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Raymond J. Jirran

A. Introduction

Burgeoning technology has given Western civilization unexcelled world authority. Technology eventually enabled the common people to communicate their wishes to a point where they could take more of their fate into their own hands. This was what the French Revolution was about. This is without question.

The legitimation of authority, however, is something else. More important than legitimating authority is legitimating those human rights for which legitimate authority exists. Religion and democracy are the two wellsprings of legitimation in Western society. All of the above facts require contemporary understanding. The course goal for this topic is to evaluate the legitimation of human rights during the French Revolution according to a criteria of the chronology, personalities, places, and degrees of certitude warranted.

Students have invested considerable time evaluating what they have understood. The readings, "From Robespierre to Bonaparte," offer a good background for this lecture. Just as one would suppose that a Robespierre would interpret history differently than would a Bonaparte, so will one find historians offering differing explanations among themselves. This lecture is about those interpretations.

B. Trouble

In the beginning, the Girondists were part of the Jacobins. When the Jacobins became known as the Mountain and sided with the sans culottes to execute Louis XVI, the Girondists separated. The Jacobins, purged of the Girondists, began their Reign of Terror under the leadership of Danton and Robespierre. It seems to the professor that the study of history can be tracked along a similar course: "Drum and Bugle" history, blindly praising the U.S.A. has given way to a type of cynicism in a sort of poor parallel to the way in which the moderation of the Girondists gave way to the radicalism of the Jacobins.

Even as a Black historian, the professor is far from cynical about the United States of America. As fashionable as cynicism is among historians, the Reign of Terror is a component, rather than a determinate of the French Revolution. The French Revolution was not a mere precursor of Twentieth Century totalitarianism¹ While legitimate human rights are political, human rights are also more than political.

C. Three Themes

History 102 Part I. Capitalism, treats three Centuries and three major themes. The three centuries are the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth. The themes are the increasing importance of democracy, technology, and, indeed, religion. Such an interpretation causes problems because Chambers does not know what to do with democracy or religion and what he does with technology is wrong. Chambers, however, does not stand alone. The better thinkers of today make the same mistakes as Chambers--so says Dr. Jirran.

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Chambers recognizes that the people are gross, crass, and greedy; rude, crude, lewd, and, given the chance, they will kill you and me, and shoot themselves in the foot. Chambers is in a bind between denigrating the people and making a god out of the people. Let the professor wonder whether or not Chambers really accepts democracy or capitalism, in a word, whether or not he might be Marxist.

Chambers correctly recognizes that the masses value religion. Chambers fails to recognize an advantage religion offers to either the people or their government. That unrecognized advantage, says Dr. Jirran, is a value system and world-outlook designed to preserve creation--against nuclear holocaust, against genocide, against environmental destruction, and the like.

What Chambers does with technology is to confuse technology with science. Technology shows how to make machines do work. The purpose of technology is pragmatic. Science shows how nature works. The purpose of science is theoretical. The two are not the same.

D. Overview

Like democracy in the time of the Greeks, democracy at the time of the French Revolution was not intended for all of the people. Yet, Frenchmen lived in 1799, the beginning of the Napoleonic era, as they could not have in 1789. The differences, sooner or later, came to influence all civilization. French armies, even during the 1789-1799 decade brought to parts of the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, many of the institutional changes and ideas of France. These changes are described below.

In 1789, France had no elected assembly. But in 1799, she had had the experience of four and was about to reach for a fifth. The Revolution had given France for the first time what can loosely be called a form of parliamentary government, reduced to mere form under Napoleon, revived later under the Charter of 1814, and continued to the present day. In 1815, Napoleon met his Waterloo. Since 1789, the ordinary French middle-class male has had the right to vote. There has been a government by discussion that has involved parliaments, parties, the press, and pressure groups, all the phenomena so familiar today, so unknown to the Frenchman of 1788.

E. Conclusion

By studying the Introduction to Interpretations, Trouble, and Three Themes, the student is better able to evaluate the legitimation of human rights. The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between faith and reason, value and fact, morality and science, each claiming to be the path to truth. The next topic closes the formal lectures in this section of the course.

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Supplement

F. Three Themes (continued)

The tremendous advantages of contemporary society come from technology and from science only insofar as science applies to technology. To illustrate, physics is the science which, when applied to technology, would give the nuclear holocaust. Theology is the science that would give nuclear technology a framework of values designed for the benefit of the whole of creation. Both sciences merit more recognition in the eyes of the professor than in academia generally.

