror. It established itself by forces of circumstances. Nobody had control of it and nobody could end it, even when its purpose and achievements were less and less self-evident.”^{cl} Especially when victories emerged in October on the frontline and rebels all over the country began to retreat, many deputies, now forming a group called the Indulgents, were deeply uneasy about terror as a basis for government. Pressure began to mount for a less savage way of running

^{cxlv} Ibid.

^{cxlvi} Ibid.

^{cxlvii} Popere, J. *Robespierre: Textes choisis*. Paris, 1958.

^{cxlviii} Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

^{cxlix} Ibid.

^{cl} Hampson, N.A *Concise History of the French Revolution*. London, 1975.

the country.

Among the supporters was Robespierre, who was conscious that Terror would discredit the Revolution at home and make enemies abroad more intransigent. His attempts to save the Girondists, his denunciation of dechristianization and his support for central government were all evidence of his concern. He had the support of Danton, who had called for less bloodshed and played an important role in drawing up the Law of 14 Frimaire. By now Robespierre was critical of Hébert and his radical allies, the so-called Hébertists and tried to purge these terrorists. In December he tried to expel extremists from the Committee but failed. Then he persuaded the Convention to establish a committee of justice to investigate wrongful cases. At the end of the December the commander of the Paris Revolutionary army was arrested, further helping Robespierre.

Hébert and his ally, Collot, responded by defending the arrested and won the support of the Jacobin Club. Defenders of Terror were once more reinvigorated and polarization in politics was obvious. The committee of justice established by Robespierre was abolished. Robespierre was even more devastated when some of his Indulgent journalist supporters were involved in corruption. The strife between factions deteriorated when the commander of the Paris Revolutionary army was released. Deputies in the Convention tried to stifle dissension but only turned the fury of the Hébertists to them. In February 1794 the Hébertists proclaimed that a new insurrection was needed to cleanse the Convention of enemies of Liberty. In

March they launched a popular journal, asking people to rise against the disloyal deputies. At the same time the Indulgents declared itself in a state of uprising until the people's murders were exterminated.

The Convention was now thoroughly alarmed. Two factions were ready to fight each other while price control was failing. Insurrections were inevitable if there was any call to arms. Deputies began to close ranks. But before insurrection began, the Jacobin-controlled Committee struck first on March 11th; Saint-Just, one of the firmest allies of Robespierre, made a grandiloquent speech condemning insurrections and faction strives. The next day Hébert and his supporters were arrested and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Committee further ordered a blatantly political trial for the Hébertists. They were accused of fomenting insurrection, sabotaging food supplies and plotting massacres. On March 24th, Hébert and his allies were executed. Most sans-culottes supported the execution; they could not see why they shouldn't supporting a government which had brought them cheap bread and security. Hébert and his friends were seen as dangerous troublemakers stabbing in the back of the government that was winning the war on all fronts.^{cli}

But soon the sans-culottes were also deprived of their political tools. More than a week had passed before the Paris Commune announced their support of the Committee. On April 13th, the Commune members were executed as sympathizers. More political activists were executed throughout April. The

^{cli}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Committee was now in sure control of the whole country. The Revolutionary Army was also dissolved, its leaders executed. The Terror seemed

to be coming to an end since the extremists and anarchists had all been executed. But executions could never end executions.



xiv. Reign of Terror: Dictatorship

After all the oppositions were executed, people were wondering what the future of France would be. Terror seemed to be over, since its most active agents were all executed. But there was one powerful and eloquent voice that certainly did not agree:



Robespierre.^{clii} He had wondered and been confused about the future course of the Republic, but now his visions were clear. In February he delivered a speech to the Convention as profession of revolutionary faith, “What is the end towards which we are striving? The peaceful enjoyment of liberty and equality; the reign of that eternal justice whose laws are engraved, not on marble or stone but in the hearts of men in democratic or republican governments...Democracy is a state where the sovereign people, guided by laws which are its own work, does by itself all that it can do well, and by delegates all that it cannot do for itself...What then is the fundamental

principle of democratic government? It is virtue, which is nothing other than love of the land and its laws...insurrection is crime, counterrevolutionary is corruption.”^{cliii}

If these words were said by anyone else, they would be nothing but vapid slogans. Robespierre, however, was a man of authority and power. Throughout the spring and early summer of 1794, he became increasingly obsessed with cleaning the Republic of its corrupt vices and any who fell short of his standard of virtue.

