**NATIONAL (Constituent) ASSEMBLY** constitutional monarchy

June 20, 1789  Tennis Court Oath
July 14, 1789  Storming of the Bastille

**LEGISLATIVE (National) ASSEMBLY** constitutional monarchy

Aug. 10, 1792  monarchy abolished

**NATIONAL CONVENTION** single chamber “Representatives of the People”

Sept. 22, 1792  Republic declared
Sept. 5, 1793  Paris sections march on Convention;
October 1793  “republican calendar” introduced
December 1793  Toulon recaptured from British by Bonaparte & Dugommier
July 27, 1794  fall of Robespierre
(Thermidor 9, year 2)
Nov.-Dec. 1794  Jacobin Clubs closed; wage-and-price controls (the Maximum) lifted;
                Paris sections prohibited from meeting
April-May 1795  Convention represses popular uprisings in Paris
                (Germinal-Prairial, year 3)
October 1795  Royalist uprising in Paris repressed by Barras & Bonaparte
                (Vendémiaire, year 4)

**DIRECTORY** 5 man executive; 2 house legislative (Council of 500; Council of Ancients)

April 1796  Bonaparte named Commander of Italian Army
Spring 1797  major victory of the Right in elections
Sept. 1797  fructidor (year 5) coup annuls elections;
Spring 1798  Bonaparte invades Egypt
Nov. 9-10, 1799  18th of Brumaire; claiming to protect the Councils from a Jacobin uprising,
                Bonaparte stages military coup (planned with Sieyes and Talleyrand)

The Terror
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>summer 1789</td>
<td>popular violence in Paris and the countryside</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug. 4-5, 1789</td>
<td>abolition of privilege</td>
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<tr>
<td>summer 1791</td>
<td>emigration after flight to Varennes</td>
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<td>April 20, 1792</td>
<td>France declares war on Austria and Prussia</td>
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<td>June 20, 1792</td>
<td>attack on Tuileries Palace</td>
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<td>July 25, 1792</td>
<td>Brunswick Manifesto</td>
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<td>August 10, 1792</td>
<td>King suspended</td>
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<td>Aug. 19, 1792</td>
<td>Lafayette flees the country</td>
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<td>Sept. 2-6, 1792</td>
<td>“September Massacres” in Paris</td>
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<td>Sept. 20, 1792</td>
<td>Battle of Valmy</td>
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<td>Sept. 20, 1792</td>
<td>first meeting of the Convention</td>
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interaction of popular and organized violence with political change
National Convention (Sept. 1792-Oct. 1795)

749 deputies, elected by universal manhood suffrage

comes into existence through combination of popular violence, municipal insurrection (Paris vs. “national” government), in time of war

has to: try to claim control of political processes

And what else?

organize the military effort; fight a war

deal with the former king

deal with the debt

write a constitution
Areas of open resistance to the National Convention, 1793-1794

Organized violence: civil war and the weak revolutionary state
War in the Vendée: 1793-1794

Royal Catholic Army insignia

Royal Catholic Army paper money

Organized Violence: Civil War
What we usually call “The Reign of Terror” might just as well be thought of as:

- product of a weak and failing state
- attempt to claim control of legitimate use of violence for the state
- institutions of revolutionary government

“The Terror” was not:

- heads on pikes, castles being burnt (episodes of “popular” violence)
- major unnatural source of death in this period (What was?)
Institutions of the Terror

Committee of Public Safety—twelve-man committee within the Convention, effectively assumes executive responsibility (also has its own secret budget and right to issue arrest warrants); most famous members: St. Just, Robespierre, Couthon, Barère, Collot-d’Herbois, Carnot

Committee of General Security—another Convention committee, organizes investigation of all “police” matters (from people who are charged with hoarding grain to those who sing royalist songs); members include the artist, Jacques-Louis David

Revolutionary Tribunal—extra-ordinary law court based in Paris, comes to have exclusive jurisdiction over cases of “counter-revolutionary” activity; no appeals were allowed and its sentences were carried out within 24 hours; as of 22 prairial II (10 June 1794), those charged were not allowed to have defence attorneys and defence witnesses did not have to be heard; as of 22 prairial II, the only verdicts available to the Tribunal were “innocent” and “execution”

State Violence: Terror is not popular violence
Death Sentences during the Terror
figures from D. Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror* (1935)

- Revolutionary Tribunal (Paris): 2,639
- Other criminal or revolutionary tribunals: 3,124
- Military commissions (approx. 50 of them): 8,339
- Civil commissions (less than 20): 2,492
- TOTAL: 16,594

Other deaths

- 10,000-12,000 deaths in prison from illness, malnutrition, suicide
- 11,000-12,000 executions without trial (firing squad in Lyon, drownings in Nantes, etc.)
- 150,000? in the Vendée (combined combat, civilian massacres, deaths from illness and famine)

500,000 people (approx.) jailed in ten months
Why was there so much experimentation with forms of government?