Scholarship, such as that of Chambers, tends to regard as empowering the people as that aspect of politics accepting a truth-determinate. The French Revolution is a watershed releasing truth from many political restrictions. For that reason, the French Revolution receives a lot of attention both from Chambers and from the professor.

Chambers gives little, if any, recognition to the fact that theology is a science. Dr. Jirran thinks that Chambers imbues the secular intellectual life with the patent correctness of increased technical efficiency--Dr. Jirran thinks that such imbuing is, in many ways, improper and is especially improper when that imbuing implicitly denies any legitimacy to a religious intellectual life. While the science of physics may enable the technologist to use nuclear energy, the science of theology may just as well enable the technologist to know what are legitimate uses for that same nuclear energy. By destroying the human race, nuclear energy retains the potential for the ultimate destruction of human rights.

In general, neither the peasants nor the nobles seem treated with that degree of understanding suitable to either the facts of history or a democratic-capitalist value system. At this time, the wondering is only that and the purpose is to sensitize the student to his own capitalistic-democratic values. David Herlihy, one of the authors of Chambers, was the 1990 president of the American Historical Association, as well as a past president of The Catholic Historical Association. When he died in 1991 Dr. Jirran was unable to discover how his funeral rites were conducted.

Besides problems at the theoretical level, there are also problems at the factual level. Who revolted? How may the revolutionaries best be grouped? There is no easy characterization, though "the faces in the revolutionary crowd in France changed little between 1789 and 1871."²

Following the July Revolution of 1830, in February 1848 there was a third French Revolution of the people of Paris, this time against King Louis Philippe. While economic matters were again important, economic matters seem more like the trigger setting off a political blast fostering human rights. Skilled artisans and other laboring class participants were more evident than either the socially marginalized dispossessed underclass or the "small but appreciable admixture of members of the commercial and professional classes."³ Just as the 1789 revolution retarded economic activity, the 1848 revolution precipitated the "deepest depression of the modern era."⁴ This matter will be treated again in the supplement to Topic 18, Revolution Renewed.

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G. Introduction

The legitimization of human rights is the major issue of contemporary society. Understanding what happened and why is very important. The observant student will note that this is the only place in the over one hundred lectures Dr. Jirran has written which recapitulates a textbook. The reason for the recapitulation is because of the central importance of the French Revolution in the history of Western civilization.

Historians, in our excitement over what happened, study and study the French Revolution some more, and then feel obliged to sink the results in verbiage. The hope is to offer a little clarification here with a little different summary than offered elsewhere. The professor thinks that Chambers gets too caught up in details which confuse, rather than clarify, what happened. The professor takes an opportunity, which Chambers did not, to go over the French Revolution three different times under H. Simplification, I. A General Outline, and J. A Diagram.

H. Simplification

The importance of the French Revolution has caused the French Revolution to be studied in great detail. The great amount of detail, in turn, can make it difficult to follow what actually happened. Put most simply: the aristocrats refused to pay their taxes. The middle classes, therefore, revolted and took over the government. But then these middle classes botched the job. Napoleon ended up in charge. Nobody, but nobody, argued with Napoleon very much or very long about paying anything. Then Napoleon met his Waterloo. The idea that the middle classes could run the government had already caught on, however. Within less than two hundred years, practically all governments were run by the middle classes. In most simple terms, two dates suffice: 1789, when the French Revolution began; 1815, Waterloo. Once the above outline is well in hand, the student may advance to a more sophisticated ability to evaluate what happened.

I. A General Outline

The various stages of the French Revolution can be divided into three general divisions, characterized by three different types of government.

The first stage of the revolution involved the causes. The type of government from which the revolution sprang was absolute monarchy. Chambers calls Louis XVI incompetent, but incompetent for what: incompetent to preserve the monarchy in 1789--certainly; incompetent in the sense that he lacked the ability of his fellow kings? The professor's professors taught that, as kings go, Louis XVI was competent. What Louis XVI was not, was a genius capable of handling the mess in which he found himself. One recent scholar goes so far as to refer to Louis XVI as the "bumbling husband" of Marie Antoinette.⁵

Louis XVI knew that there were financial problems and he tried to solve them by calling together an Assembly of Notables. The Assembly of Notables then tried to do what Louis XVI could not, namely collect enough revenues to run the government. The Assembly of Notables had no more success with that, than did the king.⁶

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The period from 1787 to 1788 was characterized by financial crisis. With suspension of payment on the debt, the nobility and the clergy finally permitted taxation. This might have solved the problem, except for the fact that the Estates-General was called in September 1788. As a result, by July 1789, France was in the throes of chaos. The issues surrounded whether or not there would be one person and one vote or whether the nobles and clergy would get special privileges. Louis XVI ordered the clergy and nobility to join the National Assembly. Here the story gets ahead of itself. A better look at the financial situation is in order first.