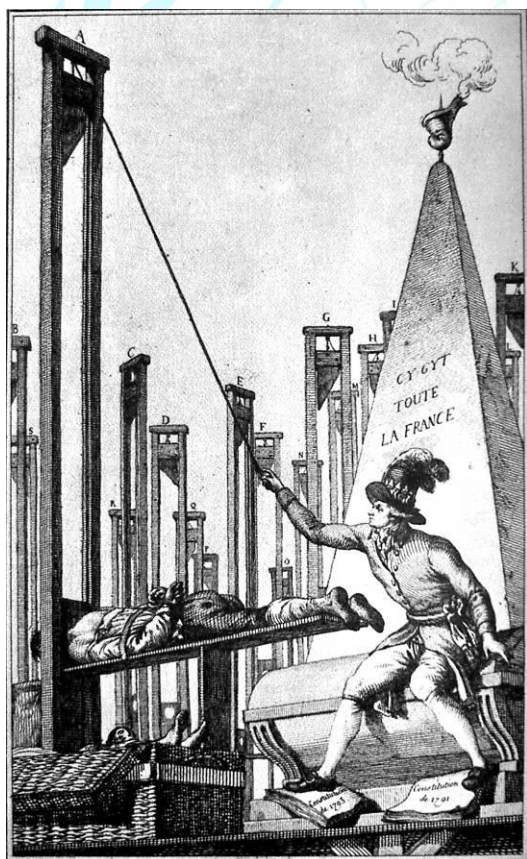
The first victim was his journalist supporter involved in corruption of East Indies. Denunciation on the corrupt was nevertheless reasonable; but Robespierre now casted doubts on his other associates, as Danton was sympathetic. Then Robespierre was ill and stayed out of politics for a month, when Hébertists took control. After execution of the Hébertists, the time of the trial of the corrupt became the pressing issue. Some proposed to try other Indulgents as well; even Danton was on the list. Robespierre turned down the proposal, as the thought of trying Danton put even his now rigid principles to test. It was not until March 30th, after two meetings with Danton, that Robespierre decided to abandon him. Between 2nd and 5th of April, the East Indies conspirators and their supporters, including Danton and other eight deputies, came to trial. Through sheer eloquence, Danton soon dominated the trial; the verdict had to be reached in his absence. On April 5th, they were found guilty and executed. The last words of Danton were: “My only regret is that I

^{clii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{cliii}Poperen, J. *Robespierre: Textes choisis*. Paris, 1958.

am going before that rat Robespierre.”^{cliv}

This was a blot in the political life of Robespierre, which later would prove a mistake. Reliable evidence for Danton's crime was basically non-existent. It seemed that he was struck down more for what they might do than for what he had done.^{clv} Danton's death marked a new phase in the Terror, which was far from over. Now people could be executed for something they might do, or failing to meet certain standards. Maybe Robespierre's meeting with Danton explained Danton's death, “The word



virtue made Danton laugh. How can a man, to whom all ideas of morality and virtue are foreign, be the defender of liberty?”^{clvi}

^{cliv}Scurr, Ruth. *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution*. New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2006.

^{clv}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{clvi}Stephens, H Morse. *The Principal Speeches of the*

Concentration of power was continued. On April 1st the council of ministers was abolished; two weeks later it was ordered that all cases would be tried only by the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was under the personal influence of Robespierre. By the Law of 22 Prairial passed on June 10th, witnesses were virtually dispensed with in courts and accused people were deprived of defending counsel. The only penalty was death. Terror now was at its height. Executions, which had declined sharply between January and March and then risen in April with a new burst of repression in the Vendée, fell back in May; but from early June they began to climb markedly once more.^{clvii} The difference with previous executions was that most executions now took place in Paris instead of in the provinces. Of the 2,639 people executed in Paris between March 1793 and August 1794, 1515 were guillotined during June and July 1794. Another obvious change was composition: more than half of the dead were rich bourgeoisies while other half the executed were nobles and other upper ranks of the society.

Public insurrections were impossible since the new Commune was under the direct control of the Committee, which had become the tool of Robespierre. This gave the Committee a chance to impose another much more unpopular maximum, wage control. Protests from workers were dispersed with ease, as they now had neither leaders nor official support.

