

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
THE AGE OF POLITICAL  
REVOLUTIONS AND NEW  
IDEOLOGIES, 1760-1815**



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AGE OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS AND NEW IDEOLOGIES, 1760-1815

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*Edited by Gregory Fremont-Barnes*



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This book is dedicated to my father, who, having spent four years in occupied Belgium during the Second World War, appreciates firsthand the concepts of *liberty* and *freedom*



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## FOREWORD

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The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the birth of modernity in the Western world and provided the historical context for the personalities, events, and ideologies that are explored in this *Encyclopedia of the Age of Political Revolutions and New Ideologies*. Indeed, the very idea of an *encyclopédie* was conceived during this period in Denis Diderot's great enterprise of the 1750s and 1760s, which was published in 17 volumes of text and 11 volumes of plates. Its purpose was to bring together the knowledge that had been accumulated in recent decades so that it could be communicated to his contemporaries in an accessible form. This Enlightenment project sought to overcome the explosion of print in so many domains and set it before the lay reader, in the same way that these volumes seek to distill and disseminate the even vaster quantities of information that have been gathered on manifold aspects of the years 1760 to 1815. In both cases, the material is presented in a succinct manner. Moreover, just as Diderot summoned his colleagues to assist him in his huge and ambitious task, so numerous experts have been invited to contribute their knowledge in a readable fashion as part of a significant team effort for this project.

The object of their collective endeavor is to comprehend the great age of Atlantic or Western revolution from the period 1760–1815, a concept that achieved considerable currency in the 1960s, precisely 200 years after the events, following the publication of Robert Palmer's influential two-volume work, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*. Having attracted great interest around the time of its publication, the thesis that the various upheavals of the late eighteenth century in western Europe and America were in fact part of a single movement subsequently disappeared from view. Some historians retreated into their national ghettos as the explosion of historical studies seemed to fragment the bigger picture and apparently rendered the task of synthesis impossible. Others instead disputed the specific merits of a "bourgeois revolution" in France, which celebrated its bicentenary in 1989 and seemed to bear little resemblance to events on the other side of the Atlantic or even across the English Channel. Yet recent developments in historiography suggest that this is an idea whose time has come again. With the demise of Marxism and the renewed value accorded to political and cultural dimensions of the historical process, there

is a fresh emphasis on broader movements and themes that embrace the wider Western world.

Current studies emanating from the Napoleonic bicentenary certainly focus on the empire rather than solely on France. Historians of the Revolution have been following suit, and no conference is now complete without its British, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German contributors. This might simply seem to reflect the development of a European Union, the establishment of which Napoleon once fraudulently claimed to be seeking in the early nineteenth century. Yet the same historians have also been reaching across the Atlantic to restore a colonial dimension to the French Revolution. The Rights of Man appealed to black as well as white inhabitants of the West Indies, in particular Saint-Domingue, the jewel in the French colonial crown. Severe upheaval there eventuated in the abolition of slavery, at least for a time, and then, in 1804, in the colony's definitive independence as Haiti. The United States, where a good number of French plantation owners sought refuge, has inevitably been brought into this emerging narrative. Slavery and the slave trade, for which the old imperial powers are belatedly apologizing, actually bound together the transatlantic destinies of the great maritime powers. They have found their rightful place in this encyclopedia.

It has often been forgotten that before independence, and still to an extent thereafter, the American colonies were regarded as part of the European world, and there was frequent traffic, both cultural and commercial, between them. The British connection requires little emphasis, while the relationship between France and the United States has been characterized by amity as well as enmity. Yet the country that supplied the Statue of Liberty to its transatlantic sister republic in the 1880s has long acknowledged an intellectual affinity. It in no way detracts from the achievement of the French revolutionaries, whose efforts are most extensively examined in this volume, to suggest that the American Declaration of Independence sprang from the same ideological roots as the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The fact that France joined the War of Independence on the side of the Americans permitted the circulation in France of liberal ideas that would otherwise have been censored. Contacts across the Channel were likewise enduring, although a long and bitter war soon divided British and French in the 1790s. A member of Parliament actually proposed commemorating the storming of the Bastille in 1790. Meanwhile, many of the corresponding societies, whose members were referred to as Jacobins, continued to be inspired by the French Republic, even after the outbreak of hostilities in 1793.

What we might loosely call "democratic" ideology, which aimed at more open societies and greater participation in politics, undoubtedly spanned continents, and America is rightly given its due here. Contemporaries were often more aware of these links than historians have been, and many of the individuals to whom entries are devoted in this encyclopedia were cosmopolitan figures. Thomas Paine offers an especially good example. An Englishman who first played a revolutionary role in America, he returned to Britain, where he published his celebrated *Rights of Man* in 1792. This work served to increase his renown in France, and he was elected that year to the National Convention, where he enjoyed a somewhat checkered career, which was perhaps not helped by his inability to speak French. Yet his radicalism was undimmed by a spell in prison during the Reign of Terror, and his commitment to the cause of change continued. Thomas Jefferson traveled in the opposite

direction and enjoyed a spell as American ambassador to France at the time of the Revolution, while Lafayette went to America as an aristocratic leader of the French army and returned to France to play a significant role in supporting the Revolution of 1789.

Nationalism may have been a product of the age of revolution, but boundaries between states were much more fluid than they are today and individuals crossed them with relative ease. Paine, for instance, regarded himself as a citizen of the world. Women did so as well as men, and several of them have justifiably been awarded space here. Mary Wollstonecraft, for example, spent some time in France and wrote a history of the French Revolution as well as her celebrated *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. It is true that the cause of female emancipation made little progress in terms of political rights, but greater legal equality was certainly secured in France, at least until the Napoleonic Code reversed many of the advances recorded during the revolutionary decade. The recent discovery and development of a gender dimension to the age of revolutions is a reminder that feminism should be added to the long list of ideologies that emerged in the course of a crucial period.

These ideologies still inform our thinking at the outset of the twenty-first century, while the history of the period 1760–1815 can be equally instructive. Contemporary events have demonstrated that democracy is definitely not the default option when tyranny is overthrown. To that extent, the French Revolution may appall as well as inspire. The origins of terrorism have been located during the 1790s and should serve as a warning that good intentions alone do not suffice to produce the desired outcome to movements that aim at greater freedom and equality. This is not to say that revolutions inevitably descend into awful internecine violence, for the American example may suggest otherwise. What events in France suggest, perhaps, is that the combination of protracted international war and revolutionary conflict makes a satisfactory outcome much harder to achieve. Historians are divided over whether or not lessons may be derived from the study of the past, although the present certainly influences the way they regard history. Out of this dialogue has emerged a tremendous amount of information and interpretation relating to one of the most exciting and critical periods in the development of the Western world. The resulting complexity has rendered these years as challenging to comprehend as they are rewarding to study. This encyclopedia will have served its purpose if it both assists in understanding and prompts further fruitful reflection on the great age of revolution and ideology from the beginnings of American independence to the battle of Waterloo.

Malcolm Crook



# PREFACE

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All serious studies of the modern world ultimately oblige us to examine the period of revolutions of the late eighteenth century, which marked out that era as a distinctive one in the political and social history of the Western world. The American and French revolutions, in particular, encompassed fewer than 20 years between them, but as they so dramatically shaped modern civilization, we cannot but acknowledge them as pivotal events. This encyclopedia does not presume to offer new interpretations of the events and people connected with the age of revolutions but rather seeks to serve as a guide to students, teachers, and scholars who wish to understand the basic concepts associated with the subject, the principal events, and the individuals who by their actions and words gave this period its compelling character. If, by delving into this work in search of a brief explanation of a subject, the reader is encouraged to pursue further study on the subject, then the purpose this encyclopedia intends to serve will have been fulfilled.

Readers will find subjects arranged alphabetically, complimented by a chronology, bibliography, maps, guide to related topics, and primary source documents. Most of the leading, and many of the minor, figures connected with the political history of the period between 1760 and 1815 are included here, predominantly but not exclusively those connected with America or France. The broad chronological approach of this work is deliberate, for the origins of the two major revolutions of the eighteenth century and their effects on the nations affected by them in the decades prior to and following these great upheavals must be considered if we are to see them in their proper context. The American Revolution may have begun in 1775, but its origins may be traced back a decade and more. So, too, with the French Revolution, which, while moved in fits and starts for about 10 years, could trace its origins to the early years of the eighteenth century. Hence, readers will find entries on the principal political thinkers of that period, as well as on the revolutionaries themselves and the events and places connected with revolution. Cross-referencing directing the reader to related entries may be found throughout, and each entry provides a list of sources for further study. These lists are, in turn, supplemented by an extensive bibliographical section

that readers may consult in search of the very wide range of secondary sources in English on the subject of this encyclopedia. Readers can also consult the guide to related topics to identify entries that share a common theme but whose connection is not necessarily close enough to justify inclusion in the “See also” section of an entry.

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# INTRODUCTION

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In the course of a single generation in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, two events had a profound impact on Western society: the American and French revolutions. A full understanding of the political culture of the West, whether of the late eighteenth century or of today, cannot be complete without some knowledge of the radical changes made to the social and political structures of Britain's North American colonies as they would affect the future of the United States, and to France with respect to herself in particular, but, more broadly, to western and central Europe. The basic political and social institutions of the Western world were fundamentally shaped by these two revolutions, and the end of the eighteenth century has not unnaturally been regarded as a turning point of history—a dividing line between the early modern and late modern periods.

Despite the impact that the United States has made on the world since the Second World War, the revolution that laid its foundation had relatively little immediate impact on the wider world. Yet for the American colonists themselves and for the subsequent development of a nation that would in less than a century span a continent and eventually emerge as the world's leading military and economic power, the American Revolution had nothing less than extraordinarily profound implications for the future. Revolutions had occurred periodically throughout history, of course, but this one was fundamentally different, for the Americans boldly asserted their "natural rights" and pursued the principles espoused by the philosophes of the eighteenth century—an unprecedented step in political history. While independence from Britain did not, in fact, number among the objectives of most revolutionaries at the outbreak of hostilities in June 1775, little more than a year later they would proclaim a republic based on political principles that the mother country—in which the power of the monarchy was not absolute but restricted by constitutional constraints—had never come to embrace despite the growing shift in power from king to Parliament.

The republic permanently established in the United States after independence in 1783 had no modern historical precedent, for it bore little relation to the British political system, with its unreformed Parliament and extremely limited franchise. The adoption of a written constitution—in which the powers and responsibilities of

the government were explicitly laid down—established a fundamental break from British political tradition, not least in its opening of the franchise to a large section of the population, and in clearly separating and defining the powers of the executive, legislature, and judiciary branches of government, complete with a system of checks and balances.

Above all, the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, which soon formed the Bill of Rights, created a nation distinct from all others and have served as a model for other nations since. The protections offered by the Bill of Rights form the bedrock of democratic systems throughout the world, almost without notice from citizens, who go about their daily lives oblivious to the rights and freedoms that were practically sacred to their eighteenth-century forebears who fought and died for them. The source of this devotion is easily explained. In the eighteenth century, most of these principles had no practical expression and remained merely lofty ideas espoused by John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, and others, completely remote from the lives of ordinary colonists. Notions that are now accepted as standard features of democratic society were nothing of the kind in the late eighteenth century. Specifically, Americans could enjoy freedom of religion, speech, and the press. They had the right to peaceful assembly and to petition to rectify grievances. They had the right to bear arms, to freedom from unreasonable search and seizure, and to protection from a second trial in cases involving a capital offense. Citizens could not be deprived of life, liberty, or property without having been subject to proper judicial proceedings. Citizens could also not be deprived of their property without reasonable compensation, nor be obliged to incriminate themselves in court. Accused individuals were guaranteed a speedy trial, conducted in the full public gaze and before an impartial jury of their peers, and could not be subjected to excessive punishment if convicted. In addition to these and other rights, all powers not explicitly given to the federal government by the Constitution were to fall to the states. These rights now form the bread and butter of contemporary American life, whereas to liberal minds of the eighteenth century, these represented progress on a remarkable scale.

Yet it was not the revolution in America that was to have the most far-reaching impact on Western society, but rather the revolution in France. The new era inaugurated by the French Revolution swept aside not simply the long-established political system of the *ancien régime* in France, but the social, legal, and economic system of western Europe. Old loyalties were discarded, and a focus was placed on individual rights, representative government, and loyalty to *nation* rather than to king. To be sure, the events of 1789 did not introduce all such concepts with immediate effect, nor may it be said that the ideas put into practice by the revolutionaries were entirely new. Challenges to divine rule had already been underway—not so much through direct action, but in the more subtle form of the spread of ideas and growing resentment toward privilege and excess—since the middle of the eighteenth century. The pressure for reform and change had therefore been gaining pace for decades before Parisians stormed the Bastille in July 1789.

Revolution in France meant, for the most part, a clean sweep of old institutions, especially those connected with the administration of the kingdom as it had existed for centuries under the Bourbon kings. In its place, the revolutionaries sought to introduce a new, more efficient apparatus for the function of representative government, and in a form that could best serve the nation as a whole rather than

merely a privileged elite. This apparently noble enterprise was not, of course, entirely achieved, even after a decade of trial and turmoil, not least because what appeared sound in theory could not always be applied in practice. Opposing political factions naturally disagreed with one another about the sort of new, enlightened society they wished to establish, the pressure of defending the nation against foreign invasion led more than one revolutionary government to suspend many of the rights guaranteed by the constitution then in force, and social upheaval—not least civil war—conspired to steer the Revolution on an uncertain path.

Nevertheless, a great deal of the achievements of the French Revolution have survived until today, notwithstanding the force of events that might easily have altered or even undone the democratic progress of the 1790s, such as virtual dictatorship under Napoleon, the Bourbon restoration of 1815–1830, new revolutions in 1830 and 1848, the Second Empire, and two world wars. Representative democracy has survived in western Europe since the Revolution, not least because the social structure of society was altered so profoundly, with the emergence of the middle class as the principal beneficiaries of the upheaval. To be fair, the franchise was by no means extended to all ranks or even to both genders, but the traditional privileges of the aristocracy—indeed the very institution of aristocracy itself—were eliminated, and even when new ranks and titles were created during the Napoleonic era and old ranks restored during the Restoration, these proved to be merely passing phases. By 1815, the imprint left by revolution could not be erased, and even the most determined reactionaries could not restore society to its pre-revolutionary state.

It was not merely the Revolution itself, within France, that would alter the West forever, but the series of wars that it spawned, which ultimately engulfed the whole of Europe. Without the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars spreading the principles of the Revolution—for good or ill—the history of the Continent would have been profoundly different. The war caused some states to vanish, with new ones erected to replace them, such as the satellite states that emerged on the borders of France, which were ruled by governments that applied, to a greater or lesser extent, the principles expounded by the French Revolution. Those areas conquered and occupied by the French naturally were affected most, but even conservative Prussia was obliged to institute sweeping social changes as a result of its catastrophic defeat and occupation at the hands of French forces in 1806. In short, not all societies welcomed the principles of “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,” but many did, and features of the Revolution, whether in the form of actual constitutions or principles drawn from the successive constitutions that appeared throughout the 1790s, were introduced in the Low Countries, in the German states, in most of the Italian states, in Switzerland, and in the Polish territories taken from Austria and Prussia.

Whatever the degree of impact the Revolution had on individual states, it was clear that monarchy would no longer go unchallenged, and that a people’s exposure to democratic principles could not be reversed even after the defeat of France in 1815. Revolution, both in North America and in Europe, spawned modern nationalism, and France above all provided the model for those who wished to introduce political and social reform in their own countries, even if merely to create constitutional monarchy, with little tampering of the existing social structure. Revolution was by no means synonymous with universal suffrage, but when one considers how little Europe had changed over the preceding centuries, the absence of full democracy after 1789 is hardly surprising. The mere fact that a major European state replaced monarchical

rule with a limited form of democracy already constituted a monumental break with the past; no one but the most radical of contemporary thinkers would have conceived of a society quite as open and free as exists today, much less desired to create one.

It is easy to forget that principles that today seem natural and that therefore are sometimes taken for granted were indeed *revolutionary* in the eighteenth century, if only because notions such as equality were alien to the highly stratified structure of European society, including the only semi-democratic state among the major nations—Britain. Specifically, the Revolution in France eliminated the disproportionate power of the aristocracy and clergy, giving much greater authority—and political supremacy—to the middle and upper bourgeoisie and eliminating discrimination based on birth. Monopolies on access to high office, whether in the army, church, or government, were eliminated. Social status was dealt almost a mortal blow, and the notion of natural rights came to the fore, with equality before the law figuring prominently in the new order. Serfdom was abolished, and although the majority of peasants remained poor and disenfranchised, they would benefit from the elimination of financial obligations to the local landlords and clergy as a result of the abolition of many feudal and manorial duties, the tithes, and levies on grain. Above all, vast tracts of land were transferred from the aristocracy and the church to peasant ownership. Royal taxation was also scrapped, although republican governments obviously did not lift the burden of taxation entirely. The French Revolution brought constitutionalism, and thus its citizens, rather than subjects, understood their political rights and the powers, responsibilities, and limitations of government. It was therefore quite natural that European liberals throughout the nineteenth century would repeatedly turn to the constitutions of the 1790s for inspiration and guidance.

The French Revolution also enshrined the principle that natural rights, to be enjoyed equally by all citizens, should be considered inalienable. The concepts of protection from repression, security, the right to hold property, and liberty all reflected ideas already established in the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution, and both the French and American revolutions were heavily indebted to various Enlightenment thinkers. Freedom from arbitrary arrest and trial by laws established by some form of representative legislature were also enormous innovations, as was equality before the law, the presumption of innocence until guilt could be proven, freedom of speech and of the press, and a host of other rights. In addition to natural rights, the French Revolution championed the notion of popular sovereignty, whereby the source of political power was declared to rest with the people. No individual, and no group, could exercise authority without the consent of the people—which in practice meant through bodies elected by a limited franchise. Laws were to be framed by the “general will,” although in France this was limited by property qualifications, and women were absent from most forms of political expression, while in America such rights, although widely enjoyed, did not extend to women and slaves. In light of this, the notion that “All men are created equal” reminds us that, as in France, the American revolutionaries had no intention of creating the form of democracy that now exists in the West.

If neither the French nor the American revolutions introduced the full array of democratic rights that so many countries offer their citizens today, the principles underlying modern representative government and human rights can nevertheless trace their origins to these movements.

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# CHRONOLOGY FOR THE AGE OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS AND NEW IDEOLOGIES, 1760–1815

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- 1760** October 25: George III succeeds his grandfather, George II, to the British throne.
- 1763** February 10: Treaty of Paris ends the Anglo-French Seven Years' War.  
October 7: Proclamation of 1763 closes off westward expansion by the British North American colonies.
- 1764** April 5: British Parliament passes the Sugar Act in an effort to create more effective collection of parliamentary taxation in the American colonies.  
April 19: British Parliament passes the Currency Act, thereby effectively assuming control of the currency system in the American colonies.
- 1765** March 22: To defray the cost of maintaining a military presence in North America, the British Parliament passes the Stamp Act, which requires all legal documents, newspapers, and commercial contracts to carry a tax stamp.  
October 7–24: Delegates from Britain's North American colonies convene the Stamp Act Congress in New York to protest taxes recently imposed by Parliament through the Stamp Act.
- 1766** March 17: Parliament repeals the Stamp Act and passes the Declaratory Act, which asserts Parliament's right to legislate for and tax Britain's American colonies.
- 1767** June 29: Parliament passes the Townshend Acts, named for their author, chancellor of the exchequer Charles Townshend; the acts place duties on such commodities as lead, paint, glass, paper, and tea; the acts also create three new admiralty courts in the American colonies to try those accused of violating the customs laws.  
November 20: Townshend Revenue Act becomes effective.
- 1768** October 1: British troops arrive in Boston.
- 1769** May 16: The Virginia General Assembly, the House of Burgesses, passes the Virginia Resolves, a series of resolutions declaring Virginia an independent realm under the British Crown and subject only to taxation imposed by its own assembly and not by Parliament.
- 1770** March 5: British troops kill five civilians in the so-called Boston Massacre, which is part of a series of disturbances caused by colonial resentment of the British military presence in the town.  
April 12: Parliament repeals the Townshend Revenue Act.
- 1773** May 10: In an effort to provide financial relief to the East India Company, Parliament passes the Tea Act, which allows the company to sell tea in the American colonies without paying the customs duty, thus undercutting colonial merchants and smugglers and giving the company a virtual monopoly in the colonial tea trade.