The person in charge of finances in 1789 was Jacques Necker (1732-1804). Necker was good. He was in and out of the ministry three times. His second and third ministries lasted from August 1788 until September 1790.⁷

When Necker came to office in 1788, the government was near bankruptcy. Necker had previously earned a good reputation running government finances and knew what to do. In 1788, Necker properly advocated retrenchment, curtailing court expenses, public administration of national finances, and insisting on taxation that was more efficient. This caused an uproar and, just before the fall of the Bastille, Louis XVI caved in and sacked Necker. Later, that same month, Necker was returned to office, but to no avail. Necker resigned in 1790 after all of his initiatives were either overruled or ignored by the Constituent Assembly.

Necker was unable to place the country above his king or to mediate between the king and the revolutionaries. This does not mean that Necker lacked political savvy, as many historians have claimed. Neither all the king's horses nor all the king's men were going to be able to save the king.

The National Assembly was not able to solve the problems in a lasting manner, either. Once the king was gone, the Assembly took over and there was renewed revolt against the Assembly. Historians have generally denigrated the boldness of the Assembly in breaking with the privileges of the Old Regime. The National Assembly rejected privilege as the superintending principle of society and in its place substituted nationalism. It was the king who would not cooperate.

The second stage of the revolution involved four developments. During the first two developments, the type of government remained a monarchy, but a circumscribed rather than an absolute monarchy. The revolution began with the refusal of the Estates General to disband in 1789. The specific act of defiance was the Tennis Court Oath by which the Third Estate remained in session.

The Third Estate, then, forced the formation of the Constituent Assembly, marking the second development of the second stage of the revolution. The Constituent Assembly was the first National Assembly of France. The Constituent Assembly issued: the August Decree denouncing feudal privileges; the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The Declaration was modeled upon the United States Declaration of Independence.

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Amazingly, the Constituent Assembly is still poorly understood. This is partly due to the closer interest of historians to the beginnings of the Republic and the Reign of Terror. This is also due to the difficulty in locating appropriate sources. At first, minutes were not kept, and when they were, they were sanitized. So far, nothing like Madison's diary has surfaced.⁸

In 1791, the king was forced to accept a constitution. In this third development, the king was even more limited in his prerogatives than before. The government was still a monarchy. 1791 marks a development rather than a stage.

The beheading of Louis XVI in 1793 began the fourth development of the second stage of the revolution. Chambers calls this the second revolution. France was now a republic. In 1793 and 1794, there occurred the Reign of Terror in which the new government got out of hand. The Directory was formed in 1795 to cope with the Terror. This is known as the Thermidorian Reaction. In 1799, the Directory invited Napoleon to take over. The republic ended when Napoleon declared himself emperor in 1804.

The third and final stage of the revolution, coming after the pre-Revolutionary causes and the revolutionary developments, was the post-Revolutionary reaction. Emperorship characterizes the post-Revolutionary government.

The readings on page 710, second column, only paragraph glance by this aspect of the revolution almost as if in shame of what happened.⁹

J. A Diagram

Keeping the above outline in clear focus may be helped by the following diagram:

Stages of the French Revolution	Type of Government
General Divisions	
I. Pre-Revolutionary causes	Absolute (Monarchy)
II. Revolutionary Developments	Circumscribed (Monarchy)
(1789-1791)	
1. Estates General (1789)	
2. Constituent Assembly (1789)	
Declaration of the Rights of Man	
(The Second Revolution [p. 710]) ¹⁰	
3. Constitution (1791)	Constitutional (1791-1792)
4. Republic	Reign of Terror (Republic) (1793-1794)
	Directory (1795-1799)
III. Post-Revolutionary reaction	Emperorship

K. Overview (continued)

Centralization was imposed by Napoleon, especially in matters of economics and transportation. Aided by modern transportation and by universal education, the new regime was able to reduce French provincialism to a mere sentiment cultivated largely for the tourist trade. France thereby

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became perhaps the most completely unified great nation even to the present time. Civil rights made such unity valuable for democracy and the masses. Civil rights under Napoleon included the right to vote as long as there was a certain income; the right to a fair trial; to worship in public places; to change jobs, within certain limits;¹¹ to hold a military commission; to form and discuss opinions.