Robespierre even spread his

Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution. Oxford, 1892.

^{clvii}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

opinions of virtue and morality into religions. Believing that a peaceful Republic needed a religion, he established the cult of the Supreme Being with a speech to the Convention on May 7th. The principles of the new religion, Robespierre said, were a continual reminder of justice and virtue. He denounced priestcraft, while singing the praises of Rousseau as the architect of a civic religion. On June 8th, he motioned that the nation should celebrate the Supreme Being. A festival was held all over the country with parades and fireworks. In Paris, Robespierre used the opportunity to deliver more eulogies of virtue. An old associate of Danton muttered, "It's not enough for the bugger to be master, he has to be God."^{clviii} Robespierre was now the undisputed ultimate power of France, a dictator and a tyrant.

^{clviii}De la Gorce. *P. Histoire Religieuse De La Révolution Française*. Paris, 1902-1923.

xv. Thermidor, the Heated Month

This was a feeling which increasing numbers of deputies were coming to share. Ever since the autumn of 1792 Robespierre had been subject to charges of aspiring to personal dictatorship, but now it seemed more credible than ever.^{clix} Ever since April, the Committee had also been the scene of increasingly heated quarrel between Robespierre, Saint-Just against the rest. The Convention was also alarmed by the Law of 22 Prairial and was frightened by the death of Danton; they might be arrested and executed without notice and trial as well. The anti-Robespierre forces began to coalesce.

Robespierre was well aware of it, but he could not understand it. He concluded that the purity and rectitude of his intentions were being deliberately vilified and obstructed by a corrupt faction of unpatriotic intriguers. When he ordered the execution of such traitors on June 12th, however, the Committee refused. Since then he ceased to attend Committee meetings, confining his public appearances increasingly to one place he could always command, the Jacobin Club. Yet the Jacobins were not the power they used to be as well; it became increasingly clear that Terror was not needed to win the war. The British failed to prevent a grain convoy on June 1st; on June 26th came the great victory of Fleurus, which opened the way for a renewed attack of Austrian Netherlands and removed the last threat of the Austrians.^{clx} People longed for a peaceful life; yet nobody knew how to

end this slaughter that had lasted for almost a year. Some deputies tried to unite the committees and restore constitutional government; Robespierre appeared, however, and made bitter attack on the proposal. On July 26th he delivered a fiery speech at the Convention, declaring that there was a conspiracy against liberty in the Convention and even the Committee. He would purge both committees and establish new defenders of liberty. The enemies of Robespierre now decided to take action against this dictator. The speech was not published and there were accusations against Robespierre. Robespierre responded by asking the Jacobins to expel all deputies against him. A confrontation was inevitable.

On July 27th, 1794, Thermidor 9th by Republican calendar, Robespierre appeared before the Convention and made a speech. During the speech he was interrupted by the Committee, which denounced him. Robespierre demanded the right to sheep but drowned out by cries of "Down with the tyrant". Robespierre and Saint-Just along with other Jacobins were arrested. There was one person in the Convention that might have saved him with his eloquence and influence. But Danton was executed in April.

Robespierre had fatally overestimated his support among the deputies, and attack so many of them on his speech of July 26th that nobody felt safe. Initially there was a chance that the Jacobins and the Commune would save him. On July 28th the Paris National Guards stormed the prison and rescued

^{clix}Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

^{clx}See chapter "War on All Fronts".

Robespierre and his supporters. But the wage maximum imposed months before had cost Robespierre the support of the public. The Convention was steadfast and soon many National Guards switched sides. On July 29th Convention troops surrounded the hideout of Robespierre. He tried to shoot himself but failed. In the afternoon on July 30th, 1794, Robespierre and his supporters were executed. The Reign of Terror was ended. Since the insurrection of the Convention took place in Thermidor, it

into destroying him before he destroyed him. People called him dictator because they did not believe a person wielding such power could be incorruptible. Many charges lay upon Robespierre were justifications for his execution. Robespierre was indeed a virtuous and determined revolutionary, free from corruption and selfishness that haunted other leaders. At least he had been.