Why did one of them result in 15,000 death sentences?

- weak state — the militarization of society
- popular insurrection — elected representatives
- political polarization — national sovereignty

anonymous, “a sans-culottes”

Jacques Louis David, “design for the uniform of a Representative of the People” (1794/Year 2)
June 20, 1789
Versailles
political elite
demands to write a constitution
“no taxation without representation”

July 14, 1789
Paris
ordinary Parisians
looking for weapons
others create city-based militia
(National Guard)

national sovereignty

June 20, 1789
Versailles

political elite
demands to write a constitution
“no taxation without representation”

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ordinary Parisians
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others create city-based militia
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Jean-Baptiste Houël, *Storming of the Bastille*
watercolor, 1789

popular insurrection — representatives of the people
The indignation was so general that it was breaking out without fear or restraint… Yesterday the fears intensified; nevertheless, there seemed to be no real threat, so just after midnight we [the Legislative Assembly] went to bed… When I entered the Assembly Hall the next day, I was greatly surprised to find the King, the Queen, the Prince [etc.] all very carefully dressed and with their heads lowered like wet hens… they had taken refuge in the Assembly, it was no longer safe in the palace…

The Assembly sent a deputation to speak to the people. [In the Palace, heavy fighting had broken out between the Swiss Guards and the crowd, with the latter getting some support from the National Guard.] A mass of sabers, pikes, and bayonets rushed at us from all sides… our brave guards swooped us back into the Assembly. There, the brave sans-culottes had appeared at the rail and demanded to speak. They explained to us that the sovereign people, making use of that sovereignty, had charged them to tell us of its respect … and that we were the only constituted authority. There was no other authority in existence.

Corpses covered the ground… The palace had been pillaged, though the people scrupulously carried everything of value to the Assembly.

Michel Azema, letter dated August 10-11, 1792 at midnight.
The Event: May 30-June 1, 1793

Girondins: deputies from Bordeaux and their friends
    early enthusiasts for war
    voted for “appeal to the people” rather than
    immediate death sentence for King

April 1793: General Dumouriez defects to Austrians
Girondins call for arrest of Marat, “the friend of the people”

sections demand:
    fixed price for bread
    aid for poor and families of soldiers
    arrest of suspects
    Girondins excluded from Convention

Purge of the Girondins:
29 deputies (including Brissot, Buzot, Pétion, Vergniaud)
and Ministers including Roland and Clavière

popular insurrection — representatives of the people
Jacques Louis David, *The Death of Marat* (1793)
political polarization—national sovereignty
3. The principle of all sovereignty rests in the nation. No body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate from the nation.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (August 26, 1789)
The Event: September 5, 1793

Paris sections march on Convention, demand that “terror” be made “order of the day”

The Convention does not declare “Terror” but it does:

- pass Law on Suspects—anyone suspected of opposing the Republic can be jailed indefinitely
- send Representatives on Mission from the Convention to the rest of France to combat counter-revolutionaries
- impose General Maximum—wage-and-price limits
- declare government to be “revolutionary” until peace is achieved

interaction of popular and state violence
“No one can rule innocently. The folly is too evident.
Every king is a rebel and a usurper…”

Speech at Louis XVI’s trial, December 1792.
### NATIONAL CONVENTION

*single chamber “Representatives of the People”*

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Credits
1. Toulon harbor; photograph, 2009; http://www.flickr.com/photos/luliloz/
6. sans-culottes—anonymous engraving, 1790-1792? photo from gallica.bnf.fr; David, “The Representative of the People at Work,” 1794; engraving by Denon; gallica.bnf.fr
9. Jacques Louis David, The Death of Marat (1793), oil on canvas, 65 x 50.5 inches; Musée Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique (Brussels, Belgium); www.artchive.com; print, Charlotte Corday, after a Miniature by C.W. Bock (1793), gallica.bnf.fr
10. The Triumph of Marat in Hell and Charlotte Corday both from gallica.bnf.fr
11. JJF Le Barbier, the elder, Declaration of the Rights of Man (179?), oil on wood, .71 x .56 meters; Musée Carnavalet, Paris (France), www.photo.rmn.fr
12. M.J. Robespierre, Head of the Committee of Public Safety, print; drawn by Guerin, engraved by Neidel; Augsbourg, 1794; gallica.bnf.fr