- December 16: In response to the Tea Act, colonists in Boston dress as Indians and board ships in Boston Harbor to dump their cargo of tea overboard in an act of protest known as the Boston Tea Party.
- 1774** March 25: In response to the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passes the Boston Port Act (one of a series of measures known also as the Intolerable Acts or Coercive Acts), thereby closing the port of Boston.
- May 10: Louis XVI succeeds his grandfather, Louis XV, as king of France.
- May 20: Parliament passes the Administration of Justice Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, and the Quebec Act (all part of the series of measures known as the Intolerable Acts or Coercive Acts) to strengthen British control over the American colonies.
- June 1: Boston Port Act becomes effective.
- June 2: Parliament passes the Quartering Act to allow the billeting of British soldiers in the homes of American colonists.
- September 5: Delegations from the American colonies convene the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia.
- September 9: Suffolk County, Massachusetts, passes the Suffolk Resolves, which condemn Parliament's recent enactment of a series of statutes known in America as the Intolerable Acts.
- October 20: Continental Congress approves the Continental Association, which establishes a boycott of the importation of British goods into the American colonies.
- 1775** April 19: Hostilities begin between the American colonies and Britain with clashes at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts.
- May 10: Delegates from the American colonies convene the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia.
- June 14: Continental Congress establishes the Continental Army.
- November 29: Continental Congress establishes the Committee of Secret Correspondence.
- 1776** January 19: Thomas Paine publishes his influential pamphlet *Common Sense*, which denounces British rule over the American colonies.
- February 12: Louis XVI of France dismisses his finance minister, Turgot, for attempting to introduce financial reforms; Jacques Necker replaces him at the finance ministry.
- July 4: The American colonies declare their independence from Britain.
- 1778** February 6: Franco-American alliance is concluded.
- 1781** March 1: The Articles of Confederation, the first governing document of the United States, is ratified.
- March 3: Second Continental Congress becomes the United States in Congress Assembled.
- October 19: Under Lord Cornwallis, the British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, to the Americans under George Washington and their French allies under General Rochambeau, thus effectively ending the American Revolutionary War.
- 1782** April 19: Netherlands recognizes the independence of the United States.
- 1783** September 3: The Treaty of Paris, which formally ends the American Revolutionary War, is concluded between the United States, Britain, France, Holland, and Spain; in the agreement, Britain recognizes American independence.
- 1787** February 22: Convened by French finance minister Charles Alexandre de Calonne, an Assembly of Notables consisting of prominent citizens of Paris and the surrounding regions meets at Versailles.
- May 25: French Assembly of Notables is dissolved when it refuses to agree to a land tax.

- November 20: Louis XVI announces that the Estates-General, an assembly of the three traditional estates—clergy, nobility, commoners—will be summoned in 1792.
- 1788** August 8: Louis XVI summons the Estates-General for May 1789.  
August 27: Jacques Necker is recalled as French minister of finance.
- 1789** January 24: Estates-General is formally summoned by Louis XVI.  
May 5: Estates-General convenes in Versailles.  
June 17: Third Estate constitutes itself the National Convention of France.  
June 20: Third Estate takes Tennis Court Oath, declaring its intention not to dissolve until a constitution is adopted for France.  
June 23: Louis XVI rejects resolutions made by the Third Estate.  
June 27: Louis XVI orders the First Estate (clergy) and Second Estate (nobility) to assemble with the Third Estate.  
July 9: French National Assembly declares itself a constituent assembly.  
July 14: In an act that is considered the start of the French Revolution, Parisian rioters storm and destroy the Bastille, a royal fortress and prison.  
July 17: The marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American Revolution, becomes commander of the National Guard in Paris.  
August 4: National Assembly decrees equality of taxation and the abolition of the sale of offices and feudal rights and privileges.  
August 23: National Assembly decrees freedom of religion.  
August 24: National Assembly declares freedom of the press.  
August 27: National Assembly adopts the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.  
October 5–6: A Parisian mob, mostly composed of women, marches on Versailles, thus forcibly returning King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette to Paris.
- 1790** November 2: National Assembly nationalizes French church property.  
January 15: French Revolutionary government establishes 83 *départements*.  
February 13: National Assembly decrees the abolition of monastic vows.  
February 15: National Assembly abolishes all feudal rights in France.  
June 9: National Assembly abolishes the civil list of the king and queen and abolishes use of titles, badges, seals, and other aristocratic trappings.  
July 12: Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which subordinates the Catholic clergy to the French government, is issued.  
July 14: Louis XVI accepts the new French constitution.  
November: Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, one of the best-known attacks on the French Revolution, is published.
- 1791** December 26: Louis XVI consents to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.  
January 30: The comte de Mirabeau is elected president of the French Assembly.  
April 4: Mirabeau dies.  
April 13: Pope Pius VI condemns the French Civil Constitution of the Clergy.  
May 31: Guillotine is introduced as a method of execution in France.  
June 20–25: Louis XVI and his family flee to Varennes, but they are intercepted and returned to Paris.  
July 6: Leopold II of Austria calls on other royal powers to support Louis XVI.  
July 9: National Assembly orders the return of all émigrés to France within two months.  
September 3: France becomes a constitutional monarchy.  
September 13: Louis XVI accepts the new constitution.  
September 30: National Assembly dissolves in favor of the Legislative Assembly, which assembles on October 1.
- 1792** April 20: France declares war on Austria, thus starting the War of the First Coalition, for Austria is soon joined by Prussia and Spain.

- April 24: “La Marseillaise” is introduced as the French revolutionary anthem.
- July 25: The Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian forces, issues the Brunswick Manifesto, which threatens the people of Paris and of France with severe punishment if they harm the royal family or resist the restoration of the monarchy; the manifesto turns public opinion against Louis XVI, who is seen as being in league with France’s enemies.
- August 10: Mob attacks the Tuileries in Paris, resulting in the massacre of the Swiss Guard.
- August 10: National Assembly calls for a national convention.
- August 10–12: The king, queen, and their infant son are imprisoned in the Temple.
- September 2–6: During the September Massacres, a Paris mob murders 1,200 people, including common criminals and political prisoners.
- September 21: First session of the Convention abolishes the monarchy and proclaims France a republic.
- September 22: Revolutionary calendar comes into force, and Year I is proclaimed.
- October 10: Jean-Pierre Brissot is expelled from the Jacobin Club; the titles *citoyen* and *citoyenne* officially replace *monsieur* and *madame*.
- November 19: Convention offers assistance to all people seeking liberty from royalist rule.
- December 5: Trial of Louis XVI begins.
- December 11: Convention interrogates the king.
- 1793** January 17: Louis XVI is condemned to death.
- January 21: Louis XVI is executed on the guillotine in Paris’s Place de la Révolution (now the Place de la Concorde).
- January 23: Austria, Prussia, and Russia complete the second partition of Poland.
- February 1: French Convention declares war on Britain and Holland; the First Coalition expands to include Austria, Prussia, Spain, Britain, Holland, and Sardinia.
- March 16: Revolt in the Vendée region of France begins.
- April 6: French Committee of Public Safety is established with dictatorial power.
- April 13: Impeachment trial of Jean-Paul Marat begins.
- April 24: Marat is acquitted.
- June 2: Overthrow of the Girondins and arrest of Brissot inaugurates beginning of a new phase of the French Revolution known as the Reign of Terror.
- June 24: French Convention accepts the Constitution of 1793.
- July 10: Georges-Jacques Danton leaves the Committee of Public Safety.
- July 13: Marat is murdered by Charlotte Corday.
- July 27: Maximilien Robespierre joins the Committee of Public Safety.
- August 23: *Levée en masse*, that is, mass conscription into the French revolutionary army, is decreed.
- September 5: Rising of the Hébertistes occurs in Paris; the French Convention begins government by terror.
- September 17: The Law of Suspects, which permits the establishment of revolutionary tribunals to try those accused of treason, is decreed.
- 29 September: Law of the Maximum, which sets a maximum price on wages and goods in France, takes effect.
- October 3: Impeachment of Brissot and 44 other deputies.
- October 5: Revolutionary calendar is introduced into France.
- October 16: Marie Antoinette is condemned to death and guillotined.
- October 24–30: Trial of Brissot and 20 other deputies.
- October 31: Execution of the Girondins.



- 1794** February 4: Convention abolishes slavery in the French colonies.  
15 February: Red, white, and blue tricolor is adopted as French national flag.  
13 March: The Hébertistes, the radical political faction led by Jacques Hébert, who had clashed with Robespierre, are arrested.  
March 24: The Hébertistes, including Jacques Hébert himself, are executed.  
March 30: Georges-Jacques Danton is arrested.  
April 5: Danton and Camille Desmoulins are executed.  
May 7: Robespierre introduces worship of the Supreme Being.  
June 8: Festival of the Supreme Being is presided over by Robespierre.  
June 10: Law of 22 Prairial grants increased power to the Revolutionary Tribunal.  
July 27–28: Fall of Robespierre, who is executed, and the Mountain; 9 Thermidor (July 27 in the new calendar) marks the end of the Reign of Terror.  
July 30–31: The Committee of Public Safety is reorganized.  
12 November: The Jacobin Club in Paris is closed.  
24 December: The Law of the Maximum is abolished.
- 1795** February 15: Treaty of peace between Vendéans and the French government is concluded.  
February 21: Freedom of worship is guaranteed in France.  
March 2: Bertrand Barère, Jacques Billaud-Varenne, and Jean Marie Collot d’Herbois are arrested.  
May 31: Revolutionary Tribunal is abolished.  
August 22: New constitution in France establishes the Directory and comes into effect beginning November 2.  
October 26: Dissolution of the Convention.  
November 1: Directory is established.
- 1796** March 19: Freedom of the press is guaranteed in France.  
March 29: The rebellion in the French Vendée ends.
- 1797** April 18: Preliminary peace between France and Austria is signed at Leoben.  
May 27: François-Noel Babeuf is executed.  
July 9: Cisalpine Republic, a French client republic in northern Italy, is established.  
July 25: Political clubs are closed in France.  
August 24: Repeal of laws against the clergy.  
September 3: In the coup d’état of 18 Fructidor, Napoleon Bonaparte, at the behest of the Directory, purges conservatives from the Legislative Assembly.  
October 17: Treaty of Campo Formio is concluded between France and Austria.
- 1798** February 15: Roman republic is proclaimed; Pope Pius VI leaves Rome.
- 1799** July 12: Law of Hostages is introduced; the law allows local authorities to draw up lists of “hostages” suspected of certain crimes, specifically those people suspected of opposition to the Directory.  
November 9–10: During the coup d’état of Brumaire, Napoleon Bonaparte overthrows Directory and becomes First Consul.  
November 13: Law of Hostages is repealed.  
December 24: Constitution of the Year III is proclaimed.
- 1801** January 5: Proscription of Jacobins.  
July 15: Concordat between Napoleon Bonaparte and Pope Pius VII fully restores the Catholic Church in France.
- 1802** March 27: Peace of Amiens between France and Britain brings the French Revolutionary Wars to a close.  
April 26: General amnesty is proclaimed in France for all émigrés.  
August 2: Napoleon Bonaparte is made First Consul of France for life.  
August 4: Fifth constitution is adopted in France.

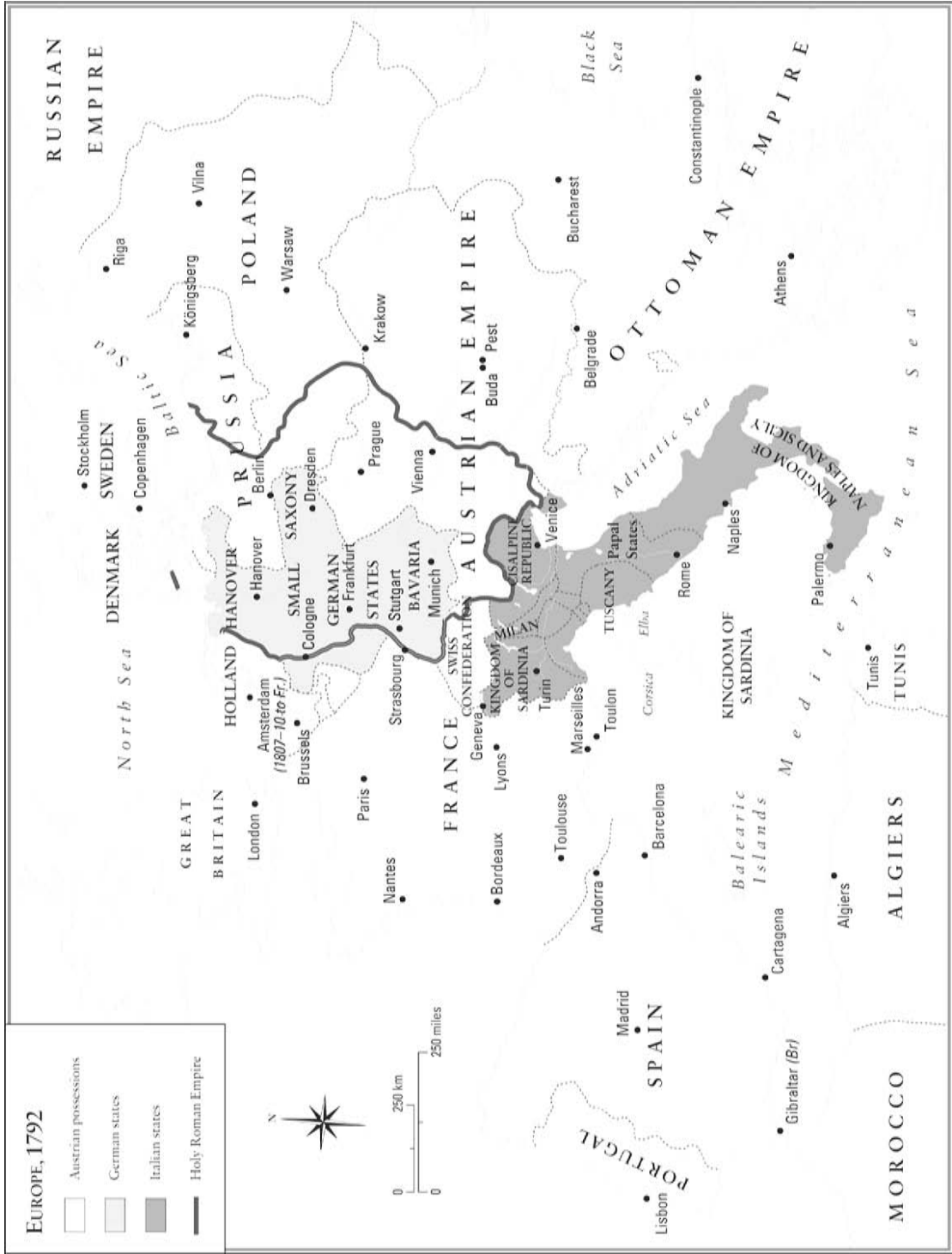
- 1803** May 18: Renewal of hostilities between Britain and France inaugurates the Napoleonic Wars.
- 1804** January 1: Saint-Domingue declares its independence from France and hereafter is known as Haiti.  
March 21: Civil Code (later known as the Napoleonic Code) is published; the duc d'Enghien is implicated in a plot to assassinate Napoleon Bonaparte and is executed.  
May 7: Civil Code is promulgated.  
May 18: Napoleon Bonaparte is proclaimed Emperor Napoleon I by the Senate and Tribunate.  
December 2: Coronation of Napoleon and Josephine in Paris.
- 1805** December 2: Napoleon decisively defeats the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz.  
December 26: France and Austria conclude the Treaty of Pressburg.
- 1806** July 25: Napoleon creates the Confederation of the Rhine, a grouping of German satellite states.  
August 6: Holy Roman Empire is dissolved.  
October 14: The French decisively defeat the Prussians at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt.
- 1807** July 7: France and Russia conclude the Treaty of Tilsit.
- 1808** May 2: An uprising in Madrid against French occupation begins the Peninsular War in Spain.
- 1809** July 5–6: The Austrians are defeated at the Battle of Wagram.  
October 14: The Treaty of Schönbrunn is concluded between France and Austria.
- 1812** June 22: Napoleon invades Russia.
- 1813** October 16–19: The Allies decisively defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig and force the departure of his forces from Germany.
- 1814** March 31: Paris surrenders to the Allies.  
April 6: Napoleon abdicates unconditionally.  
April 30: (First) Treaty of Paris is concluded between France and the Allies.
- 1815** June 18: Napoleon is decisively defeated at the Battle of Waterloo.  
November 20: (Second) Treaty of Paris is concluded between France and the Allies.

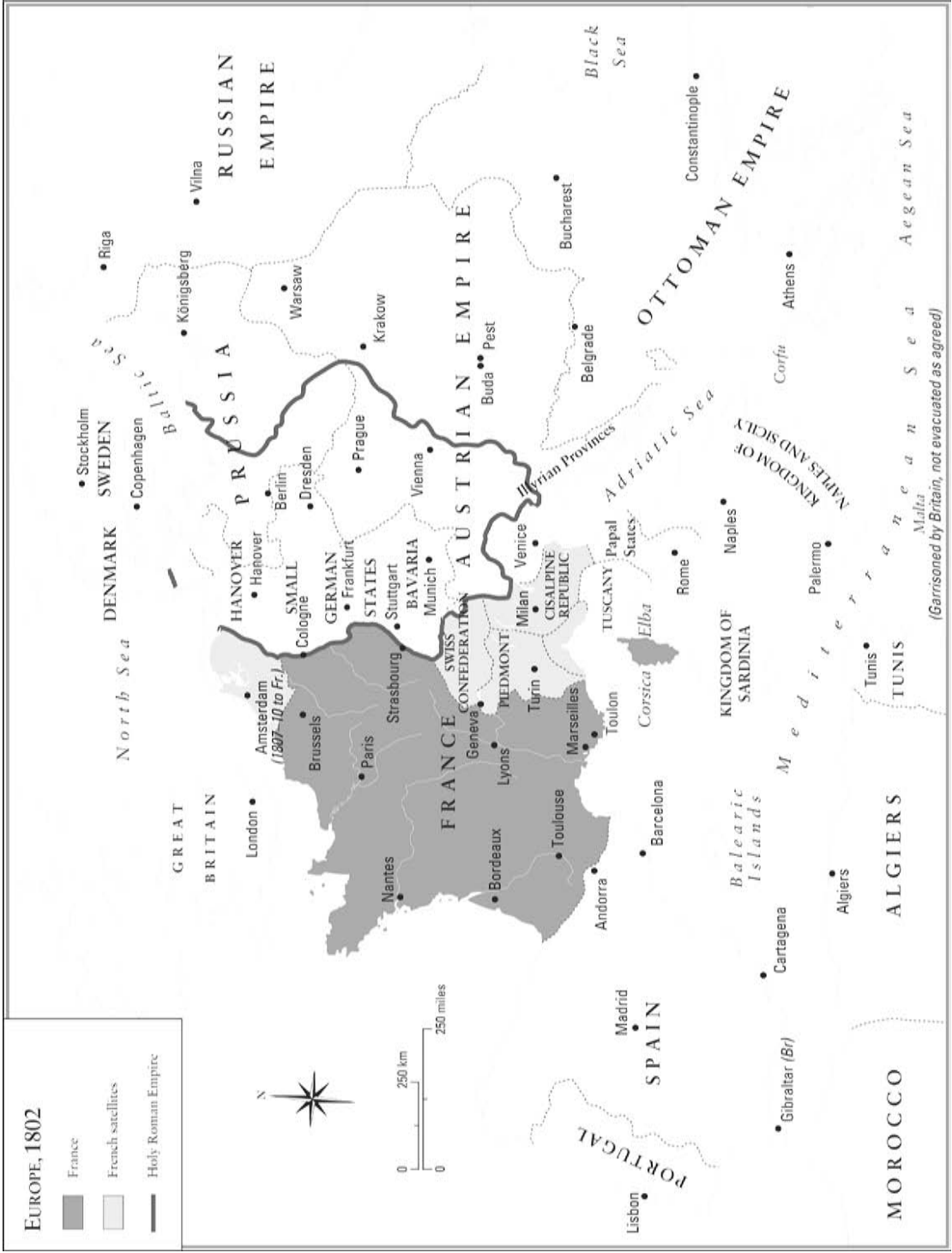
# MAPS

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**EUROPE, 1792**

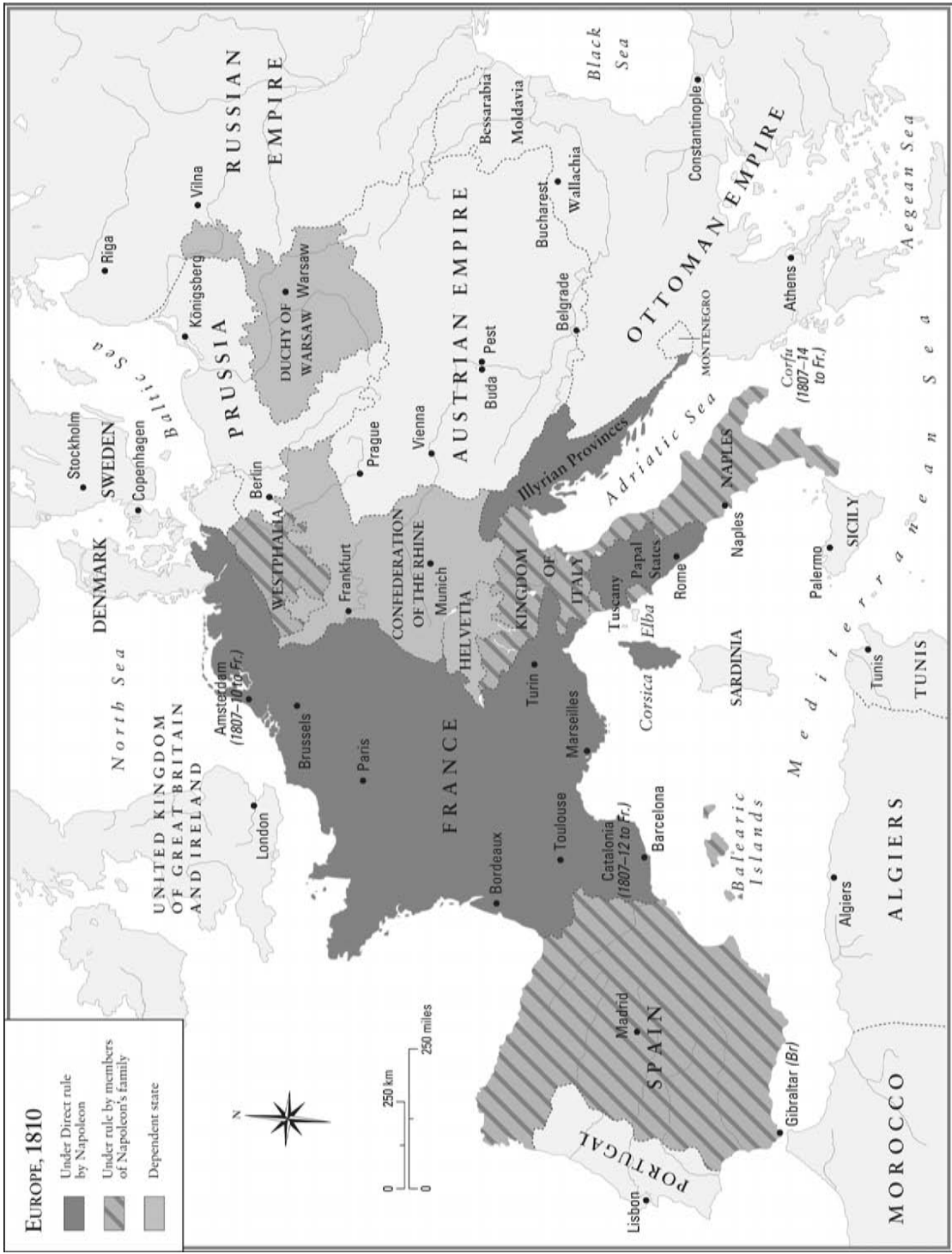
- Austrian possessions
- German states
- Italian states
- Holy Roman Empire