The Thermidorian Reaction marked not so much the over throw of one man as the rejection of a form of government. The Thermidorians, as the victorious deputies in the Thermidorian Reaction now came to be known, advocated for freedom from Terror. Revolutionary Tribunal was dismissed in August and on August 11th;



was later referred to as the Thermidorian Reaction. Quite coincidentally, Thermidor was named after the French word *thermal*, which comes from the Greek word "thermos", meaning heat, alluding to the hot weather of summer. The Thermidor of 1794 was indeed a heated month.

Contrary to his notorious reputations in history classes, Robespierre was never a dictator. He was rather suspicious, paranoid and obsessed because of nature and stress. Surrounded by plots and even assassinations, he was sure that hardly anybody could be relied on. By openly declaring these, he forced the people

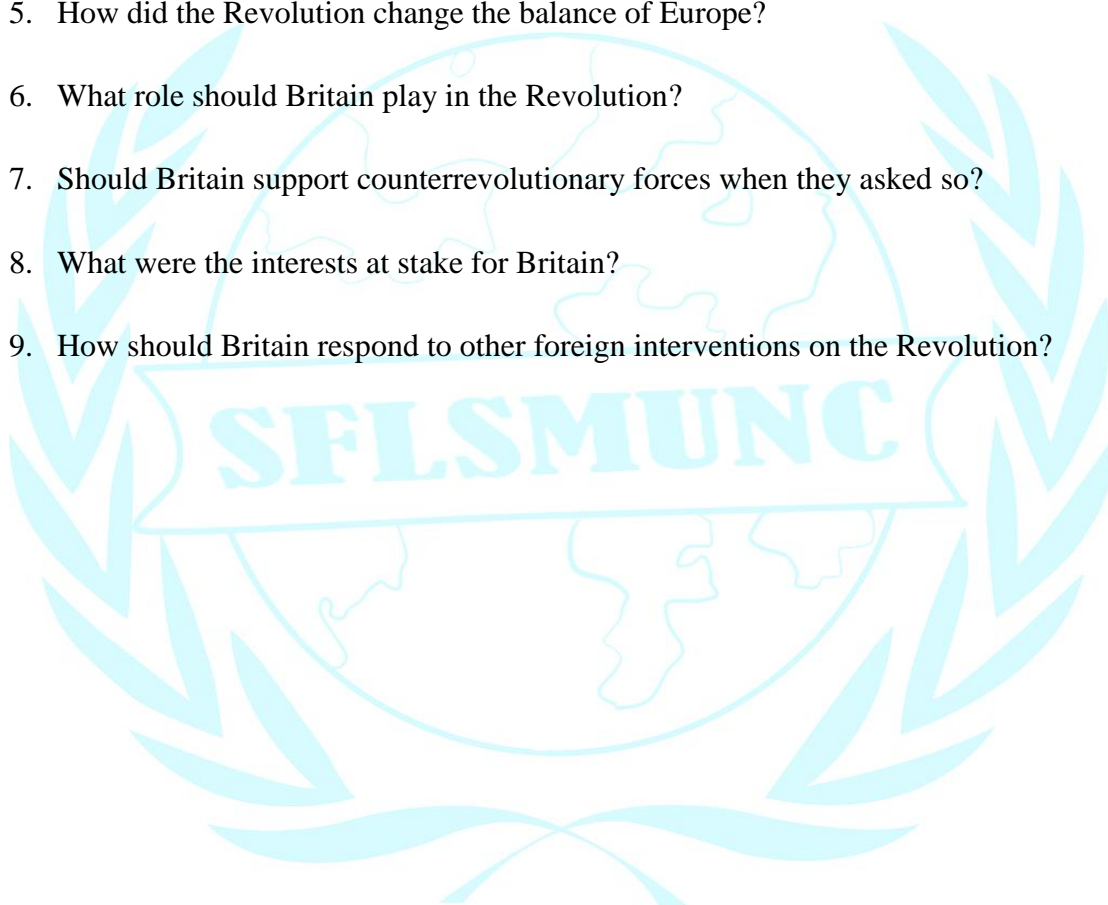
the Committee of Public Safety was deprived of its superintending role in government. Suspects were released and at the end of month 3,500 people were free. The remnants of Robespierre were also under heavy attack. Soon in France the word Jacobin became one of general opprobrium. In October clubs were forbidden to correspond with other affiliations. The Jacobin Club was officially closed in November and the surviving Girondists were reinstalled in the Convention. The following months became revenge instead of national consensus. Everywhere in France supporters or alleged supporters of the Jacobins were arrested and executed. In

December maximums for price and wage were abolished. The Republic was getting back to normal.