L. Other Ramifications

The conduct of business on a national scale was now much easier. Business was now wholly honorable because it was largely businessmen who formed the Revolution. His sense of honorable businessmen extended beyond France. As shall be seen, other countries experienced even more revolutionary effects than France did. The ideas of 1789, adapted by a rising middle class, became incorporated into the power structure of the West. Everyone now expected an education.

Universal military training was seldom mentioned as part of the French Revolution, but it was as much a part of it as the other items. Isser Woloch, one of the authors of Chambers considered this subject in his 1994 book, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civil Order, 1789-1820s*.¹² Since the famous mobilization of the French money and men in 1793, modern wars, while they have been somewhat more discontinuous, have more directly touched every citizen. Regular military conscription transformed peasants into Frenchmen more than any other innovation.¹³

Between the royal economy of Louis XVI and the capitalist economy of the Nineteenth Century, was a revolutionary economy of free enterprise. Historians may be able to "agree on the birthplace of free enterprise: revolutionary France."¹⁴ While a chronological free enterprise zone between royal and capitalist domination of the economy makes nice theory, that theory covers more than it reveals. As Jean-Peirre Hirsch puts it:

For the dual dream of trade is founded on trade's fundamental, if contradictory, needs: to conquer new markets while limiting the ravages of competition, to innovate and create new products without breaking with those norms that bolster the confidence of the consumer and thus ensure continued sales. It is quite difficult to believe that there was an epoch of true "free enterprise" that came between the Old Regime and the later emergence of "monopoly capitalism."¹⁵

Is there a human right for one human being to exploit another? Unadulterated capitalist theory permits such exploitation. Legitimizing human rights broaches a problem when it comes to slavery. How did the French Revolution deal with colonial slavery? What have historians written about such dealing?

In 1794, the abolition of slavery became one of the most radical acts of the entire French Revolution. Historians, nevertheless, have chosen to skip around that act.¹⁶ The Enlightenment gave little more than lip service to abolition.¹⁷ Condorcet (indexed in the seventh edition of Chambers for page 661), Necker (indexed in the seventh edition of Chambers for pages 696,

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698, 700, 701), Lafayette (indexed in the seventh edition of Chambers for page 827), and Brissot (indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for page 826; but not on the seventh)¹⁸ all actively participated in ending the moral outrage of slavery.¹⁹ Unlike the British, however, the French never developed an active popular abolitionist movement.

The move from racism to sexism is similar. "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" was as sexist as it sounded. As Lynn Hunt puts it:

But fraternity certainly did not mean that brothers and sisters were equal partners...The elimination of the royal patriarchal couple did not automatically open the way for women to participate in public affairs; the proliferation of the female allegory was made possible, in fact, by the exclusion of women from public affairs. Women could be representative of abstract qualities and collective dreams because women were not about to vote or govern.²⁰

Sexism and racism are important to identity in the United States. A glance at the relationship between 1776 and 1789 is in order.

M. The U. S. Connection

The French Revolution was related to the U. S. Revolution in various ways. To begin with, Louis XVI went bankrupt, at least partially, because of his support of the U. S. Revolution. Again, the French Revolution was enriched when it translated the U. S. Declaration of Independence into its own Universal Bill of Rights. Ultimately, perhaps, the relationship between 1776 and 1789 was somewhat tenuous because of certain overriding concerns.

The genius of America, represented by the Constitution of the United States, succeeded in establishing for the only time in history a nation whose very foundation was based on the rights of dispossessed people. These were rights to be won in the Eighteenth Century; rights which are still being won in the Twentieth Century. The matter is clearer in its Black dimension. Time and again, there was Black involvement in the commitment the nation has won. The American Dream was in the hope of the Founding Fathers, first, as a sort of promise to leave to future generations, including our own.

Asking why the West above the rest and why the United States of America above the disunited states of Europe are politically incorrect questions.²¹ The reason politics does not supercede religion, as the base of history is that, otherwise, politics determines truth. Western civilization objects to that very notion, whether for church or state. Religion is only on sound ground when religion first seeks the truth and then insists that truth, however understood, is to determine politics, for both church and state. In the case of the United States of America, the truth is that the most dispossessed of its citizens are still citizens, with full rights before the law.