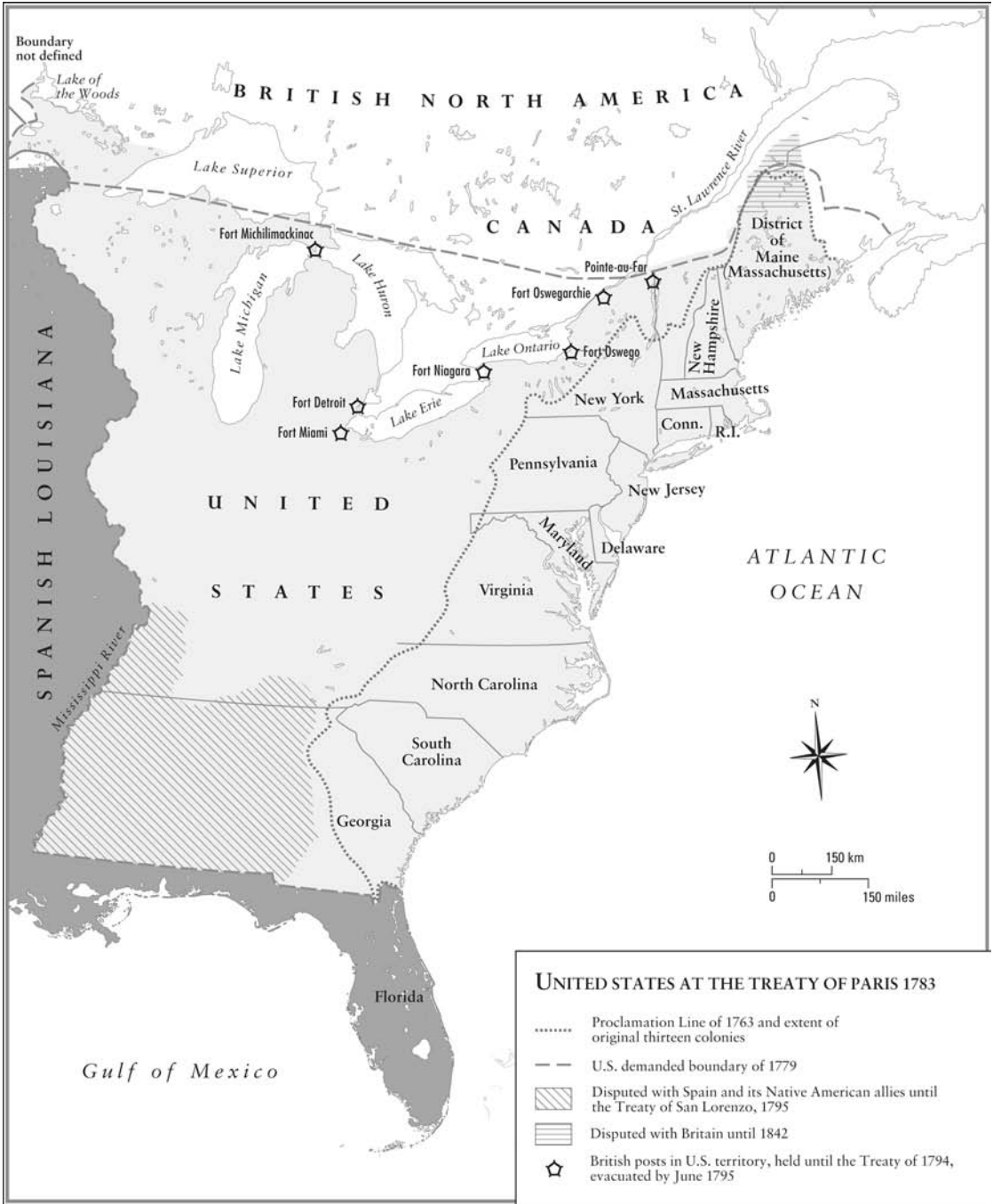


# EUROPE, 1810

- Under Direct rule by Napoleon
- Under rule by members of Napoleon's family
- Dependent state









# A

## Abbé Sieyès

*See* Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, Abbé

## Abolitionists

Abolitionists, those individuals who opposed the institution of slavery and called for its abolition, derived their logical core from the philosophy that came out of the Age of **Enlightenment** in eighteenth-century Europe, which asserted that all human beings have natural rights. The **American Revolution** (1775–1783) and the **French Revolution** (1789–1799), which are widely seen as revolutions conducted by citizens against oppressive rulers, transformed this Enlightenment assertion into a wider call for universal liberty and freedom. The successful slave revolt that began in the French colony of Saint-Domingue in 1791 was part of this revolutionary new thinking.

In Europe, **Britain** had the strongest abolitionist movement. The major turning point in this movement came in 1787, when evangelical Christians joined Quakers in establishing the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Led by William **Wilberforce** (1759–1833) and Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), Quakers initiated petition drives, mass propaganda efforts, and lobbying in an attempt to end British involvement in the inhumane practice of slave trafficking. Abolitionism fared less well in continental Europe. Antislavery societies in continental Europe were narrow, ineffective, elitist organizations. In **France**, Jacques-Pierre **Brissot** (1754–1793), a supporter of the French Revolution, established the Society of the Friends of Blacks in 1788, but this group failed in its efforts against the slave trade. Despite its weaknesses, however, the French antislavery effort was the strongest in continental Europe.

In the United States, after the Missouri Compromise (1820), gradualist abolitionist sentiments flourished freely. In 1827 there were about 140 antislavery groups meeting every other year in the American Convention of Abolition societies. The most important of the early abolitionists was Benjamin Lundy, who around 1815

began numerous efforts to persuade slaveholders to abandon slavery. He organized the Union Humane Society in St. Clarisville, Ohio, and cooperated with Charles Osborn (1776–1850), who published *The Philanthropist* in September 1817. In 1821, Lundy began publication of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which promoted a moderate approach to abolitionism. He influenced various people who became antislavery advocates, most notably William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), who proposed an “immediatist” approach to abolition and took the position that although slavery could not be ended immediately, it was the moral duty of good people to act. By January 1, 1831, Garrison had started publishing the *Liberator*, which advocated his famous immediatist approach. Garrison organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society, the first organization in America dedicated to immediatism.

Garrison brought together a remarkable group of followers that eventually included the orator Wendell Philips, the agitator Parker Pillsbury, and such others as Henry C. Wright, Maria Weston Chapman, Rev. Samuel J. Marry, Lydia Maria Child, Stephan S. Foster, Dr. Karl Follen, Oliver Johnson, and Charles C. Burleigh. William Jay, son of the first chief justice of the United States, John Jay, lent his pen and prestige to the cause with his famous *Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Anti-Slavery Societies* (1835). The New York merchants Arthur and Lewis Tappan gave money and were active in numerous antislavery causes. Theodore D. Weld, Rev. Charles Grandison Finney, and John Greenleaf Whittier contributed earnestly to the abolitionist movement. In 1833 these men and others founded the American Anti-Slavery Society, which became the center for propaganda and organization.

Meanwhile, the abolitionist movement in America headed toward dissension. Conservative abolitionists like the Tappans, William Jay, and Rev. William Goodell disapproved of the Garrisonians’ bitter attacks on the clergy for being pro-slavery. Alvan Stewart, Alizur Wright Jr., and Henry B. Stanton believed that Garrison was offending the sentiments of the general public. The breach in the abolitionist movement was opened by the so-called woman question when Garrison pressed for the employment of female abolitionists in more active roles than they had had before. Controversy surrounding the nomination of Abby Kelley prompted a portion of the American Anti-Slavery Society, under the leadership of Lewis Tappan, to secede and set up the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

As the antislavery issue had become a major factor in national politics, northerners found themselves increasingly alarmed by what seemed to them the determination of southerners to nationalize slavery. Thus, regarding Garrison as intolerable, northerners united on antislavery and Free Soil and closed ranks behind the moderate candidacy of Abraham Lincoln, who on December 18, 1865, with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, brought an end to slavery in the United States. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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## Abolition of the Catholic Cult

Abolition of the Catholic Cult is the name given to the systematic attempt to eliminate Roman Catholic influence in the government of revolutionary **France**. The first blow against the church came with an expropriation of church properties in 1789 (under the guise of paying off national debts). The most systematic eradication of clerical influence, however, occurred on July 12, 1790, with the legislation known as the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**. With this measure, the **National Assembly** placed France's Catholic Church under state control and as of November 27, 1790, required an oath of allegiance from the clergy to the constitution.

During the years of the **Reign of Terror**, the antireligious persecutions included monastery closures, the forced abandonment by priests and nuns of their orders, sanctuary desecration, and the imprisonment and execution of many clerics, effectively eliminating Catholic influence until **Napoleon's** peace treaty with the **papacy** in 1801, the **Concordat**. *See also* French Revolution; Religion.

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PETER R. MCGUIRE

## Abolition of the Monarchy (France)

The abolition of the monarchy in **France** came as a surprise to many of the prominent thinkers of the Age of **Enlightenment**. The monarchy had been a constant feature of the political landscape of France since the baptism of Clovis the Frank over 1,000 years before. Advocates of change in France in the later eighteenth century for the most part looked to the British monarchy, a hereditary executive limited by an elected legislature, as an example. The events of the **French Revolution** between 1789 and 1792, however, determined an altogether more radical change.

From the creation of the **National Assembly** in June 1789, **Louis XVI** had already lost much of his legislative powers. These were further reduced with the introduction of a constitution in September 1791 (in part a reaction to the failed escape of the royal family from France in June of that year). This limited the king's powers, leaving him only the right to appoint ministers and to veto legislation. He was primarily a figurehead and was required to swear an oath of fidelity to the constitution (and was no longer referred to as the king of France, but king of the French). It was this veto, however, that led to further conflict with government reforms, and when he dissolved a ministry of reformers for a new ministry of moderates in June 1792, he alienated the people of Paris and the radical members of the Assembly. On the night of August 10, a mob backed by the civic government of Paris attacked the palace of the Tuileries, forcing the king and his family to take refuge with the National Assembly. This marked the functional end of the monarchy; his powers were

suspended, and formally revoked six weeks later on September 22, a day that became known as Day 1 of Year I, the birth of the First Republic. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

### ***L'Accusateur Public***

The office of *accusateur public*, a prosecuting magistrate of **France** during the revolutionary era, was created by the **National Assembly** in 1789 and abolished after **Napoleon** was declared emperor in May 1804.

In December of 1789, the National Assembly reorganized the national government and replaced France's historic provinces with *départements*. The powerful office of public prosecutor was abolished, and its powers were divided among departmental police chiefs, the presidents of district tribunals, the prosecuting magistrate or *accusateur public*, and the king's commissioners. The tribunal presidents and *accusateurs* were elected.

The *départements* were given an enormous amount of responsibility, and the enforcement of justice was largely up to them; they had little guidance or help from Paris. The *départements* also faced chronic difficulties in paying their expenses. Despite the challenges of chaos, war, and poverty, many departmental governments were able to establish their authority rapidly and effectively.

Under the **Directory**, the *accusateur public* was made an integral part of the criminal courts, along with the tribunal president, a clerk, and four judges. In addition, the office of king's commissioner was suspended after the execution of **Louis XVI** in January 1793 and the declaration of the Republic. In Paris, the criminal court added more judges and support officials in order to function more effectively.

As the French Republic began to conquer its neighbors, it exported its constitution. In Switzerland and **Italy**, *accusateurs publics* enforced French wishes. The foreign *accusateurs* were not elected, but appointed by Paris. In the Batavian (Swiss) and Roman (northern Italian) republics, the *accusateurs* doubled as government commissioners.

The recentralization of power under Napoleon placed the *départements* back under a strict hierarchy. With Napoleon's declaration of the Empire in 1804, the criminal courts were reorganized again. The election of judges was ended. Instead, Napoleon appointed all judges to life terms. The office of *accusateur* was replaced by that of the *procureur imperial*, who also had assistants and clerks in larger jurisdictions. In many *départements*, however, the same personnel remained in the criminal courts under a different title. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### Adams, Abigail (1744–1818)

Abigail Adams, wife of American revolutionary leader and second U.S. president John Adams, was born in Weymouth, **Massachusetts**, in November 1744. The Adamses married in 1764 and had four children. Rather than attending school, Adams spent most of her childhood with her maternal grandmother. Though she lacked a formal education, Adams was well read in poetry, history, and theology.

During the Revolution, Adams spent the majority of her time caring for her family at their home in Boston, Massachusetts, while her husband was in Philadelphia. Always an avid writer of letters, Adams wrote to her husband constantly throughout the war. Adams's letters reveal much about her life while the country was at war. In many letters, Adams detailed her daily struggles to tend to her children and the farm and how she dealt with various effects of the Revolution.

Adams's husband valued her opinion on a number of subjects, including the status of women. One of her letters cautioned her husband to pay close attention to women or endure the consequences. In short, she believed that women should receive the same education as men. Adams felt that women should have the same rights as their husbands and should play a more substantial role in government and society. She was determined that women would not hold themselves accountable to a government that gave them no representation.

After her husband's defeat for reelection as president, Adams spent the last 17 years of her life at home with him. Patriot and former First Lady Abigail Adams died of typhoid fever at her home in October 1818. Adams's rich letters leave an extraordinary account of American life during the Revolution.

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NICOLE MITCHELL

### Adams, John (1735–1826)

Lawyer, revolutionary leader, constitutional theorist, diplomat, and Federalist second president of the United States, Adams was born in 1735 in Braintree, **Massachusetts**, the eldest of three sons of John Adams and Samantha Boylston. Adams entered Harvard at 15 on a partial scholarship and studied Greek and Latin, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, and science. Adams graduated in 1755. Not yet able to afford an education in law, he taught grammar school in Worcester but was increasingly drawn to the study of history and politics just as the French and Indian War (1756–1763) was breaking out.

In 1756 Adams began a legal apprenticeship with a young Worcester attorney, James Putnam, and was admitted to the bar in Boston in November 1759. He met Abigail Smith the same year and married her after a five-year courtship, beginning a durable marriage based on extraordinary romantic and intellectual attachment.

With the enactment of the **Stamp Act** in 1765, Adams became attracted to the **Sons of Liberty**, the political circle of his second cousin, Samuel **Adams**, whose law-flaunting activities he regarded as hot headed but just. Adams was prominent among the proto-republicans of Boston who referred to themselves as Whigs in identification with British parliamentary critics of the government in London such as Edmund **Burke** and Charles James **Fox**. His *Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law* challenged authority in the name of freedom, and obedience in the name of just resistance, and argued that British repression would only provoke more determined resistance. When the Stamp Act was repealed and replaced by the **Townshend Acts**, Adams was again at the forefront of the protests against taxation without representation. In 1770 Adams's controversial decision to defend the British officer and soldiers accused of perpetrating the **Boston Massacre** led some to doubt his commitment to the cause of American liberty. Adams, however, was scrupulous on the principle that in any quarrel force should not be used so long as rational argument was respected. The defense did some damage to his law practice, but the integrity and skill he brought to the case ultimately enhanced his public standing.

The key turning point for Adams came with the **Boston Tea Party** of 1773. Its dramatic demonstration of the constitutional point through an act of vandalism carried out with panache and no loss of life met for Adams the crucial qualification that "the people should never rise without doing something to be remembered." The Tea Party was for him an act "so firm, intrepid and inflexible" as to make it "an epoch of history." In 1774 Adams was selected by the Massachusetts legislature as one of five delegates to the First **Continental Congress** and quickly became the leading voice for American independence. When Congress made the fateful decision in favor of independence, Adams was appointed to the five-man committee authorized to defend the revolutionary cause to the world. The eloquence of the **Declaration of Independence** testifies to the skill of Thomas **Jefferson** as a writer, but its logic put forward the political philosophy that Adams, more than anyone, had expounded for more than a decade. In Jefferson's words, Adams spoke with a power of thought "that moved us from our seats."

In 1778, Adams was dispatched to Paris to join Benjamin **Franklin** and Arthur **Lee** on a diplomatic mission seeking alliance with **France**. In 1780 he was also given a mandate to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the **Netherlands**. After the British defeat at **Yorktown**, he finally secured Dutch diplomatic recognition of the United States as well as a commercial treaty and a financial loan and returned to Paris. By this time France was eager to end hostilities with **Britain** and willing to compromise on the issue of American independence to facilitate peace. Adams, however, was not prepared to have America's hard-won independence bartered away. Joined by John **Jay** and Franklin, he concluded a peace treaty with Britain separate from the French, the Treaty of Paris of 1783, which formally acknowledged the independence of the United States.

Adams's next diplomatic posting was to the Court of St. James, where he tried and failed to secure British agreement to open their ports to American commerce, guarantees respecting American navigation and fishing rights, and the withdrawal of British troops from American soil. Meanwhile, the movement toward strengthening the national government culminated in the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia, which in 1787 drafted and adopted the new **United States Constitution**. In London, Adams began *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United*

*States of America*, a treatise written partly as a response to events in America but also as a counterpoint to the criticisms of radical **philosophes** regarding American state constitutions and the new federal constitution. Adams made the case for a balanced government with a strong executive, a bicameral legislature, an independent judiciary, and the separation of the branches of government. The *Defence* is extraordinary for its intellectual confidence, its appreciation of the enormity of events unfolding in France, and its utter lack of deference toward the political acumen of the philosophes—especially the desire to enshrine reason as a religion. In much the same spirit as Burke, Adams confessed that “I know not what to think of a republic of thirty million atheists.” By the time Adams returned to America, the Constitution had been ratified and the states were selecting members of an electoral college who would then choose the president and vice president. There was little doubt that George **Washington** would be chosen as the first president of the United States. Adams considered any position lower than the vice presidency to be beneath his stature.

When the Electoral College met in February 1789, Washington was chosen president unanimously with 69 votes, and Adams was elected to the vice presidency with 34 votes. He had little contact with Washington or the cabinet and virtually no influence and was thus the first to experience “the most insignificant office that ever the Imagination of Man contrived or his Imagination conceived.” In September 1789, news started to reach America of the storming of the **Bastille** and the **French Revolution**. Whereas the majority of Americans greeted the French Revolution with enthusiasm, Adams viewed it with alarm and began a series of articles, eventually published as *Discourses on Davila*, in which he denied any similarities between the American and French causes and warned that the struggle in France was headed for tragedy and terror. Adams’s critics, Jefferson prominent among them, thought him reactionary. By 1795, two terms in the presidency decided Washington against seeking a third. The election of 1796 between Adams and Jefferson was the first between two opposing political parties. It featured strident and often scurrilous political rhetoric, chicanery, and foreign interference. Neither Adams nor Jefferson campaigned actively for the office, but their supporters took to the spirit of party with a vengeance and engaged in electoral war on a personal level. The Republicans called Adams a monarchist, more British than American, and ridiculed him as old, addled, and toothless. Federalists called Jefferson an atheist, more French than American, a weakling, and a libertine. The result was very close, with Adams taking the presidency just three Electoral College votes ahead of Jefferson, who became vice president.