Thus, the first half of the Revolution ended. Monarchy was abolished and a Republic was established though there were times of hardship. The Revolution was victorious with the bourgeoisies in command of the country. France that was closing to its death in 1789 was now reinvigorated: her army was advancing; her people were free from tyranny and taxes. A new era had begun in the land of Gaul, but it would be many more years before peace would once again fall on France and the rest of Europe. A great man who was insignificant now would shape the future of France and Europe in years to come. An empire died and another was born.

5. Questions to Consider

1. What is the cause of the Revolution?
2. What is the difference between political systems of France and Britain?
3. How would the Revolution influence the policies of Britain?
4. What is the possible impact on the public?
5. How did the Revolution change the balance of Europe?
6. What role should Britain play in the Revolution?
7. Should Britain support counterrevolutionary forces when they asked so?
8. What were the interests at stake for Britain?
9. How should Britain respond to other foreign interventions on the Revolution?



6. Role and Structure of the committee

Role of the committee

The Cabinet is the chief decision-making body in the United Kingdom government. Therefore, the committee will exercise most of the power the government has except judiciary and legislature power. It is possible, however, to advice members of the Parliament to propose new laws and bills. The decisions of the committee will instantly become policies, which will have lasting impact on both domestic and international situations.

Structure of the committee

The Cabinet consists of the most senior ministers, including the Prime Minister and other Secretaries of States. Each Secretary has individual capability as the head of his or her department, but not extending to other departments. Cooperation between different departments, however, is feasible, which grants both sides of the cooperation control of both departments.

Documents are the only executive orders in the committee, including:

Order of Council (Draft Directive)

The Order of Council is in fact a document in the Privy Council. Since the Cabinet is also the executive committee of the Council, it is adopted as the draft directive in this committee. Amendments can be drafted if changes are to be made. For the sample document, see below.

Ministry Direction

The executive power of the Cabinet is enforced by both the whole committee and single ministers. Therefore each minister is empowered to take action by ordering the ministry. Though its power may be limited, Ministry Directions enable delegates to take action in a much faster time from a more personal perspective. Delegates, however, must be aware of their actions, which may be disastrous to the country. For the sample document, see below.

Details concerning the documents will be updated in future updates.

7. Assignments

Position Paper

Position papers are a crucial part of any Model United Nations conference, as they serve two very important purposes. Firstly, writing the position paper is very helpful for delegates to promote understanding of policies and positions; secondly, the position papers written by each delegate can prove to be crucial for other delegates as well. The ultimate goal of the position paper is to improve delegates' understanding of the topics being discussed, and to promote better debate and performance in committee.

Delegates are welcome and encouraged to write position papers if they want to assure their positions. Delegates should take care in writing these position papers, making sure that they are clear and concise, and that they include the necessary information stipulated below. The official position of each delegate will be decided according to his or her position paper and assignments.

Position papers should include a header with (i) full name/s in Chinese, (ii) the topic area of the position paper, (iii) the school of the delegate. They should be single-spaced, in Times New Roman size 12 fonts. The content of position papers is not restricted, but must be relevant to the topic and the committee. All position papers will be responded with evaluations, corrections (if there are any) and advices from the academic directors.

At the end of the position paper, each delegate should also specify the scope of government he or she prefers, such as foreign relations, military, finance and so on. This preference will be one of the factors considered in the delegate position distribution. For example, a delegate who has considerable knowledge and understanding of the military tactics should explain that he or she would like to apply for a minister in military system.

Delegates should also include their contact information at the end of the position paper, including e-mail, instant messenger application IDs and cell phone numbers.

As the Cabinet is a specialized committee, delegates are required to prepare a ministry report to the King and the Cabinet as well. Delegates should express their positions, opinion, suggested policies in this report. It is strongly recommended that the report largely involves the delegate's ministry. It is also advisable to prepare hand-written or printed materials in advance to help speaking during the report.

The length of report is not restricted, may ranging from 30 seconds to 3 minutes. The Dais, however, is empowered to stop the report if they deemed the report as lengthy.