Though concerned,²² the French never had any Abolitionist kind of concern for the dispossessed. With the French, it was more a matter of strength leading to strength, rather than strength building

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apparent weakness into greater strength. For that reason, the tendency is to develop only a light correlation between the revolution of France and the revolution of the U. S.

The Jacobins never understood the value of dissent. The value of dissent is to give voice to truth in the midst of countervailing politics. Jacobin insistence that only they understood France became as unacceptable as regal claims to the same insistence.²³

Since Thomas Nelson Community College is named after one of the Revolutionary War heroes, it would be remiss not to say a few words about Thomas Nelson. Thomas Nelson followed Thomas Jefferson as the second governor of Virginia. Thomas Nelson served as commander of the forces of Virginia during the Revolution. He fought at the battle of Yorktown in charge of the Virginia State Militia. His troops were chiefly in charge of digging ditches, while other troops, including the three-quarters Black Rhode Island Regiment, were more centrally concerned with the actual fighting.

N. Conclusion

Dr. Jirran has shared with you some of his thoughts. His hope is that his sharing will help inspire other students, besides himself, to think and to share their thoughts. Only through sharing, can humans test the validity of thoughts against reality. This testing is fundamental to education and can be exhilarating and fun. Good Luck!

By studying the Introduction to the French Revolution: Outline; Simplification; A General Outline; and A Diagram, the student is better able to focus on the facts of the French Revolution. This focusing on what actually happened makes it possible for the student to evaluate the legitimation of authority. Readings include pages 688-725.²⁴ The following locations deserve special attention: Corsica, Bordeaux, and Kingdom. of Sardinia to the left and Normandy, Brittany, Champagne, Burgundy, Orleanais and Gascony to the right on "Map 20.1 Redividing the Nation's Territory in 1789: From Historic Provinces (*left*) to Revolutionary Departments (*Right*)" on page 707.²⁵ Orleanais is a Royal Domain, a region of Central France.²⁶ In this section of the supplement, students have further evaluated the legitimation of human rights. Students have done this by studying the second Introduction, Overview, Government, and Other Ramifications. Students should pay particular attention to their readings in Chambers, to their studying the lecture, and to their thinking. Students should prepare a comment.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 688-725

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page Column

Paragraph

Line

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- 0689 3rd last line "...reign of terror..."
The professor capitalizes Reign of Terror as a proper noun belonging to the French Revolution.
- 0690 2 2 7-8 "...German universities began to train government bureaucrats..."
The professor worries about politics determining truth that universities are perverted to train government bureaucrats.
- 0692 1 3 2-6 "Joseph...moved to suppress dissent in the firmest possible way."
The professor regards such suppression as inimical to the better values of Western civilization.
- 0695 2 3 1-2
"Three decades of research have rendered this theory of the Revolution's origins untenable."
The professor, therefore, writes that the middle classes were involved, rather than particularly led. The professor backs away from the cynical approach associated with the Jacobins.
- 0697 2 1 12-13 "The Revolution of 1789 restored the harmony between fact and law"
In the spirit of harmonizing truth and politics, the professor would add.
- 0697 2 2 7-10 "...a political crisis...economic trends..."
To complete the shell game of what determines what, the professor would add religion.
- 0698 2 1 2-3 "The king invited his subjects to express their opinions..."
0699 1 2 6-7 "...setting forth their views."

When times become difficult, societies tend to return to their root values.

- 0698-0699 "...substitute reason for tradition."
...is to substitute truth for politics.

- 0703 2 3 10-11 "Burke attacked the belief in natural rights..."

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Natural rights and natural law go together. Natural law upholds the principle of causality. The principle of causality limits thought by fostering false assumptions. Natural law, therefore, is under rigorous scrutiny at best and in disfavor at worst in the academy.

0705 1 2 3 "...two-thirds..."

The professor has been looking for this number for thirty years. The professor knew that at the height of Athenian democracy only about twenty-five per cent of the population could vote. At the time of the French Revolution it was up to one third--because half the population, women, were excluded. The professor thinks it was close to that in the Early National United States because of slavery.

0708 2 4 10 "...loyalty oath..."

...is inimical to the freedom truth needs before politics.