In his inaugural address Adams expressed a desire to maintain friendly relations with France. This proved to be difficult. In 1793 when war broke out between France and Britain, Washington had insisted that the United States maintain a policy of neutrality—a position at odds with the Treaty of Alliance and Treaty of Commerce of 1778. The situation had been complicated further by the rapprochement achieved with Britain in the Jay Treaty of 1794. The incoming administration was therefore faced immediately with a decision about how to cope with this situation. Adams’s policy outlook was virtually identical to Washington’s. War of any kind would be inconvenient, but open hostilities with either great power could be a calamity for the whole American experiment.

Adams attempted to steer a middle course between the pro-British and pro-French factions at home, and to forge a bipartisan consensus on foreign policy, but

French attacks on American shipping were starting to take a toll on the economy. The task became one of avoiding war with France without sacrificing American honor. The cabinet advised Adams to arm American merchantmen while strengthening the navy. In the event that diplomacy proved ineffective, the country would be prepared for hostilities. Adams assumed that the cabinet supported his goal of a negotiated outcome with France, when in fact many in the cabinet were influenced by Alexander **Hamilton**, a man Abigail **Adams** likened to “spare Cassius” and cautioned her husband never to trust. Adams decided to send a peace mission to France with authority to negotiate a new treaty that accorded France the same commercial privileges that had been extended to Britain by the Jay Treaty. Yet even as the mission departed, the coup of 18 Fructidor removed two directors who were sympathetic to America from the French government and replaced them with hardliners. Meanwhile, with the Habsburg monarchy forced out of the war against France, and **Napoleon**’s Armée d’Angleterre camped along the coast of the Channel, it appeared that even Britain might be prepared to come to terms with the **Directory**. Freed from war on the continent, France might well turn its wrath on the United States.

Adams tried to persuade Congress to prepare the nation’s naval and military defenses for the worst and turned to his cabinet for advice on what to do if peace negotiations failed. This yielded no unified position. When he finally received word from his envoys, they reported that the Directory had refused to meet with them, had ordered that French ports be closed to neutral shipping, and had authorized the capture of any ship carrying any British cargo. Moreover, three secret agents referred to as X, Y, and Z had told the envoys that Prince **Talleyrand**, the French foreign minister, would initiate negotiations for the price of a cash bribe of \$250,000 to him personally, along with a loan of \$100 million to France as compensation for Adams’s “insults.” The Americans ended discussions. Adams forwarded news to Congress but withheld information of the XYZ Affair. Unsure of his next move, he turned to his cabinet to find it was divided between a congressional declaration of war, advocated by attorney general Charles Lee and Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, and restraint, which was advised by Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott Jr. and Secretary of War James McHenry. Adams then drafted a bellicose message for Congress but upon reconsideration submitted a much milder address. Although he informed Congress that he was recalling his peace mission, he still made no mention of the XYZ Affair. The Republican minority, rightly suspecting that Adams was concealing information, demanded the release of all relevant documents and succeeded with the help of the Federalists in passing a resolution demanding the envoys’ uncensored dispatches.

The release of the dispatches unleashed the storm that Adams had feared. Public opinion was now aroused against France, and the Federalists were only too glad to exploit the situation. Hamilton advised the creation of an army of 50,000 under the command of Washington, a measure Adams opposed but was unable to resist due to pressure from within his own party. In July, Congress authorized the creation of a provisional army under the command of Washington with Hamilton as his deputy, to muster when the president determined that national security required it. Beyond the fact that a large army with Hamilton near its apex made Adams nervous, he considered it militarily beside the point. The Quasi-War, as it became known, was being waged at sea. On April 30, 1798, Adams signed the bill authorizing the creation of a Department of the Navy. Congress also authorized increases in naval power and



the use of the navy against French warships and privateers. By September 1799, the United States had deployed three naval squadrons to the Caribbean, and the United States was taking its first steps toward becoming a naval power.

In an atmosphere of nationalist hysteria, Federalists seized the moment to revive the theme of the election campaign by vilifying the Republicans as a Jacobin fifth column ready to destroy the Republic, overthrow the Constitution, and create a radical, egalitarian, democratic society modeled on revolutionary France. The fear, in fact, was genuine enough to find its way into the administration's policy in the form of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 pushed by the Federalist majority in Congress. The Alien Friends Act gave the president power to arrest and deport aliens whom he considered a threat to national security, and the Alien Enemies Act allowed the president to arrest and deport aliens from a country at war with the United States. The Sedition Act was a violation of the First Amendment, and the Republicans correctly called it a gag law, as it targeted only Republican journalists and presses. Both were influenced by Federalist alarm at the influx of French fugitives from the **Reign of Terror**, as well as from the slave uprisings in the Caribbean, and Irish refugees from the rebellion of 1798. The legislation was also a product of weak leadership. From the start of the XYZ Affair, Adams had failed to master events and was then swept along with them.

In a message to Congress on December 8, 1798, Adams professed a willingness to make a new start with France, in large part due to the domestic stress caused by the conflict. War measures fattened the budget and caused domestic unrest over increased taxation. The Alien and Sedition Acts were declared unconstitutional by the **Kentucky** and **Virginia** state legislatures. The resolutions did not speak to the war crisis directly but rather warned that the Union would not endure long if repressive war measures remained in place and rights were abused. In the new year, Adams submitted the name of William Van Murray to Congress as minister plenipotentiary to France, who would be empowered to negotiate a settlement ending the Quasi-War. The reaction from the Federalist newspapers was fury. The party had no other issue of national appeal to replace the war crisis, so the peace initiative threatened to undermine their majority. Talk of assassination circulated. But Adams accepted Federalist demands that two other envoys accompany Murray's, and he gave them tough terms for France. After confirming the three envoys, Congress adjourned, and Adams left Philadelphia to be with an ailing Abigail. He did not return for seven months.

To his critics, his absence in the midst of a national crisis was tantamount to a dereliction of his presidential responsibilities. Friends warned that some of his cabinet members would take advantage of his absence to scuttle his peace initiative. Pickering, Wolcott, and McHenry, after all, were still under the influence of Hamilton. On August 6, Adams received word from Murray that the French were receptive to peace. However, it soon appeared that the Directory's days were numbered and that a Bourbon restoration was possibly imminent. With an allied victory apparently close, it might be better to see how matters turned out. Pickering told Adams that the cabinet favored an indefinite suspension of the mission, which was untrue in so far as there was no cabinet unity on the matter at all. Adams nonetheless accepted Pickering's advice and postponed a final decision of the mission until his return to Philadelphia—in November.

Adams might well have remained in Massachusetts that long were it not for the urgent pleas of his navy secretary, Benjamin Stoddert, that he return to the capital

and end the cabals against his peace efforts. When Adams arrived in Trenton on October 10—Philadelphia had been evacuated due to an outbreak of yellow fever—Lee and Stoddert argued in cabinet that delay in the mission to France would cast doubt on American sincerity about peace. In support of the opposing view, Hamilton himself, now inspector general of the army, had made the trip to Trenton to engage Adams on the issue. After several hours of argument, Hamilton left, having failed to change Adams's mind. The next day Adams had instructions delivered to his envoys to embark for France by the end of the month. Before they could make contact with the Directory, it was toppled by the coup of 18–19 Brumaire (November 9–10, 1799), and Napoleon Bonaparte was suddenly dictator of France. The American mission eventually received a cordial welcome and negotiations began. They proceeded in fits and starts until October 3, when an accord, the Convention of Peace, Commerce, and Navigation, was signed, ending the Quasi-War and restoring peace between France and the United States.

Peace arrived too late to save Adams's political fortunes. He lost his bid for reelection to Jefferson. Before leaving office, he submitted the treaty for ratification by the **Senate**, where opposing Federalists finally agreed to vote for it in exchange for the termination of the Franco-American alliance of 1778 and the indemnification of American property lost during the Quasi-War. Grudgingly, Adams accepted. His entire presidency had been absorbed by the Quasi-War, Washington's legacy to him. This was in part a product of the unique circumstances and the conflicting pressures of the time itself. The American republic was as yet so fragile that all choices of policy toward the great powers of Europe were fraught with peril. That sense of peril was reflected by the very division within the American body politic, in Adams's cabinet, and in his own indecision. Adams sincerely believed that the national interest lay in peace through neutrality. But neutrality could not be purchased through diplomatic niceties alone. Adams rightly concluded that it would require a powerful American fleet to defend it. His better judgment failed him in the Alien and Sedition Acts, signed into law amid an atmosphere of fear by a man whose words and actions had otherwise championed liberty. But even if the revolution in France was not a threat to the American republic, Adams was under no illusions as to what it meant for Europe.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### **Adams, Samuel (1722–1803)**

Known by his foes as the “Grand Incendiary,” Boston revolutionary Samuel Adams was born in Quincy, **Massachusetts**, on September 22, 1722. He was one of 12 children of Samuel and Mary Fifield Adams. Little is known about Adams's childhood until he entered Harvard College in 1736. He obtained his master's degree in 1743 with a thesis on “whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the

commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved.” Adams concluded that resistance was indeed lawful, a clear presentiment of his later political career. After graduating from college, Adams began practicing law, a career his father wanted him to pursue, though he did this for only a few years, giving up a career in law to please his mother. He then became a counting clerk for a local merchant. When this career also failed, he returned home to work in his father’s brewery.

Though he had little aptitude for business, Adams had a natural interest in the politics of the day. Even as a young man, he had exhibited a curiosity for politics, opposing the arbitrary acts of the British. In 1747, Adams was one of the principal figures who helped to form a political club in Boston known by its opponents as the Whipping Post Club. Adams was also a member of the Caucus Club, a club that met regularly to choose selectmen, assessors, and other elected officials. The group began publishing a weekly newspaper, the *Independent Advisor*, in 1748. One of Adams’s favorite newspaper discussion topics was the protection of individual rights.

Despite his inheritance of one-third of the family estate after his father died in 1748, Adams proved to be an unsuccessful businessman. While serving as tax collector from 1756 to 1764, Adams fell into tremendous debt resulting from his failure to collect any taxes. Because of this, he eventually owed the town of Boston £8,000 in back taxes.

By 1764, Adams began an earnest career in politics. As tax collector, he had witnessed firsthand the devastating effects that the French and Indian War (1756–1763) had on the colonists. Adams was vehemently opposed to both the Sugar and Stamp acts, two acts that **Parliament** issued to collect taxes on a number of items. When news of these acts reached the colonies, Adams claimed that these acts, particularly the **Stamp Act**, directly threatened colonial rights since the colonists had no representation in Parliament. With his 1764 and 1765 “Instructions of the Town of Boston to Its Representatives in the General Court,” Adams marked the first formal public protest of parliamentary acts. Though the Stamp Act was eventually repealed the next year, Adams became determined that American independence from **Britain** was the only viable option. Though he never openly advocated violence, he nevertheless sought to break any ties with the British.

In 1765, Adams was elected to represent the town of Boston in the Massachusetts General Court. He was soon appointed clerk of the house. Adams served in the General Court for the next 10 years. During his tenure in the court, he was a member of almost every committee and assisted in composing the majority of resolutions the body prepared. Adams was a leading figure in establishing the Non-Importation Association of 1768 and was the first to oppose the **Townshend Acts**. When the Townshend Acts were imposed in 1767, Adams immediately sought to condemn them. One of the first actions he took was to institute a boycott on imported British goods. By the fall of the following year, two regiments of British troops had arrived to garrison Boston. Adams began recording British treacheries in his *Journal of Events*, a publication that was circulated throughout the colonies. In this magazine, he accused British troops of beating people, violating the Sabbath, and even raping women.

Tensions continued to escalate until March 1770, when a group of soldiers finally fired on a mob of over four hundred people. This was the first occasion of bloodshed between the British and the colonists. In what was known as the **Boston Massacre**, six men were wounded and five were killed. The day after the massacre, Adams

addressed the largest town meeting to date. As a result of Adams's impassioned speeches, a committee was formed to ask the governor to remove the British garrison from Boston. Governor Thomas **Hutchinson** replied that he had no influence over the troops. When the meeting had still not disbanded that night, however, the governor finally gave his consent to arrest the soldiers involved in the events of the previous day. British soldiers were duly arrested and charged with murder. Though only a few of the men were ultimately found guilty, the remainder of the troops were removed from Boston. Adams, however, was furious at the light punishment the British received. During the next two years, he wrote more than 40 articles for the *Boston Gazette*, still trying to prove the soldiers guilty.

Adams also worked during this time to establish a Committee of Correspondence for Boston so that all colonists would be informed of British attacks. Events reached a climax in December 1773 with the **Boston Tea Party**. Dressed as Mohawk Indians, a group of Bostonians boarded British ships, dumping over three hundred chests of tea into the harbor. Consequently, Parliament closed the port of Boston.

Adams and other colonists immediately began planning the establishment of a Continental Congress. Adams was chosen as one of Massachusetts's five delegates to meet in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. While a member of both the First and Second Continental Congresses, Adams was adamant in his fight for American independence from Britain. He signed the **Declaration of Independence** on July 2, 1776, and was a member of the committee that drafted the **Articles of Confederation**.

He resigned from Congress in 1781, and despite his declining health, the father of the American Revolution continued his political career. He served as Massachusetts's secretary of state and state senator and was a member of the convention to ratify the **United States Constitution**. Elected governor of the state in 1794, Adams remained in this role until his retirement three years later. Adams died on October 2, 1803, at the age of 81. *See also* Adams, Abigail; Adams, John; Committees of Correspondence; Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; Tea Act.

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NICOLE MITCHELL

### **Administration of Justice Act (1774)**

The Administration of Justice Act was one of a group of acts passed by **Parliament** early in 1774 in response to the **Boston Tea Party** and other acts of resistance in **Massachusetts**. These acts were known collectively as the Intolerable Acts, or the **Coercive Acts**. The act for the Impartial Administration of Justice applied specifically to the province of Massachusetts Bay. It protected persons charged with murder or other capital crimes for actions committed in the suppression of riots or the enforcement of British revenue laws. Such persons could face juries in Massachusetts that opposed such laws and sympathized with violators and rioters. The act gave the governor of the province (or the lieutenant governor, in his absence) the right to transfer the trials of such persons to **Britain** or to another colony. The governor also had the right to bind witnesses in these trials to journey to Britain or wherever the trial was scheduled to take place. Many Americans, who referred to the act as the

Murder Act, feared that trials in Britain, under the control of the British government, would be rubber stamps for acquittal. They also feared that the act, along with another Intolerable Act, the **Massachusetts Government Act**, was part of a general British program to remodel the Massachusetts government to strengthen the power of the royal governor. They also viewed it as an illegitimate extension of the power of Parliament into a sphere of authority belonging to the colonies themselves. The act took effect on June 1, 1774. Along with the other Coercive Acts, it spurred American resistance and contributed to the calling of the First **Continental Congress**.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

## **Africa, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on**

The age of revolutionary thought in Europe brought about the slow decline of the slave trade and the rise of the large-scale colonization of Africa. The basic tenets of European **Enlightenment** thought—**equality** and liberty—were untenable in the context of Europe's relationship with the conquered and oppressed lands and peoples outside Europe. Among the vast expanses of land and peoples officially ruled by European powers during the high period of colonialism in the nineteenth century, Africa represented the lion's share. It would be well into the twentieth century before the enslaved and colonized peoples of Africa would mobilize and revolt against European oppression. The impact and importance of the revolutionary thought and ideas of Enlightenment Europe would thus be adopted by Africans in their twentieth-century struggles to create independent nation-states.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were bleak periods for Africa, as it passed slowly through a period of stray violence, the disappearance of large segments of the able-bodied population, and the breakdown of its economic infrastructure by systematic and organized colonial exploitation. Most African peoples succeeded in forming themselves into postcolonial independent nation-states after the Second World War, but the slow poisoning effect of the two long and distinct eras of European exploitation left an indelible mark on every aspect of life on the African continent.

### ***Revolutionary Antislavery Movements in Europe***

From the late fifteenth century onward, Europe's relationship with Africa was defined by the slave trade, the absentee ownership of plantations, and a few coastal establishments. Plantations in the West Indies needed slave labor to function, and in 1797, British investment there reached £70 million, with the annual income from sugar alone standing at approximately £6 million. Besides the British colonies, there were French, Dutch, and Spanish possessions in Africa and the Americas, which were even more valuable. The French colony of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti), which was the single most important producer of sugar; the Dutch colony of Guiana (now Surinam); and the Spanish islands of Trinidad and Cuba were richer than any part of the British West Indies.

Successive British governments, whether under Whig or Tory control, were too burdened with the long war with revolutionary **France** to legislate against the slave

trade, in spite of a continued campaign of opposition by prominent men such as William **Wilberforce**. European monarchs and the aristocracy cooperated with those in society with an economic stake in the West Indian plantations, thus ensuring the continuance of the slave trade. Similarly, in North America, on the basis of the immense profits connected with cotton production, the slave trade thrived illegally. It was outlawed in **Massachusetts** as early as in 1641, and **Georgia** prohibited the entry of “foreign negroes” in 1798.

The antislavery movements in Europe grew out of two distinct schools of thought. One school consisted of the evangelicals, who opposed slavery and the slave trade because of the inhumanity of the practices and their incompatibility with the laws of God. Adherents of the other school based their defense of the enslaved or “colonized” African on the utopian idea of the “natural man” derived from the writings of Daniel Defoe, Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, and others.

Granville Sharp, a biblical scholar and a staunch evangelical, fought a series of long legal battles on behalf of the antislavery struggle. In a landmark case that Sharp brought before the court in 1772, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield delivered a memorable judgment that slavery was repugnant to English common law and that “as soon as any slave sets foot on English ground he becomes free.” As a result, an estimated 14,000 slaves worth £500,000 gained their freedom. This was only a first step toward total abolition, and for the next three decades, indecision and fear of anarchy kept parliamentarians vacillating between the abolition and the continuation the slave trade. In 1787, Thomas Clarkson, Josiah Edgewood, and others created the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. In 1807, after a long campaign by these abolitionists and their politically powerful friends, including Wilberforce, an act of **Parliament** prohibiting commerce in slaves was passed.

In France, the political chaos that followed the **French Revolution** in 1789 hampered the steady progress of antislavery movements. While French revolutionary thinkers like the comte de **Mirabeau** and the marquis de **Lafayette** favored the abolition of the trade, slave rebellions in Saint-Domingue and the subsequent revolution there postponed any definitive legislative action by the French for five years. Legislation finally came in 1794 in the form of a decree of the **National Convention**, which abolished slavery in all French colonies. However, in 1802—less than a decade later—**Napoleon** reinstated the institution of slavery, thus confirming the continuation of the slave trade. In the United States, President Thomas **Jefferson** emerged victorious after a long battle against pro-slavery conservatives when Congress passed a bill that made the slave trade illegal beginning on January 1, 1808.

### *Africa and Colonialism*

The success of the abolition movements led to a process of rehabilitation for the emancipated slaves. The main European and American plan was to resettle slaves in Africa, a plan that carried the promise of solving the problem of the growing black population in Europe. The abolitionists, including the evangelicals, received support from the British government to send ex-slaves to establish settler colonies in Africa. Present-day Sierra Leone was chosen as the site for one of the earliest colonies. In 1787, 411 former slaves arrived there from **Britain**, purchased land from a local Temne chief, and formed the first town, which they named Granville (after Granville Sharp). They were, however, obliged to leave after making unsuccessful attempts at cultivation and settlement. A second wave of migration, sponsored again

by British abolitionists and led by Thomas Peters, an American ex-slave who had fought for the British in the **American Revolution**, succeeded in settling about 1,100 new people in 1792, in a town named Freetown, situated near the destroyed site of Granville. After initial success, the settlers of Freetown first became embroiled with the native Temne people and later in the colonial conflicts waged by Britain and France. Thus, in 1794, Freetown was burned down by French naval forces, while in 1808, after a series of conflicts with British mercantile interests, Freetown became a British Crown colony. The colonization of Freetown signaled the beginning of the great era of African colonization by Britain, France, Holland, and Portugal. European colonial expansion would reach its peak in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when in 1880 the existing European colonial powers in Africa would be joined by new competitors—**Belgium** and Germany—in what became known as the Scramble for Africa.

