The Friday discussion class does not meet this week (Fall Break).

Whatever discussion class you normally attend, you are responsible for this week’s “readings for discussion.” If you usually attend the Friday class, you have three options:

1. Attend no class—this will not count as an “absence” but of course it will not help your participation grade;

2. Discuss the readings with me or with Alex in our regular office hours; mine are tomorrow, 2:00-3:15, hers is Thursday, 10:00-11:00.

3. Attend a different discussion:
   - Wednesday, 2:30-3:20 Ballantine 344
   - Wednesday, 3:30-4:20 Woodburn 118
   - Thursday, 8:00-8:50 Woodburn 112
   - Thursday, 2:30-3:20 Ballantine 345
Midterm Exam: Wednesday, 23 October

Midterm Exam (20% of your overall grade)

Part One (40%): Five chronology exercises.

Part Two (60%): Comment on four (out of twelve) passages.

Midterm Review: Monday, 21 October (a week from today)

Alex Tipei’s office hours next week (not this week) will be on Monday, 12-2 (BH 712).

Discussion classes do not meet next week.
Midterm Exam:

Part One (40%): Five chronology exercises. In each, you should number the five items in order from the one that happened earliest (1) to the one that happened last (5).

- Louis XVI calls the Estates-General
- Necker’s *Compte Rendu (Account of the Finances)* published
- National Assembly votes to “abolish privilege”
- France enters the American War of Independence
- France declares war on Austria and Prussia

On each exercise, you will either get full credit (everything right), half credit (two in the wrong order), or no credit (three or more wrong). If you attempt to beat the system (e.g., by numbering two items “4” and nothing “5”) you will get no credit.
Midterm Exam:

Part Two (60%): Comment on four (out of twelve) passages.

In your comment, you should address the following questions:

Who is the author?

What is the context in which the passage was produced?
(in other words, what else was going on?)

Why, and to what audience, was the author writing or speaking?

What effect, if any, did the text have on its context?

What, if anything, is important in the author’s choice of words?

Each of your comments should be a short but substantive essay; filling at least one page in a bluebook (assuming standard-size handwriting).
Midterm Exam:

Part Two (60%): sample.

I can say truthfully that it was with a spirit of justice, fairness, and patriotism that I left my home. I had learned as much as I could about the history of the French monarchy, the rights of kings, and the duties of people.

*Journal of the Baron de Gauville, Deputy of the Nobility to the Estates-General.*
The Revolution that would not end
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)
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)

Who speaks for “the nation”? Who is “the public”? 

Luc Olivier Merson after
J-L David, The Tennis Court Oath

Jean-Baptiste Houël, Storming of the Bastille
watercolor, 1789
The French Revolution and the Modern Nation-State

What is a nation?  What is a state?  What is a nation-state?

nation: group of people believed to have something (language, history, ethnicity) in common
state: administrative entity formed by law and government
nation-state: a nation that is also a state
nationalism: the political belief that any national group has the “right” to self-determination,
i.e., the right to make its own laws, the right to be a state.

A nation is made one by virtue of common laws and common representation. … In France today, the moment any citizen is granted privileges against the common laws, he no longer forms part of the common order. His new interest is contrary to the general interest.

What is the Third Estate? (1789)

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes, 1748-1836
The Nation and its Representations

“The nation is the whole, the nation is all … the nation is not a part [of the government], the nation is the whole.”


“It is an incontestable truth that the source of sovereignty resides in the nation, that all authority emanates from it… but the nation cannot govern itself. … To be the source of sovereignty and to exercise sovereignty are two very different things.”


“Sovereign power is so perfectly unitary, so little susceptible of division, that it would require some amazing feat to imagine sharing it… The sovereign is a single, simple thing, since it is made up of every individual without exception.”


In the most general terms, the Assembly opted for the language of political will, rather than of social reason; of unity, rather than difference; of civic virtue, rather than commerce; of absolute sovereignty, rather than of government limited by the rights of man—which is to say that, in the long run, it was opting for the Terror.

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No nation had ever before embarked on so resolute an attempt as that of the French in 1789 to break with the past... to create an unbridgeable gulf between all they had hitherto been and all they now aspired to be. With this in mind they took a host of precautions so as to make sure of importing nothing from the past into the new regime... they spared no pains in their efforts to obliterate their former selves.

I have always felt that they were far less successful in this curious attempt than is generally supposed ... I am convinced that though they had no inkling of this, they took over from the old regime not only most of its customs, conventions, and modes of thought, but even those very ideas which prompted our revolutionaries to destroy it.

In *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, Tocqueville argued that the Revolution actually *continued* the state-building and centralization begun under the absolutist monarchy.

The revolutionaries “said” they were breaking with past traditions, but they actually *did* the reverse.

*But how strong was the state in revolutionary France?*
Areas of open resistance to the National Convention, 1793-1794

Organized violence: civil war and the weak revolutionary state
The Purge of the Girondins from the Convention: 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 (Roland, Clavière, etc.)—excluded from Convention,
   some fled to Normandy to try to organize armed resistance, others hid;
   arrested, executed in November or committed suicide
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
The Event: the ninth of thermidor, Year Two

8 thermidor: Robespierre makes a long and rambling speech in the Convention, denouncing the Republic’s (and his) enemies; has two members of the Committee of Public Safety expelled from the Jacobin Club.

9 thermidor: Fouché, Tallien, and other members of the Convention and the Jacobin Club denounce Robespierre, call for his arrest—have him, Couthon, and Saint Just declared “outside the law” (outlaws)

10-11 thermidor: busiest days for the Paris guillotine

Was this the end of the Terror?