Essays

Please choose 3 topics from the following topics and write 3 essays. The length of the essay is not restricted. A detailed essay, however, may need more than 250 words.

1. If Louis XVI had been determined on reforms, could the Revolution be avoided?
2. As is mentioned before, Sweden was a powerful country in the 17th and 18th century. Why did it fall to a much less influential country in nowadays world affair?
3. As the most powerful country in the 19th century, Britain possessed the strongest navy in the world. Please analyze the importance of navy to Britain.
4. Cavalry was no doubt one of the most ancient military forces. Even in World War I there were still cavalry forces in the British army. Why have cavalry forces been so important even after the invention of firearms?
5. Is it wise to set maximum on prices? Please specify the reasons.
6. What's the difference between democratic government and republican government?
7. Is dictatorship necessary during times of emergency? Please specify the reasons.
8. In your opinion, how has the Revolution influenced later history?

All assignments must be submitted to sflsmun_cabinet@126.com before **October 20th**.

8. Bibliography

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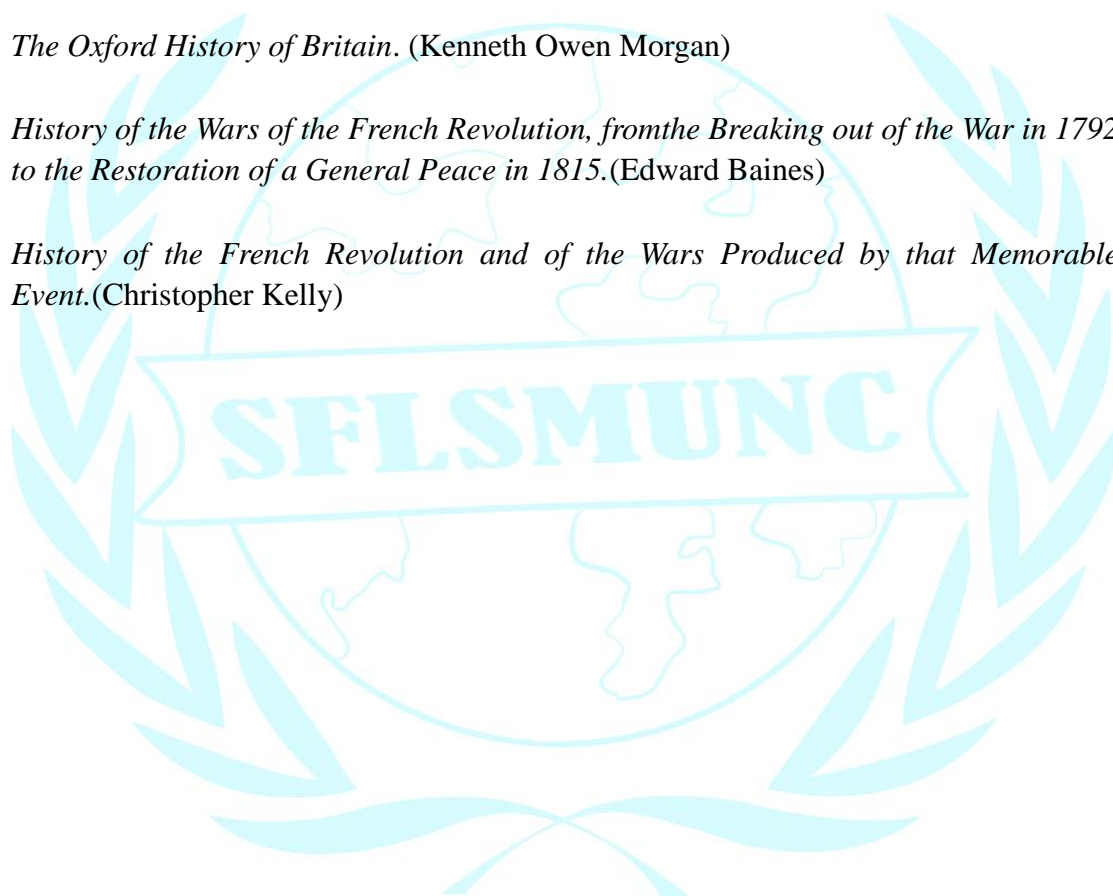
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History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event.(Christopher Kelly)



9. Appendix