### *Africa and Eurocentric Historiography*

In his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (1830), Georg **Hegel** described Africa as “Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature,” that is, beyond the historical movements of the world. Hegel’s characterization, coming in the wake of the French and American revolutions, was representative of the dominant discourse of Europeans. The age of colonial empires that would succeed the age of political revolutions would derive its moral justification from classifications like Hegel’s. The presumed universality of European Enlightenment ideals met its first hurdle in Europe’s problematic relationship with Africa as a result of the slave trade. In **Voltaire’s** *Candide* (1759), the eponymous hero meets, in the course of his travels, a baptized African slave whose limbs have been amputated as punishment for an attempted escape. Voltaire’s scathing critique of the Enlightenment’s revolutionary rhetoric surfaces in the mutilated slave’s questioning of the supposedly universal brotherhood propagated by both Christians and eighteenth-century philosophers. European Enlightenment thought countered such critiques by introducing new ideas on the varying nature of different civilizations—ideas meant to justify the colonization of entire societies, peoples, and lands. Whatever the justifications offered by Europeans, African lands would first be devastated by the slave trade and then pass into European colonial possession. Ironically, many of the British evangelicals who would fight so assiduously for the emancipation of slaves would also number among the most strident voices in favor of colonization by the middle of the nineteenth century. *See also* Abolitionists; Haitian Revolution; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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RINI BHATTACHARYA MEHTA

### **Albany Plan of Union (1754)**

The Albany Plan of Union was an important early attempt to unify the American colonies for a common cause. Hostilities leading to the outbreak of the Seven Years’

War (1756–1763) moved the British Board of Trade to call a conference to rehabilitate relations with the Iroquois Confederacy. All the British colonial governors were invited to attend, in hopes that the colonies could forge a joint policy for frontier defense against Native Americans. In June 1754, representatives from seven colonies attended the Albany Congress and drafted the Albany Plan.

Several models for intercolonial cooperation were proposed at the conference. Benjamin **Franklin** of **Pennsylvania** and Thomas **Hutchinson** of **Massachusetts** worked together on the proposal, based on Franklin’s “Short Hints toward a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies,” that ultimately won approval. The Albany Plan proposed that **Parliament** create an American governing body that could provide for a common defense without superseding existing colonial constitutions. The organization would be comprised of a president general who would be appointed by the Crown, and a Grand Council that would be elected by the colonies; financial contributions would determine the number representatives from each colony. This body would provide frontier defense by exercising its powers to negotiate and make war with Native Americans, purchase and settle Native American land for the Crown, and regulate Native American trade and treaties. In order to generate the revenue needed to fulfill these duties, the council would also be empowered to levy taxes.

The delegates in Albany approved the plan, but it was never enacted. None of the colonial assemblies ratified the proposal, preferring greater local autonomy in managing their defenses. Despite its failure, the Albany Plan remains significant as the most ambitious effort to bind the American colonies together for a common interest prior to the formation of the **Stamp Act Congress**.

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ROBERT LEE

## Alexander I, Tsar of Russia (1777–1825)

Alexander I, tsar of Russia, helped defeat **Napoleon I** of **France** and thus enabled Russia to emerge as the dominant power on the European continent after the **Napoleonic Wars**.

Alexander was born the son of Grand Duke Paul Petrovich, later Emperor Paul I, and Maria Fyodorovna, formerly Sophie Maria Dorothea of Württemberg, in St. Petersburg on December 23, 1777. He was the couple’s first born of 11 children. His education was organized by his grandmother, Empress **Catherine II**, who adored him. Alexander’s military education was entrusted to General Saltykov. Catherine hired an **Enlightenment**-inspired tutor, Frédéric de La Harpe, a 25-year-old Swiss republican who imbued Alexander with liberal concepts and taught him the harm absolutism brought to countries governed under that system. This led Alexander to sympathize with the ideals of the **French Revolution**. He was shortsighted, walked with a limp, and was partially deaf, but he had handsome facial features and a splendid physique. He grew up to be emotionally restless, stubborn, and contradictory—so complex that he never found peace within himself.

Catherine instigated the marriage of 16-year-old Alexander on October 4, 1793, to 14-year-old Princess Louise Maria Auguste of Baden. Louise converted to the





Tsar Alexander I of Russia, ruler of Russia during the Napoleonic Wars.  
*Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

Russian Orthodox Church and was baptized Elisabeth Alexeievna. The young, inexperienced couple failed to have an intimate relationship early in the marriage. Alexander simply could not provide Elisabeth with the emotional sustenance she needed from a husband. Both found solace with other partners, yet the complex marriage lasted until their deaths. Elisabeth eventually had two daughters, Maria and Elisabeth, in 1799 and 1806 respectively, but both died in infancy. These deaths brought some emotional unity to the marriage. Despite his indifference to Elisabeth, Alexander never insulted her in public and ate all his meals with her. She supported him in all his endeavors throughout their marriage. Alexander had a 15-year affair with the married Princess Maria Czetyrtyńska, who flaunted her hold over him at court. They had two daughters and one son. Alexander also had six other illegitimate children. Once he became deeply involved with religious mysticism, he ended his affair with the princess and he turned to Elisabeth, who continued to support him in all his pursuits.

Alexander's father became Tsar Paul I upon the death of Catherine the Great. He exhibited an eccentric, arbitrary, unreasonable style of governance. He was paranoid to the extreme and suspicious of everyone. Paul had become an important figure in the lives of his sons Alexander and Constantine in the waning years of Catherine's life. Paul strongly favored Constantine, who, like his father, had military

interests. Paul continually berated Alexander for his liberal viewpoints and punished him for minor infractions.

Paul saw himself as the savior of Europe, together with Napoleon, who had returned Russian prisoners of war, ceded territories to Russia, compensated the King of Sardinia, and even made Paul Grand Master of the Order of Malta. The League of Armed Neutrality against British naval superiority was renewed in 1800, and the French Bourbons were expelled from Russia. Paul established a consulate. However, domestically the gentry were becoming increasingly estranged from their tsar.

They believed Paul suffered from mental illness, and his cruelty and fits of folly gradually led them to hate him and fear for Russia's future. Some 60 men, headed by the daring and cunning Count Peter von Pahlen, a Livonian magnate and hero of the campaign of 1759 against **Frederick II** of Prussia, murdered the tsar on March 12, 1801. Alexander, who knew about the plot, was with Elisabeth just below his father's suite of rooms and had expected his father would abdicate.

Alexander ascended the throne on March 24, 1801. He faced overwhelming problems and, unlike other tsars, was aware of his inexperience and ruled with a committee. He made peace with **Britain** on June 15 and with **France** and **Spain** on October 8. Alexander understood some aspects of foreign affairs and believed Russia's leadership would lead to European peace. While Paul was on the throne, Alexander had conceived of creating a constitution for Russia that provided for some form of representative government, though he abandoned this idea in later years. He instead adopted a policy as advised by Prince Clement von **Metternich**, the Austrian statesman. He kept busy trying to improve domestic affairs, diminish taxes, emancipate priests and deacons, liberate debtors, abolish corporal punishment, and end serfdom.

Alexander's ukase, or decree, of September 8, 1802, laid down the duties and responsibilities of the **senate** and created the ministries of war, navy, foreign affairs, commerce, interior affairs, justice, and public education. He established the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg in 1802 and two years later founded the universities of Kazan and Kharkov.

In 1804 France was again seen as a threat to Russian interests, as a result of which Alexander developed closer ties with **Austria** and Prussia. He was deeply upset by the duc d'**Enghien**'s execution at Vincennes after the his kidnapping from neutral Baden, and he was appalled by Napoleon's coronation as emperor. Alexander realized that France was, as Paul had believed in 1799, a threat to the balance of power in Europe. He signed a defensive alliance with Austria in November 1804 and with Britain in April 1805. An Austrian army was encircled and forced to surrender at Ulm on October 20, 1805, and Russia had to send military aid to Austria. Against the advice of his commander-in-chief, Alexander led the Russian army at the Battle of Austerlitz on December 2 and was soundly defeated by Napoleon after having lost nearly 30,000 men. Alexander was forced to retreat. Prussia became increasingly hostile to Russia. Austria capitulated to Napoleon on December 27, 1805, and the humiliating Treaty of Schönbrunn between Austria and France was signed.

After Russia lost the Battle of Eylau on February 8, 1807, and the Battle of Friedland on June 14, Alexander and Napoleon met on a raft on the Niemen River. Each tried to outdo the other with superficialities. Alexander, raised with La Harpe's liberal idealism, mentioned his appreciation of **republicanism** as well as the idea of nonhereditary succession. Napoleon, for his part, put on a magnificent military parade for Alexander that greatly impressed the tsar. The meeting led to the Treaty

of Tilsit on July 7, 1807, among Prussia, Russia, and France, which was confirmed by the convention of Erfurt on October 12, 1808. In essence, it led to territorial losses for Prussia and Napoleon's goal to involve Russia in the Continental System. Alexander recognized the Confederation of the Rhine, which consisted of former Prussian and other German territories. Russia had to agree to the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw, which was constructed largely out of Polish territory formerly under Prussian control. Alexander was promised a huge share in partitioning Turkey and believed Napoleon's promises that France and Russia would share in dominating the European continent.

Ultimately, the Treaty of Tilsit was a fiasco for Alexander, for it confirmed French dominance over central Europe and the Mediterranean. Russia lost relatively little by the treaty but was humiliated militarily and economically. Tilsit left Alexander unpopular at home, though Napoleon agreed to Russia's annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia. Within a few years, Tilsit denied the upper classes their luxury goods, for Alexander had joined Napoleon's Continental System, which banned Russian trade with Britain.

In 1810, Alexander withdrew from the Continental System and imposed duties on French imports. By the following year he realized that diplomacy had failed, that Napoleonic policies were becoming increasingly oppressive, and that Napoleon was planning to invade Russia; consequently, he withdrew his support of the French emperor. The French invaded Russia in 1812 and on the way to Moscow defeated the Russians at Smolensk and Borodino. Alexander withdrew his army farther east, abandoning the capital. Napoleon entered Moscow on September 15 but the city was soon engulfed in flames. Alexander by now had a strong personal hatred for Napoleon and refused to meet with him. The disastrous retreat of the Grande Armée is well known: Napoleon lost at least 400,000 troops, along with his aura of invincibility.

Napoleon's folly improved Alexander's image, even though the tsar was still unpopular for the earlier Russian failures during the campaign. By this time Alexander had become disillusioned with liberalism and vigorously prosecuted the new campaigns in Germany and France in 1813 and 1814, respectively.

Alexander led the Sixth Coalition against Napoleon. His troops contributed to the Allied victory at Leipzig in October 1813 and the tsar, together with the Prussian and Austrian monarchs, entered Paris in triumph on March 31, 1814. Russia's new strength greatly strengthened Alexander's diplomatic position at the Congress of **Vienna**. Alexander's long-term wish was to create a Polish state under the aegis of his rule. He had always hated the three partitions Catherine had implemented and wanted a Poland on his own terms with Russian control over the state. Thus, at Vienna, the Polish-Saxon Question (Alexander's desire to control former Polish territories) became one of the key questions facing the congress. Ultimately the issue was settled to Russia's advantage, largely because of the decisive part Russia had played in Napoleon's downfall. The Kingdom of Poland was created with limited sovereignty, though it was tied to Russia, which had also received Finland from the Swedes in 1809 and Bessarabia from the Ottoman Empire in 1812.

The rest of Alexander's reign was taken up with internal reform. He improved opportunities for education and worked on abolishing serfdom. He advanced commerce, agriculture, and manufacturing. Seaborne commerce became a thriving industry in Russia under Alexander. Alexander died of fever on December 1, 1825.

He had begun his reign as a liberal and ended it as an autocrat, having increased Russia's already impressive position in Europe in the course of his reign.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### American Revolution (1775–1783)

The American Revolution is often considered to be synonymous with the armed conflict of the **American Revolutionary War**, a conflict bracketed on one side by the first shots fired at **Lexington and Concord** in 1775 and, on the other, by the signing of the Peace of Paris in 1783. Considering the American Revolution from the perspective of politics and ideology, however, encourages us to expand our definition. That expanded definition includes more than military and diplomatic events, and it also takes in a longer period of time, persuading us to look to the historical context before 1775 as well as to circumstances after 1783. When we approach the American Revolution from this broader perspective, it is easier to discern that Americans who lived through the American revolutionary era disagreed about the origins, nature, and consequences of their revolution.

Americans of the revolutionary era even debated the relationship of the American Revolution with the War for Independence. They did so in ways that are useful



General John Burgoyne surrenders to American forces following defeat at the Battle of Saratoga in New York in September 1777. *Library of Congress*.

to modern scholars. John **Adams**, the second president of the United States, wrote from retirement in 1815 to his fellow revolutionary and another past president, Thomas **Jefferson**, asking:

What do We Mean by the Revolution? The War? That was no part of the Revolution. It was only an Effect and Consequence of it. The Revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen Years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington. The Records of thirteen Legislatures, the Pamp[h]lets, Newspapers in all the Colonies, ought [to] be consulted, during that Period, to ascertain the Steps by which the public Opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the Authority of Parliament over the Colonies.

For Adams, the *real* American Revolution had been effected before the War for Independence began. But others of the revolutionary generation saw things very differently. Benjamin **Rush**, a renowned physician and statesman, thought that the War for Independence was not the last act of the American Revolution, as Adams did, but only its opening act. Rush wrote in 1786:

There is nothing more common, than to confound the terms of the American Revolution with those of the late American war. The American war is over; but this is far from being the case with the American revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government; and to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens, for these forms of government, after they are established and brought to perfection.

Any modern attempt to define the American Revolution in a satisfactory way must be expansive enough to encompass the considered understandings of Adams and Rush, despite their disparity.

If we want to understand the political and ideological origins of the American Revolution more fully, it is helpful to look back at least as far as the conclusion to the Seven Years' War (1754–1763), a conflict also known as the French and Indian War. The Seven Years' War and its settlement, the Treaty of Paris (1763), changed forever the relationship between the European colonizing powers with respect to America. **Britain's** holdings in North America were considerably enlarged, largely at the expense of **France's** diminished holdings. But even more important for understanding the American Revolution, the Treaty of Paris also changed the relationship between the British government back in London and the British colonists living in North America. The Seven Years' War had demonstrated all too clearly to the British administration the great expenses of maintaining an overseas empire that was growing larger and more complex. At the same time, British colonists in America were coming to see themselves, if not as distinctly American, in some important respects at least as British Americans who had identifiable and distinct interests and concerns. In short, the political and ideological ropes that had bound the British Empire together were beginning to let go. The British and their colonists were beginning to drift apart.

That can be illustrated by the **Proclamation of 1763**. The peace settlement of the Seven Years' War established a Proclamation Line, according to which British Americans were not permitted to settle to the west of the Appalachian Mountains in a territory that included the Ohio Valley and would now become known as Indian

Country. To the British government back in London, a Proclamation Line separating the British colonists from Native Americans of the interior looked to be a good solution with which to avoid further military costs and entanglements in North America. However, to the British colonists living in the area, a Proclamation Line seemed a long way from a solution. Had the Seven Years' War not been fought to gain access to this territory? Had they not been victorious in the war? Then why was the Ohio Valley to be taken away? The British American colonists began to wonder: Does the British government really have our interests at heart? These and similar questions were in the foreground as Americans of the 1760s read works of political theory.

When approached from this broader perspective, the American Revolution can be seen, in part, as a crisis within the British Empire. The Proclamation of 1763, and the various revenue acts passed in the 1760s—the **Sugar Act** of 1764, the **Stamp Act** of 1765, and the **Townshend Acts** of 1767—all helped to drive a wedge between the British colonists and the British government. Clearly, as well, it is unwise to approach the American Revolution without paying heed to other discernable trends and events. Growth in colonial population, territorial expansion, and an escalation in trade that had led to a commercial revolution in the British colonies of North America by the 1750s arguably set the stage for an emerging desire for political independence, forming what historians have identified as the preconditions for the American Revolution. As early as the 1740s, the events of the Great Awakening and the spread of ideas associated with the American **Enlightenment** had begun to fashion the settlers who inhabited the 13 disparate colonies into an embryonic “American” people—even if those involved did not know it to be the case themselves. It is no coincidence that by the mid-1750s, Benjamin **Franklin**, the great American printer, scientist, and statesman, could propose his **Albany Plan of Union**—a plan to unite the British colonies so that they might better deal collectively with their common colonial problems.

On what traditions and ideas did the colonists draw to define themselves and their rights? Historians of ideas have debated the political and ideological meanings of the American Revolution since the eighteenth century. Broadside, **newspapers**, magazines, **pamphlets**, and books published in colonial America and the early American republic were littered with references to political thinkers, ancient and modern. Even a simple listing of those influences would be an involved task, and one beyond the confines of this short essay. But any such list would include writers of classical antiquity, such as Cicero, Livy, Plutarch, and Tacitus, among others whose names colonial spokesmen even chose as pseudonyms with which to express their own ideas. New England Puritanism was a part of the colonial make-up, too, and contained within it notions of freedom that helped set the stage for Lockean liberalism.

John **Locke**, an English philosopher and political theorist, was one of the founding fathers of the Enlightenment and an ideological wellspring for Americans of the revolutionary era. Locke's writings were popular in revolutionary America, and his ideas were referred to directly, especially in colonial attempts in the 1770s to justify revolution and independence. Locke's *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690) was first published in America in 1773, but it had been available to American readers long before then, as is evidenced by its presence in surviving book catalogs and printed references. James Otis famously quoted from Locke in *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764), as did Nathaniel Ames in 1765. In the wake

of the Stamp Act (1765), in particular, Locke's ideas were appropriated in other ways. Newspapers of revolutionary America referred to Locke's political writings and portrayed him as a Whig hero in the tradition of John Milton, James Harrington, and Algernon Sidney. Locke was cited in some of the most important political pamphlets of the day, such as Richard **Bland's** *An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies* (1766), Jonathan Mayhew's *The Snare Broken* (1766), and Samuel **Adams's** *A State of the Rights of the Colonists* (1772). But an even better measure of his influence may be the scores of lesser-known pamphleteers—Simeon Howard, Daniel Leonard, John Perkins, John Tucker, and Samuel West, among others—who popularized Locke's ideas.

As numerous scholars have shown, when in 1776 Thomas Jefferson spoke of certain “inalienable rights” in the preamble to the **Declaration of Independence**, he owed considerable debt to Locke, as he did on another topic for which he wished to be remembered: religious freedom. In his *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), Locke argued that religion was a matter to be decided by individuals and that churches ought to be voluntary associations, thereby setting part of the stage for the doctrine of separation of church and state championed by Jefferson and enshrined in the **United States Constitution**. While references to Locke disappear in late revolutionary America, his continuing influence might be traced through the writings of British Enlightenment “radicals” such as James Burgh, Richard **Price**, and Joseph **Priestley**, and others who in the 1790s based their conceptions of civil and religious liberty on a Lockean foundation. Locke's case shows the intricate and twisted nature of the transatlantic social history of ideas.

The writings of the French Enlightenment **philosophes** such as Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, **Voltaire**, and especially Charles-Louis de Secondat (Baron de la Brede et de **Montesquieu**) were important to revolutionary Americans as well. As early as the 1750s, references to Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) are found in American newspapers such as the *Maryland Gazette*. The catalogs of booksellers and libraries in America show that Thomas Nugent's English translation of *The Spirit of the Laws* was especially popular with American readers. In 1771 there was even an attempt to publish an American edition of Montesquieu's work, although nothing came of it, likely because of the ready availability of imported copies. By the late 1770s and 1780s, American references to Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* were frequent, of which book XI, “Of the Laws Which Establish Political Liberty in Relation to the Subject,” was especially popular. For many in revolutionary America, Montesquieu was seen as a champion of liberty, especially as it was manifest in the British system of balanced government. John and Samuel Adams, Charles **Carroll**, John **Dickinson**, and James Otis all looked to Montesquieu for his measured thoughts on constitutional design, including his doctrine that the separation of powers was a means with which to secure political liberty. As James **Madison** put it in *Federalist* no. 47, if Montesquieu “be not the author of this invaluable precept in the science of politics, he has the merit at least of displaying and recommending it most effectually to the attention of mankind.” Benjamin Rush believed that while “Mr. Locke is an oracle as to the *principles*” of government, Montesquieu was an oracle “as to the *forms of government*.” In the late 1780s, Anti-Federalist writers in particular looked to Montesquieu as an authority with whom to argue for the impossibility of maintaining republican government in an extended sphere. In the 1790s Montesquieu continued to be celebrated, and he was most often seen as an

authority on the importance of “virtue” in a republic. Aspects of Montesquieu’s thought sat comfortably with a civic humanist tradition of **republicanism**, which J.G.A. Pocock and others have illuminated and traced through to the 1790s. In short, several overlapping philosophical traditions informed the political and ideological dimensions of the revolutionary era.

Although scholars do not always give them sufficient attention, historical writings did. In a world in which history was seen as an instructor in morals and politics, historical writings were mined for the raw materials they could contribute to political thought. Indeed, from the beginning of British settlement in America, British colonists were interested in historical definitions of the traditional rights and liberties they had inherited, especially as Englishmen. As David Ramsay, an American physician and important early American historian, put it in his history of the Revolution, “The English Colonists were from the first settlement in America, devoted to liberty, on English ideas, and English principles. They not only conceived themselves to inherit the privileges of Englishmen, but though in a colonial situation, actually possessed them.” Those historical rights were often combined seamlessly with philosophical justifications in political pamphlets of the mid-1760s, such as Otis’s *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764) and Daniel Dulany’s *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes* (1765). Others expressed these historical definitions of rights in letters and resolutions printed in the expanding colonial newspaper press. This was the case with the Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions, which circulated throughout the colonies in 1765.