0711 1 2 11 "...sans-culottes..."

...pictured on page 719.

0712 1 1 1-2 "...early in September..."

This is 1792. The September 5 mentioned at 0715, 1, 1, 3 is 1793.

0716 block 1-2 "...the only citizens in the Republic are the republicans."

...juxtaposed with "Even without voting rights women considered themselves citizens in revolutionary France." (0719, 1, 2, 7-9)

0716 2 1 8-9 "For this dissent they were indicted on trumped-up charges..."

...politics determining truth.

0725 2 last item Woloch, Isser. *The New Regime...*

...mentioned in the text of the lecture.

Endnotes

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¹ Kenneth Margerison, review of Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), pages 1387-1388.

² Mark Traugott, "The Crowd in the French Revolution of February, 1848," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 651.

³ Mark Traugott, "The Crowd in the French Revolution of February, 1848," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 651.

⁴ Mark Traugott, "The Crowd in the French Revolution of February, 1848," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), page 652.

⁵ Sarah Maza, "Domestic Melodrama as Political Ideology: The Case of the Comte de Sanois," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1253.

⁶ Michael P. Fitzsimmons, "Privilege and the Policy in France," *The American Historical Review*, 92 (March 1987): 289-295.

⁷ Louis S. Greenbaum, review of Robert D. Harris, *Necker and the Revolution of 1789* in *The American Historical Review*, 93 (June 1988): 716-717.

⁸ Timothy Tackett, "Nobles and Third Estate in the Revolutionary Dynamic of the National Assembly, 1789-1790," *The American Historical Review*, 94 (April 1989): 272.

⁹ In the fifth edition, page 850, second column, second paragraph; in the seventh edition, page 738, second column, only paragraph.

¹⁰ Page 824 in the fifth edition, 710 in the seventh.

¹¹ Jean-Peirre Hirsch, "Revolutionary France, Cradle of Free Enterprise," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (October 1989), page 1286.

¹² Keith Michael Baker, review of Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civil Order, 1789-1820s* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (February 1996), page 190.

¹³ Keith Michael Baker, review of Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civil Order, 1789-1820s* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (February 1996), page 190.

¹⁴ Jean-Peirre Hirsch, "Revolutionary France, Cradle of Free Enterprise," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1289.

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¹⁵ Jean-Pierre Hirsch, "Revolutionary France, Cradle of Free Enterprise," The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1289.

¹⁶ David Geggus, "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly," The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1290.

¹⁷ David Geggus, "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly," The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1292.

¹⁸ Condorcet (indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for page 742; seventh, 661), Necker (indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for pages 804, 805, and 808; seventh, 696, 698, 700,701), Lafayette (indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for page 885; seventh, 827), and Brissot (indexed in the fifth edition of Chambers for page 826; seventh, no indexed)

¹⁹ David Geggus, "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly," The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1292.

²⁰ Lynn Hunt, "The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures," French Caricatures and the French Revolution, 1789-1799 (Los Angeles, 1988), page 39 as quoted and cited by Jack R. Censer, "Commencing the Third Century of Debate," The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), page 1318, footnote 27. The full citation is in footnote 25.

²¹ Margaret C. Jacob, "Review Essays: Thinking Unfashionable Thoughts, Asking Unfashionable Questions," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 2 (April 2000), pages 494-500, especially 408; Michael McGerr, "The Price of the `New Transnational History,'" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 4 (October 1991), page 1062.

²² Kenneth Margerison, review of Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), page 1388.

²³ Kenneth Margerison, review of Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), page 1388.

²⁴ Pages 821-841 in the fifth edition, 688-725 in the seventh.

²⁵ "Map 20.1 France: Provinces and Regions before 1789" on page 812. Gironde, Vendee, Cher, Marne, and Ardennes on "Map 20.2 France: Revolutionary Departments after 1789" on page 813 in the fifth edition; Corsica, Bordeaux, and Kgd. of Sardinia to the left and Normandy, Brittany, Champagne, Burgundy, Orleansais and Gascony to the right on "Map 20.1 Redividing the Nation's

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Territory in 1789: From Historic Provinces (*left*) to Revolutionary Departments (*Right*)" on page 707 in the seventh.

²⁶ *The Times Atlas of World History*, ed. Geoffrey Barraclough, 3rd. ed. (Maplewood, New Jersey 07040-1396: Hammond ® Incorporated, 1989), page ??

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