One of the most important historical sources was Sir William **Blackstone**’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769), a book that was frequently imported to America and which was also reprinted there before the Revolution. Blackstone was read by almost all jurists in eighteenth-century America and, perhaps more important, he was known to a wider politically active audience. The *Commentaries*, a book divided into four parts, was more than a legal text; it provided a systematic account of the history of the English government, or constitution. Blackstone traced the English constitution to its eighteenth-century terminus in which sovereignty resided with the king-in-Parliament. American writers, such as a youthful Alexander **Hamilton**, referred to Blackstone often, in part because Blackstone’s text was straightforward, lending itself to easy reference. Blackstone remarked that he wished to give “a general map of the law, marking out the shape of the country, it’s [sic] connexions and boundaries, it’s [sic] greater divisions and principal cities.” Most frequently quoted by Americans during the revolutionary era were passages from book I, “Rights of Persons” (especially its first chapter, “Of the Absolute Rights of Individuals”), and book II, “Rights of Things.” The first American edition of the *Commentaries* was a celebrated one, published by Robert Bell in Philadelphia in 1771–1772. Many other American editions followed. It was not until 1795–1796, with the publication of Zephaniah Swift’s *A System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut*, that Americans had a native statement of a common law tradition, an interesting fact when one considers the time line of the revolutionary era. Some aspects of Blackstone’s thought received a mixed reception in revolutionary America. Blackstone, like the Scottish Enlightenment historian and philosopher David **Hume**, thought that the power of the Crown to confer honors and **privileges** was a necessary check with which to control the people. Many Americans, such as Thomas Jefferson, disagreed with that position. Others, such as James **Wilson**, came to question what they saw as



Blackstone's conception of the law as an authority independent from, and superior to, its citizens.

Historians have also come to see that colonial claims to the rights of Englishmen were more complicated in other ways than might at first appear to be the case. For instance, when revolutionaries such as Adams or Jefferson referred to the principles of the English constitution, as they often did, they were not referring to a single, unified constitutional heritage. Rather, they had available to them two competing conceptions of the English constitution. One version had a historical essence and looked to the revolutionary settlement of 1688 and the establishment of parliamentary supremacy as the event that consolidated English liberties. The glory of the Glorious Revolution, these court **Whigs** argued, was that it guaranteed **Parliament's** supremacy over the Crown. From 1689, Parliament effectively could define a flexible English constitution. It was this "new" version of the English constitution that historians of early America have argued was most often championed by Whigs in England (Britain from 1707) but was challenged by Whigs in America. That was increasingly so as the imperial crisis worsened in the 1760s.

Existing concurrently with this court view was a second, older Whig version of the English constitution. It looked back to the writings of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon and other British radicals who themselves drew upon the ancient English constitution found in Edward Coke's works, which helped define the inherent liberties of Englishmen. For these so-called Country Whigs, the Glorious Revolution was glorious for its recovery of temporarily lost, but nevertheless ancient, liberties that had existed since the beginning of recorded time. Their language was one of a timeless battle pitting virtue against corruption. This ahistorical version of the Whig constitution only received slight lip service in Britain in the eighteenth century, but its classical republican tenets were frequently absorbed and championed in revolutionary America. The ideological divide separating American and British conceptions of liberty was widened with events such as the **Boston Massacre** of 1770, the **Boston Tea Party** of 1773, the so-called **Coercive Acts** of 1774, and the meeting of the Continental Congress. American revolutionaries were reading the works of their British heritage in distinctive ways.

In the 1760s and 1770s, David Hume was often depicted as a friend of liberty in America. Hume's celebrated essay "On the Freedom of the Press," for instance, was printed in colonial newspapers to help bolster resistance to the Stamp Act. Prominent American writers, such as John Adams, Jonathan Dickinson, and Charles Carroll, turned to the six volumes of Hume's *History of England* (1754–1762) for its account of liberty and, interestingly, for a context-laden reading of liberty within an English constitution that changed over time. Americans were also keenly interested in Hume's life and character, which, after Hume's death in 1776, they read about in his autobiographical "My Own Life," a short essay that was usually accompanied in print by Adam **Smith's** account of Hume's character. "My Own Life" was published in Philadelphia by Robert Bell in 1777, and Hume's character was a frequent topic in early American periodicals, where his renown as an atheist who lived virtuously was the focus of furious debate. All this helps remind us that in our search for intellectual origins, we need to remember that for eighteenth-century Americans, ideas were not lifeless lines of text in books but were often closely associated with the personalities of political thinkers, and that too was another factor influencing reception. In Hume's case, his most celebrated impact on revolutionary America was

through James Madison. In *Federalist* no. 10, first published in 1787, Madison relied on his reading of Hume's moral and political *Essays* and *History of England* to help build support for a United States Constitution linked to the American Revolution. Filtering his experiences in America through his reading of Hume, Madison argued that in a country like the United States, which had an extended territory, multiple factions had their role to play in limiting sectional conflict and maintaining republican government.

Other Scottish Enlightenment figures were also influential in America. One of these was Adam Smith, whose earliest book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), circulated in America. John Witherspoon, for instance, included Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in his moral philosophy course at the College of New Jersey, where students were directed toward Smith's account of sympathy's role in moral judgment. Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) was also well known in America, in part, one suspects, because therein Smith wrote much about America, including his judgment that unless a way could be found "of preserving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men of America, it is not very probable that they will ever voluntarily submit to us; and we ought to consider that the blood which must be shed in forcing them to do so, is, every drop of it, the blood either of those who are, or of those whom we wish to have for our fellow-citizens. They are very weak who flatter themselves that, in the state to which things have come, our colonies will be easily conquered by force alone." Smith's friend and fellow Scot Hugh Blair maintained that Smith had said so much about American affairs that his book was really a statement about current affairs. Many prominent Americans, including John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Wilson, were familiar with the *Wealth of Nations*. After 1789 they and others could read *Wealth of Nations* in an American edition published by Thomas Dobson in Philadelphia. Smith's American readers knew *Wealth of Nations* for more than what it said about America, reading it on topics as diverse as benevolence, the theory of banking, relations between church and state, and the regulation of commercial life. Smith's central tenet, that wealth was dependent on the division of labor, was known in revolutionary America and became even more influential in the early years of the republic.

As our knowledge of the reading habits of Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries becomes more detailed and nuanced, sorting out the origins, nature, and consequences of the American Revolution becomes more complicated. The more we know about the wide availability of literature and the wide-ranging reading habits of early Americans, the more difficult it is to explain the intellectual origins and nature of the American Revolution with reference to only a handful of seminal texts, a defined school of thought, or even particular genres of writing. Instead, we need to see that revolutionary Americans drew upon a wide assortment of publications and scholarly traditions. No longer can we accept that either John Locke, classical republicanism, or the Scottish Enlightenment holds the master key to unlocking the mind of American revolutionary thought. And of course, the world of books cannot be separated from the real world in which Americans lived. That context sparked other debates, for instance those about the place of African Americans, Native Americans, and American **women** in the United States, which would long outlive eighteenth-century America. Eighteenth-century Americans read widely and attentively at the very time that they experienced a myriad of

political, social, and economic changes in their daily lives. There is little wonder that eighteenth-century Americans differed so greatly in their own definitions of the American Revolution.

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MARK G. SPENCER

## American Revolutionary War (1775–1781)

Open rebellion occurred in the American colonies when the governor of **Massachusetts**, Lieutenant General Thomas **Gage**, sent troops to Concord to seize a stockpile of arms. Paul **Revere** gave warning of the British advance, while militia under Samuel Prescott and William Dawes began to concentrate. Brushing aside the militia assembled at Lexington Common under Captain John Parker (April 19, 1775) and destroying what was left of the supplies at Concord, the British were harassed all the way back to Boston, where the patriots under Major General Artemas Ward then laid siege. Gage, reinforced by troops from overseas, attempted to break out, and although he drove off the Americans under Colonel William Prescott at Bunker Hill (June 17), he suffered very serious losses of his own and failed to ease the situation. Such staunch American resistance lent encouragement to the rebel cause. Shortly thereafter (July 3), the Second **Continental Congress** at Philadelphia gave command of the **Continental Army** to General George **Washington**.



The Battle of Bunker Hill fought near Boston in June 1775. *Library of Congress.*

### *Invasion of Canada*

In August the Americans under General Philip Schuyler (later replaced by General Richard Montgomery) invaded **Canada**, taking St. Johns (November 2) and occupying Montreal (November 13). Sir Guy Carleton, governor-general of Canada, withdrew to Quebec, from which he repulsed with great loss the American assault (December 31) under Montgomery and Benedict Arnold. Upon the arrival of reinforcements for Carleton (May 6, 1776) under Major General John Burgoyne, the remaining rebels withdrew from the outskirts of the city. Finding, however, that British forces well outnumbered them at Trois Rivières (June 8), they abandoned Montreal and retreated to Fort Ticonderoga (June–July). Carleton's advance into **New York** was made possible by the British naval victory at Valcour Island (October 11) on Lake Champlain, but the consequent delay led him to postpone landing on American soil and he remained in Canada.

### *Operations in New York and New Jersey*

Concerned by the rising number of American forces around Boston, Major General William Howe, now in command, withdrew the garrison by sea to Halifax, Nova Scotia (March 17, 1776). Taking the offensive, he landed 32,000 men on Staten Island, New York (July 2), there confronting with 20,000 of his force 13,000 Americans at the Battle of Long Island (August 27). By inflicting heavy casualties on the rebels, he forced Washington to evacuate Long Island (August 30) before persuading the rebel commander to begin a full-scale withdrawal from all of New York (September 12). After being halted temporarily by action at Harlem Heights (September 16), Howe continued his advance up the East River and won a clear victory at White Plains (October 28). From there he continued his pursuit of Washington's army, taking Forts Washington and Mifflin on the Hudson (November 16–20),

together with numerous prisoners and supplies, and driving the rebels southward through **New Jersey**, where nearly 4,000 were captured near Morristown.

Washington and his 3,000 remaining men retreated into Pennsylvania while Congress withdrew from Philadelphia to Baltimore (December 12). Howe established winter quarters in New York and New Jersey. The Americans were not idle; Washington won a resounding victory by surprising the Hessians under Colonel Johann Rall at Trenton (December 26), obliging Major General Charles Cornwallis, with 8,000 men, to try to block his line of retreat and destroy him. Washington, however, with inferior numbers, managed to retreat under cover of darkness (January 2, 1777) and defeat a force of reinforcements for Cornwallis near Princeton (January 3). There he captured a significant amount of materiel and by thus exposing the enemy line of communications forced the withdrawal of all British garrisons in central and western New Jersey.

### *Operations in the North, 1777*

British objectives induced the seizure of the Hudson River Valley, by which the colonies would be divided. Major General John Burgoyne would advance south from Canada via Lake Champlain, while Howe would proceed north from New York, linking up with Burgoyne at Albany. A third force under Colonel Barry St. Leger, sailing up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, would join with Indian allies and Loyalists under Sir John Johnson and together clear the Mohawk Valley and join the others at Albany.

Burgoyne's advance with 10,000 mixed British and German mercenaries began well with the capture of Ticonderoga (July 5) and the Americans' retreat, led by General Arthur St. Clair, into Vermont. Burgoyne pursued, overtaking and defeating the rearguard at Hubbardton (July 7). He continued his advance toward Fort Edward, but the Americans, having destroyed the primitive roads, forced the British to cut their way through rough country, thus delaying them three weeks and giving time for the Patriots to be reinforced to reach a strength of 4,500. Burgoyne, learning of Howe's decision not to move north from New York (August 3) but instead to go south in search of Washington, chose to advance on Albany in any event, where he still expected to meet St. Leger.

Meanwhile, St. Leger, with about 900 British, Hessians, and Loyalists, and 1,000 Iroquois under Joseph Brant, landed at Oswego and invested Fort Stanwix (August). Local American militia under General Nicholas Herkimer marched to its relief but were ambushed at Oriskany (August 6) and forced to retreat. Another American relief column, this time of 1,000 men under Benedict Arnold, advanced from Stillwater. In the meantime, Burgoyne had dispatched a force of Brunswickers under Colonel Friedrich Baum to seize military supplies at Bennington, but this contingent was surrounded and destroyed (August 16) by Colonel John Stark, resulting in the loss of much materiel. Misfortune continued when St. Leger's Indians abandoned him, obliging him to raise the siege before the arrival of troops under Benedict Arnold (August 23).

Burgoyne crossed the Hudson near Saratoga (September 13) to confront the Americans under General Horatio Gates, while calling for reinforcements from Clinton in New York. He then attacked at Freeman's Farm (September 19) but suffered heavy casualties. In a vague effort to create a diversion in favor of Burgoyne, Clinton moved up the Hudson with 4,000 men, taking Forts Clinton and

Montgomery (October 6) before returning to New York. In another attempt to turn the American left flank, Burgoyne launched a powerful attack at Bemis Heights (October 7), which was driven back by Arnold. Burgoyne withdrew toward Saratoga, where his now badly reduced force of under 6,000 was surrounded by three times its number and forced to surrender (October 17). This marked the turning point in the war: American morale was strengthened and the British then held only New York City and small parts of the surrounding states. Most significant of all, France soon gave its recognition to an independent United States as a prelude to military intervention in the conflict.

### *Operations in the Central States, 1777–1779*

Howe, with 18,000 men, sailed from New York (July 23) up Chesapeake Bay and disembarked at Head of Elk (August 25). Washington, with 10,500 men, blocked the route to Philadelphia by deploying along Brandywine Creek, where Howe defeated him (September 11) and obliged him to retreat on Philadelphia. Congress withdrew for a second time, leaving the capital to Howe (September 26), who, together with the fleet of his brother Richard, swept American supply boats from the Delaware River and took Forts Mifflin and Mercer (October–November). At Germantown, Washington attacked Howe's main body (October 4) but was badly defeated, losing 700 killed and injured and 400 prisoners. Both sides went into winter quarters, the Americans suffering from the harsh winter at Valley Forge while the British remained comfortable at Philadelphia.

Replacing Howe, Clinton marched his 13,000 men from New York toward Philadelphia (June 18, 1778), while Washington's force, now about equal in strength, made for the same destination. At Monmouth (June 28) General Charles Lee caught up with the British rearguard, and a general engagement, with Washington again in command of the main Patriot force, ensued when Clinton faced round and launched a series of counterattacks that ended in exhaustion for both sides and a drawn outcome. Clinton returned to New York, where Washington besieged him.

To the south, in the lower Hudson Valley, British troops took Stony Point (May 31, 1779), though the Americans soon retook it (July 15–16), thus averting the loss of the strategically important post of West Point. The rebels also captured Paulus Hook in New York harbor. By this time the war had widened to include **France** (June 17, 1778) and **Spain** (June 21, 1779) in support of the Americans, though Spain refused to recognize American independence.

### *Operations in the South, 1776–1779*

Major General Sir Henry Clinton arrived by sea before Charleston, **South Carolina** (June 4, 1776), and landed his troops outside the city, whose harbor defenses were controlled by the Patriot-held Fort Sullivan under Colonel William Moultrie. When a naval squadron under Sir Peter Parker failed to reduce it, Clinton was obliged to reembark his troops and proceed to New York to join forces with Howe.

Beyond Clinton's failed effort in 1776, the first two years of the war in the South were marked by guerrilla warfare between Loyalist and Patriot militias. After evacuating Philadelphia, however, Clinton brought an expedition to the Carolinas, the first major action being the capture of Savannah (December 29, 1778). General Augustine Prevost's attack on Port Royal, South Carolina, was driven off (February 3, 1779) while the British foiled American attempts to retake Augusta in an action at Briar

Creek (March 3). Prevost proved unable to capture Charleston and while returning to Savannah engaged and defeated a Patriot force at Stono Ferry (June 19). The French, having meanwhile dispatched considerable military and naval forces to North America, now cooperated with the Americans to lay siege to Savannah. Admiral Jean-Baptiste d'Estaing's fleet disembarked 4,000 infantry, which were joined by over 1,300 rebels (September). Prevost's garrison of 3,500 had, however, strengthened the city's defenses well and repulsed the Franco-American assault (October 9) with massive Allied casualties. D'Estaing reembarked his men and withdrew, leaving the Americans dispirited and angry with their allies. December saw further activity in the South when Clinton sailed from New York (December 26) with 8,000 men to seize Charleston in an operation that marked the shifting direction of Britain's war effort toward the southern colonies.

### *Overseas Operations and Spanish Operations, 1779–1781*

British forces captured St. Lucia (November 13, 1778) but lost St. Vincent (June 16, 1779) and Grenada (July 4, 1779). From June 1779, Franco-Spanish forces had laid siege to Gibraltar, where General George Eliott led a magnificent defense, with essential help from the Royal Navy.

Having declared war on Britain in June 1779, Spain sent troops based at New Orleans to clear British garrisons up the Mississippi, taking Manchac (September 7), Baton Rouge (September 20), and Natchez (September 30). Mobile, British West Florida, fell on March 14, 1780, causing General Archibald Campbell, with reinforcements marching from Pensacola, to turn around. Further north, the Spanish captured Fort St. Joseph on Lake Michigan (January 1781). Spanish forces, reinforced with men from Havana and Mobile, laid siege to Fort St. George near Pensacola. After the fort's magazine exploded, the commander surrendered.

### *Campaigns in the South, 1780–1781*

While Washington hemmed in the British in New York, further south, Clinton arrived by sea off Charleston, where he disembarked his men and besieged the city. After three months of operations and a naval bombardment, he accepted the city's capitulation, which included 5,400 prisoners and a large quantity of artillery and stores (May 12, 1780). Cornwallis remained in command in South Carolina, while Clinton returned to New York. Throughout the remainder of the year a brutal civil war raged in the Carolinas between Loyalist and Patriot militias. Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, commanding Loyalist cavalry, contributed to the bloodshed, particularly in the massacre of rebels at Waxhaw Creek (May 29). At the Battle of Camden (August 6) Cornwallis decisively defeated 3,000 men, largely militia, under Horatio Gates, with a slightly smaller force, inflicting enormous losses, including 900 killed and 1,000 captured. Nevertheless, the tide against the Loyalist cause was turned at King's Mountain (October 7) when Carolinian and Virginian militia under colonels Isaac Shelby and Richard Campbell destroyed a Loyalist force under Colonel Patrick Ferguson.

At year's end American forces in South Carolina under General Nathanael Greene had been reinforced by nearly 3,000, half of whom were regulars, while Cornwallis, also recently reinforced, boasted a command of 4,000 men, all better equipped and clothed than his opponents. Cornwallis divided his forces into two, sending Tarleton in pursuit of one section of Greene's army, while the rest, under

General Alexander Leslie, was to monitor a Patriot force at Cheraw Hill. Cornwallis, with the bulk of his force, proceeded in the path of Tarleton, who, having caught the American force under Daniel Morgan, was disastrously defeated at the Cowpens (January 17, 1781), where the Patriots executed a masterful double envelopment.

Cornwallis pursued the Americans into southern **Virginia** but later returned to Hillsboro, **North Carolina**, followed by Greene with 4,400 troops, mostly militia and green regulars. Cornwallis, taking the initiative, attacked at Guilford Courthouse (March 15). He forced the Americans from the field, but the cost was substantial to the British: 100 killed and over 400 wounded, to fewer than 100 Americans killed and 200 wounded. Recognizing that he was no longer able to control **Georgia** and the Carolinas, Cornwallis moved his army of 1,500 men to Wilmington, North Carolina, and later to Virginia.

British forces nevertheless remained in the Carolinas, including those under Colonel Francis Rawdon, who defeated Greene at Hobkirk's Hill (April 19) and proceeded toward Charleston. Greene next laid siege to Fort Ninety-six (May 22–June 19) but failed when a relief force appeared, marched away with the defenders, and returned to Charleston. Apart from its capital city and Savannah, South Carolina was now largely free of British garrisons. Seeking to liberate the former, Greene fought Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stewart's force at Eutaw Springs (September 8). After initial success Greene was ultimately repulsed, though with heavy loss to the British. The following day Stewart withdrew to the safety of Charleston. Thus, despite winning every action of the campaign, Britain's position was poor, with all forces now concentrated in the two major cities.

### *The Yorktown Campaign, 1781*

The campaign in Virginia began with a raid on Richmond (January 5) by the American turncoat, Benedict Arnold, who laid waste the city before returning to Portsmouth. Between March and May, Major General William Phipps, sent to Virginia with reinforcements, destroyed American supplies and stores before proceeding south to link up with Cornwallis, who was moving up from North Carolina. Meanwhile, the marquis de **Lafayette** arrived at Richmond (April 29) from New York with 3,500 American troops, soon to be joined by a further 1,000 (June). During the same period, Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg, bringing the total force in Virginia up to 8,000. Both sides maneuvered around Virginia, Cornwallis being unable to force Lafayette into action, apart from an ambush at Jamestown Ford (July 6), where Cornwallis inflicted serious losses on an American brigade, which nevertheless withdrew in good order. Cornwallis then marched his 7,000 men to **Yorktown** (August 4), which allowed communication by sea with Clinton in New York.

Recognizing the strategic advantage offered him by the French fleet, Washington sought to isolate Cornwallis from the main British forces in New York and Chesapeake Bay. Reinforced by Admiral de Grasse's fleet, Washington left troops to observe Clinton's force at New York while he and Rochambeau moved south toward Virginia (August 21). De Grasse brought more French troops to Lafayette (August 30) and, after a naval victory at the Virginia Capes (September 5–9) against the fleets under admirals Graves and Hood, was able to reinforce the Franco-American army around Yorktown with siege artillery. With the French in command of the sea, Washington was now able to transport his troops from Maryland to Williamsburg, Virginia. With 9,500 Americans and 7,800 French, Washington proceeded to besiege Yorktown



(September), where Cornwallis had 8,000 troops. After slowly extending siege lines toward the city, the Allies opened their bombardment (October 9). Following an assault on two redoubts (October 14), and a British counterattack (October 16), Cornwallis recognized the futility of further resistance and surrendered his army (October 19), effectively ending the war.

The arrival of Clinton with 7,000 men in Chesapeake Bay (October 24) proved useless because of the French naval presence, and he returned to New York. Washington returned north to invest New York (November), while Greene did the same around Charleston. Negotiations for peace began in April 1782, and by the end of the year British forces had been evacuated from all points to concentrate in New York. The Treaty of Paris, which was signed on September 3, 1783, brought the war to a formal conclusion and established the independence of the United States. *See* Lexington and Concord, Actions at.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

## Amis de la Constitution, Société des (1789–1792)

The leading political club during the **French Revolution**, the Amis de la Constitution originated from the Breton Club in 1789. The Breton Club was an informal grouping—it never kept minutes or maintained the rigid structure of the **Jacobins**—composed of provincial deputies primarily from Brittany. It was led by men such as Isaac **Le Chapelier** and Antoine **Barnave**, and it was a kind of philosophical society or *société de pensée*, which discussed the ideas of the **philosophes**. It first met in Versailles on April 30, 1789, just prior to the first meeting of the **Estates-General** on May 4. The Bretons formed the nucleus of a group of approximately 15 to 20 deputies called the Société de la Révolution. Apparently the **London Revolution**

**Society** provided the model for this new society while the old Breton group provided the members. The Société de la Révolution changed its name to the Société des Amis de la Constitution in January 1790. The organization rented a room at the former Jacobin convent (Dominican) on the rue St. Honoré, where it held its meetings. Royalist writers coined the name “Jacobin,” which remained with the club throughout the Revolution. On September 21, 1792, with the declaration of the French Republic, the group changed its name to the Société des Jacobins, Amis de la Liberté et L’Egalité.

The Amis de la Constitution evolved into the most important political club during the French Revolution. It was certainly the most respectable and prestigious society. Initially, membership to the Amis was restrictive, limited only to deputies, and rather expensive with fees, which excluded the ordinary working man. However, by July 1790, membership had grown to about 1,200 and included non-deputies. The Amis viewed themselves as the most important club—for example, they refused to participate in the central committee of the more popular societies—and they had contacts with local Jacobin Clubs all over **France**. Provincial societies began to spring up in major cities such as Lyon, Marseille, Strasbourg, and Bordeaux throughout 1790, bringing the total to 152 in that year. These societies were modeled on the Paris society. They were often founded by members of the local elite who were elected members of the new municipal or departmental governments as well as, in some cases, National Guardsmen. Their leaders were men who would later become prominent national politicians. In this respect, the provincial Amis de la Constitution constituted an important training ground for national politicians such as the **Girondins**. During its early sessions, the Amis de la Constitution functioned as a kind of extra-parliamentary debating society. Its agendas followed that of the **Constituent Assembly**, with members discussing the same issues, primarily constitutional ones, and organizing itself along similar lines with committees, while rotating officers of secretaries, vice presidents, and presidents. Its principal objective was the establishment and promotion of a constitutional monarchy.

Up until the period preceding the king’s flight to **Varennes**, the actual debates in the Jacobin Club tended to be dominated by moderate deputies, with the radical non-deputies following the club’s debates, but not always participating in them. Although a good number of the more progressive revolutionaries were members—the names of Carra, Gorsas, Fabre, **Collot**, **Louvet**, **Billaud**, Robert, and Desmoulins appear on the incomplete membership list of December 21, 1790—most were not actively engaged in the debates and committees until the king’s flight, which resulted in the Feuillant-Jacobin schism.

The Jacobin Club, which had become increasingly democratic and radical with the influx of non-deputy radical members, many of whom were members of the **Cordeliers Club** and the Cercle Social, was very divided over the king’s flight to Varennes. The radical deputies from the Assembly sympathized with the Cordelier–Cercle Social alliance, while the more conservative members, such as Barnave, favored a reinstatement of the king as soon as the constitution was completed. The Jacobins did agree to designate a committee to draft a petition for an intended demonstration the next day. Due to the disagreements over what to do with **Louis XVI**, with the more radical members proposing a republic, the Jacobin Club divided into two separate factions, with the minority of members remaining in the original club. The Feuillant secession took place on July 16, 1791, when the moderate deputies

learned of the petitioning then underway in the Jacobin Club. Apparently a radical petition falsely attributed to the Jacobins was intentionally circulated to mislead deputies. This led the triumvir of Barnave and the two Lameth brothers, along with approximately three hundred others, all deputies, to depart to a Feuillant monastery located close to the Assembly and to form La Société des Amis de la Constitution, séante aux **Feuillants**. There were three sorts of deputies who became Feuillants: those who believed the Jacobins had become too radical and did not like the club's growing affiliation with more democratic societies such as the Cercle Social and the Cordeliers; conservatives who wanted to reinstate the king, who had been temporarily suspended from his functions, and ensure the new regime; and finally, deputies who had been misled by rumors perpetrated by radicals that the club was planning to exert "insurrectionary pressure" on the Assembly. The third group consisted of fewer than one hundred men. Maximilien **Robespierre** and Jérôme **Pétion de Villeneuve**, both deputies on the Left in the Assembly, played the most significant roles in keeping the original club from disappearing. Pétion took the lead at this crucial moment in the club's history. He regretted the schism in the club on July 17; however, he asserted that one of the reasons many had fled to a new organization, called the Feuillant Club, was that those deputies had lost their influence among the Jacobins and thus the formation of a new club was their method of recovering lost power.

Apparently even before Varennes, some members of the Constituent Assembly had demanded the reform of the society and the expulsion of the more radical members. They threatened to leave the society if they did not obtain their reform. Their intention was to replace the Jacobins as the most powerful club, and to this end, they prepared an address to be sent to all affiliated societies. By September 1791 the Amis were united and stronger than before the schism. Approximately one thousand provincial clubs had remained loyal to the mother society in Paris. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Political Clubs (French).

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LEIGH WHALEY

## Anarchists

The term "anarchy" derives from the Greek *an-archos*, meaning "without order." Anarchists believe that humanity should free itself of the corrupting influence of government. Crime, ignorance, poverty, oppression, and other social ills ultimately derive from the existence of remote authorities distinct from the people they govern. Although anarchy has existed as a strain of thought throughout human history, the chief proponent of anarchist principles (although he never used this phrase himself) in the eighteenth century was William **Godwin**. Godwin's *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) articulated many anarchist values and ideas. Anarchists necessarily believe in humanity's benevolence and wisdom, which is corrupted by the state. Individuals would voluntarily band together due to temporary needs. People could pursue their own conscience and reason rather than rely on law and

custom. The only political units envisioned under this system were small local units, such as villages. This last tenet led to a certain degree of philosophical tension between individualism and the ideal of the small collective.

For most of history, the term “anarchy” has had negative connotations. Critics of anarchy charged that an anarchy would produce chaos and cultural decline. The state was a bulwark against barbarism, oppression, and disorder. During the **French Revolution**, the Enragés were accused of being anarchists. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that individuals and a movement explicitly identifying with anarchism emerged. This anarchist movement rested on the work of such figures as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (author of *What Is Property?*) and Mikhail Bakunin. Under Bakunin’s ideological influence, the anarchist movement became progressively more violent. During the 1890s and 1900s, anarchists assassinated several world leaders. The movement faded during the twentieth century, probably owing to anarchists’ inherent lack of organization as well as the growing influence of communism.

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CHARLES ALLAN

## Ancien Régime

The ancien régime was a name given during the revolutionary period to refer to the former system of governance: the old way of doing things. In its widest sense, the ancien régime (the old, or former, regime) referred to government, society, and religion—everything the enlightened reformers wished to do away with in order to create a modern world based on reason.

Primarily this term today applies to **France** in its prerevolutionary days, but it can equally apply to the whole of Europe. **Philosophes** like **Voltaire** and **Rousseau** were interested not merely in reforming France, but all of contemporary European society. One of the goals of the revolutionary government in France was to spread the gospel of its achievements to its neighbors in the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and beyond. Radical makeovers were required: the removal of centuries of layered practices and traditions. Often the French reforms were imposed by force, sometimes in a bloody fashion. But long after the revolutionary armies had departed, many of their reforms, such as the legal Code Napoléon, did indeed remain throughout much of Europe. The old order of divinely sanctioned princes and a divinely sanctioned church supported by an elite, privileged aristocracy and a conservative and restricted oligarchy was almost entirely wiped away.

### *Government and Justice*

In general, government and justice were built on centuries of accumulated tradition rather than uniform written law. Even in areas where Roman law remained the basis of local law (the south of France, for example), the application of these varied from region to region. The world of ancien régime princes was, in theory at least, one of unquestioned authority. The lord-vassal relationship of the Middle Ages was never eradicated entirely, and aspects of feudalism persisted well into the eighteenth century, particularly in landownership. But the way the monarch viewed his subjects had changed. Rather than the first noble among equals, since the late sixteenth century, monarchs across Europe had represented themselves as God’s

anointed on Earth, and thus the only source of laws and social honors. This was in part propaganda, a means of continuing the centralization processes initiated by their predecessors, summed up by the dictum “One king, one law, one faith.” By the middle of the seventeenth century, most of their subjects had come to see the value of this system as a powerful counterweight to the chaos of a multipolar political system that had produced such violence and economic disruption in the preceding two centuries. It seemed preferable to have one known, absolute monarch rather than numerous political elites with unpredictable behavior. Moreover, the reality of absolutism was more inclined toward a figurehead who was kept under tight control by the most powerful political, social, and economic forces of the state. Both Louis XIV in France and Charles II in **Britain** can be seen as the embodiment in different forms of this principle. Both were presented as an unquestioned authority within society, and both were adept at staying within their prescribed parameters of powers, primarily in regulating the honors and privileges of the elite bodies surrounding them at court and in government. Louis XIV excelled at this more than his cousin, however, and his strict regimen of daily routine—clocks could be set by it—reassured people of the benefits of a well-ordered, centralized absolute monarchy.

One of the key features of the ancien régime in almost any part of Europe was a persistent reluctance to remove the old ways of doing things: new structures were merely added on top of the old. In France, successive ministers of the crown were unable to abolish the traditional practice of ruling the provinces through royal governors—usually powerful nobles whose primary loyalties were to their family and local clienteles, rather than to the king and his government. Instead, the king’s government added a new layer, the intendants, men who were reliant on the king alone for their livelihood, and who slowly whittled away the power of the royal governors while leaving the facade intact. In a similar fashion, some of the ancient medieval courts, which were too closely connected to local politics, were not abolished but superseded by new courts responsible to the center. In Germany, when the emperor was unable to reform the diet of princes or ally the old princes to his policies, he created new princes to populate the diet and vote in his favor, a practice not dissimilar to that done in the House of Lords in Britain in the twentieth century.

Government in ancien régime Europe was primarily conducted by nonelected councils whose members were appointed by hereditary sovereigns. Some democratic institutions did exist, for example in Europe’s republics (the **Netherlands**, Venice, parts of Switzerland), as well as in monarchies like France and **Spain**, though these—the **Estates-General** in France, the Cortes in Spain, the Sejm in Poland—were mostly consultative bodies without power to create legislation and were called to meet less and less often in the early modern period. The Estates-General in France did not meet at all after 1614 until the monarchy was forced to recall it in the financial crisis of the 1780s. The British **parliament** was one of the few institutions to truly represent the interests of a wider public in governance.

Aside from appointed councils and semi-representative popular assemblies, government in Old Regime Europe was responsible for administering justice. Here too judicial bodies that were set up in the Middle Ages continued to flourish, often mostly unchanged since then and hardly practical in the world of the **Enlightenment**. Seigneurial courts, for example, were local courts that continued to be staffed and paid for by local nobles and landlords, against whom, therefore, no claims could be made (in practice if not in theory). It is estimated that seigneurial justices

continued to exist in about 20,000 locales in France in the eighteenth century. Royal justice was obtainable in most localities, however, and was used for all but the most banal lawsuits, which were left to the seigneurial courts. But royal justice was expensive, and landowners who owned property in more than one jurisdiction could usually arrange to have a case transferred into a different jurisdiction, one far away from their opponent, and one often staffed by their own kin or political allies. At the highest levels, the great court aristocrats could literally get away with murder by requesting their cases be heard directly in the king's council, where royal favor or outright bribery could ensure them a victory. Immediately below the king's council in France was the Parlement of Paris. Unlike the parliament in London, this was not a legislative body, but simply a law court. Its partners across France were the 10 other **parlements**, plus other courts called *conseils souverains* in newly annexed provinces like Flanders and Alsace. Similar to the old landowning aristocracy, the judicial elites who staffed these law courts were tightly intermarried and thus highly susceptible to family influence, despite specific regulations to control this. A similar situation existed in the Holy Roman Empire, where regional courts were linked through political and kinship affinities all the way up to the supreme imperial court, the Reichskammergericht, in Wetzlar, and the emperor's personal council in Vienna.

But it was not only royal and seigneurial justice systems that overlapped and made justice in ancien régime Europe complex and confusing. Another entirely separate legal system operated across most of the continent: the Roman Catholic Church. Ecclesiastical courts were responsible for hearing lawsuits involving priests or church property. These ranged from the local courts of abbots and priors, and regional courts of bishops, to the papal appellate courts in Rome (the Rota and the Signatura). What made this system especially complicated was that ecclesiastical jurisdictional boundaries did not necessarily coincide with contemporary political borders. French Burgundy, for example, was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Besançon, in the Franche-Comté, which, until 1678, was governed by Spain. Residents of Burgundy, if they could afford it, could therefore appeal a decision of a French court, sometimes even a secular one, to a court run by the Spanish authorities. As the one body whose authority was not contained within state boundaries and was therefore in a position to arbitrate if necessary between states, the church thus continued to play a role in the secular governing of much of Europe.

Administration and justice were therefore partially arbitrary and always subject to the forces of monetary and familial connections. Although they functioned fairly well on a day-to-day basis for the average person, higher access to either was out of reach to the majority of the population. On the other hand, because these institutions were so ancient and proceeded so slowly, rapid manipulation of power or corruption by individuals was difficult, and the needs of the community as a whole were generally protected. The **French Revolution** has been criticized by some as fuelling the ambitions of individuals—the backbone of capitalism—to the detriment of local society in general.

### *The Clergy, Nobles, and Other Elites*

The other two pillars of the ancien régime were the clergy and the **nobility**. Even in countries that were no longer loyal to Rome, the established church continued to be a major supporter of the state, and vice versa. Monarchs were anointed by senior churchmen, who were in turn nominated by the sovereign. Although France did

remain loyal to the pope, royal rights of episcopal nomination had created a semi-autonomous church, known as the Gallican Church. The French assembly of the clergy was one of the few legally constituted bodies that met regularly, and the crown frequently made use of the church's efficient and wide-reaching parish structure both to gather information about its subjects and to disseminate official government policy throughout the kingdom. The government was so linked to the church hierarchy that several reigns were dominated by clergymen as premier ministers, notably cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury. In theory, a cardinal-minister was to be loyal to his royal master alone, unencumbered by a wife or children (and curiously, beholden to his papal superior in Rome). Nevertheless, these men remained part of wider kinship networks, which benefited tremendously from the immense power and patronage resources of their first minister. The dukes of Richelieu, for example, were one of the richest families in France, thanks to their famous ancestor. The clergy and the nobility were therefore inextricably linked. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nearly every senior church post—archbishops, bishops, and major abbots and abbesses—was held by members of the senior court nobility. Some were even seemingly hereditary, like the bishopric of Vienne, held by a Villars from 1577 to 1693, or the bishopric of Strasbourg, held by a Rohan from 1704 to 1803. In the Holy Roman Empire, a Wittelsbach was archbishop of Cologne from 1583 to 1761.

The court nobility held a near monopoly on positions in the church, but they also dominated the more traditional spheres of their influence—landownership and the military. Despite the fact that most feudal relationships had vanished in previous centuries, a number of feudal duties remained and continued to provide a portion of noble incomes. These included the collection of fees for land sales or for use of common facilities such as the wine press or the water mill. In addition, most noble landlords were exempt from paying taxes on the lands they held. For this reason, as well as the social prestige attached, there was a strong desire for families building their fortunes through trade, finance, or the law to invest their funds in land and work toward obtaining noble status themselves. One of the best means for doing this was putting their sons into the military. But this door became harder and harder to open by the mid-eighteenth century.

For centuries, European armies had been commanded by nobles. Their independent landed wealth and the specificity of their military knowledge and training meant that they were the natural choice to lead, supply, and staff a king's armies. But their careers were not necessarily restricted to serving their own sovereign; many served the monarch who would pay the most. Border families in particular found it both financially lucrative and politically pragmatic to place sons on both sides of any conflict. In most conflicts of the eighteenth century, it was quite normal to see a German commander leading a French force while facing a German force with a French commander. But the independent noble armies of the past had vanished. Since the middle of the seventeenth century, most of the grand landed magnates in France had been brought under the firm control of a centralized government—in England this had already occurred under the Tudors, while in the Holy Roman (or Germanic) Empire the opposite had occurred, resulting in the rise of virtual sovereigns by the end of the sixteenth century. Links between the high aristocracy, the rest of the nobility, and the rest of the countryside thus were varied: in France they were nearly nonexistent, whereas in Germany and England, local ties remained far stronger.

This points to one of the major reasons for the ultimate breakdown of the ancien régime system, and why it occurred in France rather than somewhere else. In many ways, France was one of the most advanced societies in Europe, with great wealth and a relatively large literate public. Such a society supported writers with new ideas, many of whom aimed their attacks on the very nobility who paid their bills and bought their books. But the biggest grievances of eighteenth-century reformers were aimed not at nobility itself, but at the monopolies of power maintained by the privileged orders, particularly those who lived at court in the presence of the sovereign, and those who held hereditary posts in the kingdom's highest courts. By the middle of the eighteenth century in France, all posts at court and the highest ranks in the military and the judiciary were controlled by a relatively small set of intermarried noble families. Only the wealthiest of financiers or merchants could buy their way in to this golden set. In the end, it was these groups, the nobles in Parlement and at court, who refused to adapt to the needs of the wider public and caused the collapse of the ancien régime. *See also* Papacy.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

## Anti-Clericalism

A policy or political predisposition to destroy the political power of the church as well as to subordinate its nonspiritual functions to the state. The anti-clericalism of nineteenth-century Europe traced its origins to the **French Revolution** and focused principally on the church's vast property and its close identification with the monarchy. In 1789, the Gallican Church was the premier church of Roman Catholicism by virtue of France's power, its Catholic population, and the administrative sophistication and wealth of its church establishment. It comprised 140 dioceses, some 4,000 parishes, and 1,000 monasteries and nunneries in addition to hundreds of institutions of welfare and education. France's throne was Christian and Catholic. Its occupant, **Louis XVI**, ruled by the Grace of God and came to the throne in the millennial ceremony of the *sacre* in the cathedral of Rheims, which renewed the unity of altar and throne.

The **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** alone represented a defeat for the church in so far as it included religious freedom for non-Catholics among the civil rights and liberties of the republic. But the reforms proposed by **Talleyrand** and **Mirabeau** and passed by the **National Assembly** aimed at asserting the nation's sovereignty over every institution and at reestablishing its finances. To this purpose it confiscated church property and reduced the status of the clergy to that of salaried officers of the state. Church lands were often so wastefully sold that the financial benefits of the confiscation were diminished, although the sales did increase the number of peasant proprietors. The subjection of the church was completed by the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** in June 1790. The resulting rift between



**France** and the **papacy** was not repaired until the **Concordat** of 1801. The political aftershocks of revolutionary anti-clericalism lasted much longer, profoundly influencing the public life of the Third Republic in particular, and coloring public perceptions of the Dreyfus Affair and the law of 1905 separating church and state.

Orthodox Roman Catholics simply could not recognize the Revolution's forthright declaration of the supremacy of state over the pope. The ubiquity of the church in all spheres of life not necessarily religious, especially in rural France, meant that the reforms lacerated honored traditions and deeply held sensibilities. These sensibilities were aroused further by an anti-religious fanaticism and hatred of the clergy on the part of republicans—demonstrated in particular by the vengeance brought against the pious peasantry of the repression of the **Vendéan rebellion** in 1793. Over the remainder of the nineteenth century the principle of the separation of church and state and of the neutrality of government in religious issues was a polarizing factor in French politics. The *Syllabus Errorum* issued by Pope Pius IX in 1864 condemned both **nationalism** and liberalism, thereby making anti-clericalism a principal political calling card of French radicals. The republican and socialist Left tended thereafter to identify the clergy—sometimes mischievously, sometimes accurately—with royalist reaction, anti-Semitism, and fascism. Anti-clericalism played a similar role in **Spain** in 1873 and 1909–1913 and in Latin America and the German Kulturkampf in 1872–1887.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Anti-Jacobin

“Anti-Jacobin” is a term attached to a general political stance and also a title given to two specific publications. The **French Revolution** created an intense and prolonged ideological debate, initiated by the writings of Richard **Price**, Edmund **Burke**, and Thomas **Paine**, which sharply polarized Britain into two mutually antagonistic camps of reformers and conservatives by the early 1790s. The execution of **Louis XVI**, the outbreak of war and the **Reign of Terror** in **France** widened and deepened these divisions. The more militant members of the conservative camp insisted on smearing their radical opponents as the tools and dupes of the French Revolution. They seized upon the label Jacobin as a descriptor not only of all the most radical of the French revolutionaries, but as a means of stigmatizing moderate **Whigs** and popular radicals at home in Britain. **Jacobins**, whether French or British, were accused of wishing to undermine all the political and religious institutions within Britain, of renouncing Christian morality and even the Christian religion, and of encouraging the poor to seize the property of their superiors. Robert Bisset declared in 1798: “Whoever is the enemy of Christianity, and natural religion, of monarchy, of order, subordination, property, and justice, I call a Jacobin.” French Jacobins were prepared to achieve their objectives by force of arms, while British Jacobins were accused of being ready to welcome a French invasion and of opposing the war against France.

Those writers who blackened the principles, morals and conduct of both French revolutionaries and British reformers in this way can be described as anti-Jacobins.

The label therefore can be affixed to Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, the pamphlets and tracts of John Bowles, William Jones, and Robert Nares; the *Cheap Repository Tracts* of Hannah More and others; the publications of John Reeves's Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers; and even many novels of the period.

In November 1797 George Canning, assisted by a small coterie of writers and politicians and with prime minister William Pitt's approval, established the *Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner* to attack the writings of those deemed sympathetic to reform and to France. Edited by William Gifford, it was published each Monday from November 20, 1797, until July 9, 1798. It provided political news of events at home and abroad, and reviews of current publications, interspersed with poems and even caricatures. It made no effort to be impartial, but set out to expose the lies, errors and misrepresentations of its opponents—the French, the Whigs, the United Irishmen, and all British radicals. It sold about 2,500 copies per week and it was subsequently published four times as a collected edition. When it ceased appearing, it was promptly replaced in July 1798 by the *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*. A monthly magazine that ran from July 1798 until December 1821, this publication was edited by John Gifford (no relation to William) until his death in 1818. Though less witty and more solemn and ponderous than its forerunner, it adopted the same deeply conservative and militantly loyalist stance. It continued to attack the French abroad, and reformers and radicals at home, and it urged a patriotic response to these perceived threats and unquestioning support for the war. Some of its early prolific contributors were John Reeves, Robert Bisset, William Jones of Nayland, and Gifford himself. Their reviews attacked **Napoleon** and **Voltaire**, all major radical writers (including John **Locke**, Paine, Richard Price, Joseph **Priestley**, William **Godwin**, and Mary **Wollstonecraft**), and such literary figures as Robert Southey, Lord Byron and Percy Shelley. Many contributors were Anglican clergymen who attacked Catholics, Dissenters, Methodists, Deists, and especially atheists. Contributors were even prepared to defend slavery as sanctioned by the Bible, and they were not averse to criticizing members of the British royal family for corruption and immorality and opposing the cult of Nelson because of his association with Emma Hamilton. *See also* Religion.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### *Les Arbres de la Liberté*

Known as *arbres de la liberté* by the French, and liberty trees by the British and Americans, these arboreal symbols of liberty played an important role in eighteenth-century revolutionary politics.

Akin to maypoles, traditional symbols of rural solidarity, liberty trees had deep cultural roots. They also harkened back to the Roman *pileus*, a pole topped by a cap, which symbolized liberty. Early in both the French and American revolutions, the former influence was dominant: liberty trees served as rallying points for popular protests. The Boston Liberty Elm, one of many American liberty trees in the 1760s and 1770s, symbolized defiance of the British government, as well as serving as a signal post for the **Sons of Liberty**. In **France**, *maïs* or maypoles were erected by French peasants during the anti-feudal rebellions of 1790 to rally popular resistance against the seigneurial (feudal) aristocracy; indeed, liberty poles were often decorated with symbols of seigneurial power, like château weathervanes. Later on in both revolutions, liberty trees and *arbres de la liberté* were used more like the Roman *pileus*, serving as abstract symbols of achieved liberty. Still, they could revert to their former radical role in times of crisis, such as during the Whiskey Rebellion in America. *See also* Symbols (American Revolutionary); Symbols (French Revolutionary).

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BENJAMIN REILLY

## Articles of Confederation (1781–1789)

The first charter of government for the United States of America, the Articles of Confederation, united the 13 former colonies under a weak central government. On March 1, 1781, the Congress of the Confederation became the national government of the states. The states retained powers not expressly delegated to the Congress, thus ensuring their supremacy. A voluntary association of independent states, referred to as a "firm league of friendship," this arrangement continued up until March 4, 1789, at which time the confederation was replaced by the federal system under the **United States Constitution**.

In January 1776, in his pamphlet *Common Sense*, Thomas **Paine** called for a continental conference to draft a national charter in order to set forth the duties and jurisdiction of the continental body and the colonial assemblies. Paine's vision was given form on June 7, 1776, during the Second **Continental Congress**, when Richard Henry **Lee** made the motion for the colonies to declare their independence from Britain. The second clause of his motion set in motion the process of drawing a plan of confederation to be submitted to the colonies for their consideration and ratification. On June 12, John **Dickinson** and 12 other delegates were given the task of drafting the document, which the committee presented to the whole assembly on July 12. The debate on the content of the document continued intermittently for about two months, was tabled due to the pressing concerns related to the war, and then taken back up the following April. Finally, on November 17, 1777, the approved draft of "the articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" was sent to the states for ratification. Nearly four years later, after an intensive debate among the state legislatures, in which some one hundred amendments were proposed to the Congress and in the end rejected, the Articles went into effect.

The Articles of Confederation, a charter consisting of a preamble and 13 articles, established a national legislature, a single-body **Congress** with the power to form an army and navy, declare war, make peace, negotiate treaties, handle relations with

the Native Americans, borrow and coin money, and operate a postal system. Each of the 13 states, whether large or small, had an equal voice in the Congress. Delegates to the Congress—each state could have no fewer than two and no more than seven—served one-year terms and were limited to three terms in a six-year period. Any decision by the Congress required a nine-state majority, but a unanimous decision was needed to amend the Articles. There was no provision for an executive department or a general judiciary; however, a Committee of States carried out the decisions made by the full Congress. The president of the Congress, elected and limited to a one-year term, merely served as the presiding officer of the assembly, a perfunctory chore that during his absence was handled by the clerk.

Devised during a time of war against monarchical rule, the Articles of Confederation exemplifies what was a general distrust of strong central authority. The consensus of the revolutionaries was to not replace the king with a unitary form of government. They wanted the predominance of political power to be exercised at the state level, which they believed was the best safeguard against tyranny. Thus, the Articles of Confederation was purposely designed to keep the national government subservient to the states. Although certain powers of a general or national concern were conferred on Congress, it lacked the power of enforcement. Occasionally, there was philosophical disagreement over what differentiated a national matter from a local one. Furthermore, national decisions, such as in the case of monetary policy when states continued to issue their own currency, were undermined by the separate actions of state legislatures. Eventually, numerous officials came to regard the confederacy as a drift away from the “social contract” and toward a “state of nature,” a situation of lawlessness and political anarchy.

Until the Articles of Confederation was ratified, the **Declaration of Independence** served as the only written connection of the sovereign states. The ideology found in the declaration is also apparent in the Articles. The opening lines proclaimed the existence of the “the United States of America” and referred to a “General Congress.” In the concluding paragraph, the representatives of the United States, delegates to the General Congress, stated that they were acting on behalf of “the good People” of “these United Colonies” and “Free and Independent States.” As free states, they possessed “full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.” The delegates, who in the final sentence “mutually pledge to each other our lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor,” were free inhabitants as well as representatives of free states that agreed to form a national bond. Firmly committed to the harmony of individual, state, and nation, they determined a confederacy to be the most practical way of achieving that aim.

The ideology of decentralization infused in the Articles of Confederation had been manifested earlier in various public statements and proposals. In 1774, during the First **Continental Congress**, the delegates issued the Declaration of American Rights, a statement proclaiming Parliament’s power to be restricted to the regulation of commerce and matters specifically pertaining to imperial affairs. Each colony, it was also declared, had the right to form a militia and regulate its own internal affairs. This statement was issued following the defeat of a motion by Joseph **Galloway**, who offered a plan in which the general affairs of the colonies as a whole would be carried out by a governor-general appointed by the Crown, and a grand council comprised of delegates chosen by the colonial assemblies. Galloway’s

proposal, which was defeated by a 6–5 vote, was patterned on the **Albany Plan of Union** (1754).

The Albany Plan was one of many antecedents for the confederacy. The earliest model was the short-lived New England Confederation (1643), which established on behalf of the colonies of **Massachusetts**, Plymouth, **Connecticut**, and New Haven a board of commissioners with the authority to declare war, supervise Indian affairs, and rule on intercolonial disputes. In 1697, William Penn proposed an annual congress of delegates from all the colonies to provide a common defense and regulate commerce, an idea that was before its time. The Albany Plan, put forth by Benjamin **Franklin**, called for a triennial assembly of colonial representatives with a governor-general appointed by the Crown for the purpose of organizing a common defense, recruiting soldiers, building forts, regulating westward expansion, and negotiating treaties with the Indians. Like the Galloway Plan, Franklin's proposal did not come to fruition.

The League of Iroquois, a political union of Indian tribes in the upper **New York** region, was the source of inspiration for the Albany Plan. Also known as the Iroquois Confederacy, the league dated back to about the late fifteenth century and originally united the five Indian nations of Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. (Later, a sixth tribe, the Tuscarora, was added.) Founded on the belief that reason should overcome violence, the league offered its member nations both a loose political affiliation and local sovereignty. Once a year, delegates (sachems) from the tribes held a council to declare war, make peace, establish treaties, send and receive envoys, regulate the affairs of subjugated tribes, and settle disputes between its members. During a meeting between the Indians and British in July 1744, the chief of the Iroquois, Annassatego, complained of the difficulty in dealing with the different colonies, each of which possessed its own leaders and laws. He urged the colonies to form a union like the League of the Iroquois in order to adopt consistent policies. The following year Franklin submitted such a plan to the Albany Congress.

Three decades later, during the summer of 1775, Franklin offered a new proposal that borrowed lightly from the Albany Plan, some of which was incorporated into the Articles of Confederation. Entitled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, entered into by the Delegates of the Several States," this plan called for "a firm league of friendship" rather than an executive form of government. The Dickinson draft of the Articles was more conservative, outlining the structure of an executive organization. Although in the draft "every state retains its sovereignty" (wording that made it into the final document), the rights and powers of states were not to interfere with the expressed and implied powers of the Articles of Confederation. Dickinson envisioned a Council of State with broad powers for managing the affairs of the United States. However, in the final version, under Article 2, the sovereignty of the states was strengthened to include "every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederacy expressly delegated to the United States." Also, in the final version, under Articles 9 and 10, a Committee of States with limited power was established.

Both Franklin and Dickinson called for Congress to have control of the western lands, the proceeds of the sales of which would be utilized for the common treasury. In the final draft of the Articles of Confederation, under Article 9, Congress was given authority over border disputes, but "no State shall be deprived of territory for

the benefit of the United States.” Ratification of the Articles was delayed in part on account of the disposition of western lands. The “landless states” (those having no charter claims to the western lands and no potential income source from the sale of property) feared having higher levels of taxation, which might prompt a decline in population. States with land claims feared Congress might curtail the extent of their western holdings. Also, since Congress, under Article 9, was given the exclusive right to handle indigenous affairs, future land treaty negotiations with Indians could conceivably revoke land claims.

Linked with the land issue was the matter of state representation: states with large populations did not want states with fewer inhabitants to have an equal voice in Congress. Under Article 5, each state was granted one vote. In regard to the revenue source for the confederacy, states with valuable property wanted taxation based on population, whereas poorer states wanted the assessed value of improved land to be the basis for taxation. Under Article 8, “the value of all land” (including buildings and improvements) was the formula for deciding taxes, although it was left up to the states to collect the revenue.

The Articles of Confederation gave Congress certain powers, but not an ample amount of authority. Congress had the power to declare war as well as to establish and control armed forces, but it did not have the authority to directly draft soldiers or to force states to meet military quotas. Congress had the power to requisition men and money from states, but it did not have the authority to force states to appropriate their share of revenue for the nation’s operating expenses. The Articles did not grant Congress the power to levy taxes or collect tariffs on foreign trade, even though the fight for independence incurred a national debt of \$42 million.

At a time when British soldiers, in defiance of the Treaty of Paris (1783), lingered on American soil and instigated Indian attacks in the western lands, it was difficult for Congress to maintain a standing army. Finally, Shays’s Rebellion (1786–1787) convinced many of the necessity to replace the Articles of Confederation.

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ROGER CHAPMAN

### **Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, Comte d’ (1757–1836)**

Charles Philippe de Bourbon, the comte d’Artois, who became king of **France** as Charles X in 1824, was the youngest brother of two former French kings, **Louis XVI** and **Louis XVIII**. During the **French Revolution**, the comte d’Artois was the leader of the reactionary opposition to the Revolution. He ruled France and Navarre from 1824 until he was overthrown in 1830.

Charles was born at Versailles on October 9, 1757, to the dauphin, Louis, son of Louis XV, and Marie Josèphe (Maria Josepha) of Saxony. During his youth, Charles was a womanizer and lived a decadent life at the French court. He befriended **Marie Antoinette** and was part of her social clique. The pair frequently acted in

dramatizations of plays at the Petit Trianon, and Charles embarked on a lifelong love affair with the sister of Marie Antoinette's favorite lady-in-waiting, despite his marriage to Marie Thérèse of Savoy, the daughter of Victor Amadeus III, on November 16, 1773.

Charles became the leader of the reactionaries at the court of Louis XVI. He favored the removal of the aristocracy's financial **privileges** but vehemently opposed the elimination of the social privileges bestowed on the **nobility** and the clergy. He believed that France's desperate financial situation could be amended through the existing system of absolute monarchy. Charles angered the **Third Estate** by objecting to every initiative to restructure the voting system among the estates in 1789. Such actions prompted Louis XVI to remark that his brother was "plus royaliste que le roi" (more royalist than the king).

Charles worked with the Baron de Breteuil to orchestrate the deposition of liberal minister Jacques **Necker**. Their plans backfired when Charles attempted to have Necker dismissed on July 11, much earlier than had been agreed upon, without consulting Breteuil. The scheme initiated the disintegration of the political alliance between Charles and Breteuil and the emergence of their contempt for each other. Necker was replaced briefly by a reactionary, which outraged the common people, who viewed the minister as the symbol of government reform. This dismissal was a catalyst for the fall of the **Bastille** on July 14 and the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Following rumors of an assassination plot, Charles went into exile during the first wave of emigration upon the request of Louis XVI. The king intended for his younger brother to further the royalist cause abroad and continue the Bourbon dynasty if needed. Charles became the leader of the aristocratic **émigrés**, first in Germany and then in **Italy**, although Breteuil challenged his position. While in exile, Charles feared that his brother would make concessions with the revolutionaries that would compromise the institution of the monarchy. Charles's major foreign ally at this time was **Catherine II** of Russia.

**George III** granted Charles asylum in Britain. He initially lived in London and then at Holyrood House in Edinburgh before taking up residence at Hartwell. While in exile, Charles undertook several diplomatic missions for the royalist cause. Communication between Charles and his brother, the comte de Provence (later Louis XVIII), deteriorated after Charles made it apparent that he would not assist his brother with his financial difficulties. Charles increasingly came to view his brother as treacherous and irreligious. Following the death of his mistress in 1803, Charles took a vow of celibacy and reformed his lifestyle by becoming a devout Roman Catholic. His wife died two years later.

Charles returned to France in February 1814 following the deposition of **Napoleon** and the restoration of the monarchy under Louis XVIII. His eldest son, the duc d'Angoulême, played a crucial role in the **White Terror**. Charles emerged as the leader of the **ultras**, or ultraroyalists, during the Bourbon restoration. The ultras gained political power following the assassination of the Charles's youngest son, the duc de Berry, in 1820, which prompted the fall of the moderate ministry of Elie Decazes and the rise of the comte de Villèle, who continued to serve under Charles X after the death of Louis XVIII. The ultras would dominate the French government for much of the 1820s. The death of his favorite son devastated Charles, and he never recovered emotionally.

Charles X's coronation ceremony was held in 1824 at Rheims Cathedral with all the pomp and pageantry of the **ancien régime**. Charles X lost popularity as his reign became increasingly reactionary. He symbolized the Bourbons' inability to reconcile monarchist traditions of divine right with the more liberal and democratic climate produced by the French Revolution. He continued to oppose the notion of constitutional monarchy and the idea that the king's right to rule derived from the French people rather than providence. While retaining the support of the Catholic Church and much of the aristocracy and peasantry, Charles X lost the favor of many industrial workers and much of the bourgeoisie.

The comte de Villèle resigned in 1827. In 1829, Charles appointed Prince Jules Armand de Polignac as his chief minister. Polignac's ultra-reactionary policies, which included the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, the July Ordinances, which strengthened controls on the press, and his restriction of suffrage prompted the July Revolution in 1830. Charles abdicated in favor of his grandson, Henri de Bourbon, the comte de Chambord, and fled to England. The liberal, bourgeois Chamber of Deputies refused to acknowledge Henri as king. In a vote opposed by conservative deputies, the Chamber declared the French throne vacant and transferred the monarchy to Louis Philippe, head of the house of Orléans, a cadet branch of the Bourbons. Charles later settled in present-day Slovenia, where he died of cholera on November 6, 1836. He was buried in the Church of Saint Mary of the Annunciation.

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ERIC MARTONE

### Assembly of Notables

The Assembly of Notables was convened by the French king **Louis XVI** (reigned 1774–1792) to solve the financial crisis arising out of earlier wars and support to the **American Revolutionary War**. The country was almost bankrupt with a debt of five billion livres by 1787. The exorbitant price of wheat, the low price of wine, and a bad harvest aggravated the problem. Louis thought that a hand-picked body like the Assembly of Notables, rather than the **Estates-General**, would facilitate his plans of reform. It was a nominated body consisting of noblemen, clergy, mayors, and bureaucrats. The Assembly was convened on February 22, 1787, in Versailles.

The finance minister, Charles Alexander de Calonne (1734–1802), believed that support from the Assembly would restore confidence, and he proposed borrowing further from the Amsterdam exchange. The Paris Parlement (law courts of appeal that performed administrative functions) might oppose his plan, hence the ruse of calling the Assembly, which had not met since 1626. It was called in secrecy, and the public had no knowledge of it. Calonne was vociferously opposed by the Notables. Lampooned by Parisian pamphleteers, the members neither authorized any new taxes nor were prepared to relinquish any **privileges**. Some liberal members, like



the marquis de **Lafayette**, were not opposed to the stamp duty and land tax, but they opposed what they termed ministerial “despotism” and the fact that details of the new taxes were not properly explained. The proposal for the establishment of elected assemblies for some provinces was not considered, and the Assembly declared that the Estates-General was the appropriate body to discuss taxation. Calonne not only appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the Notables but also made his feelings known publicly. The king dismissed him on April 30 on the grounds that his actions constituted a breach of decorum, whereupon Calonne immigrated to **Britain**.

Etienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne (1727–1794), the archbishop of Toulouse, succeeded Calonne. He was a liberal, was popular, and enjoyed the confidence of both the clergy and the **nobility**. Although a virulent critic of Calonne, Brienne had to propose measures that were almost similar to those of his predecessor in broad outline. The stamp duty was revised and an upper limit was fixed for the tax on land. The Assembly was recalcitrant, and members like Lafayette held that the Estates-General possessed authority over it. The Notables were attacked by a plethora of pamphlets criticizing it. It was dissolved on May 25, and Brienne had to go to Parlement, which later raised the aristocratic revolt.

In November 1788, the second Assembly of Notables was called by the finance minister, Jacques **Necker** (1732–1804). Six committees were formed and only one supported the proposal of doubling the representation of the **Third Estate** (all those not constituting the clergy or nobility). This sixth one, chaired by the king’s younger brother, the comte de Provence (1755–1824), accepted the proposal by a majority of a single vote. This was the final act of the assembly; the nation was shortly to be engulfed by revolution. Although the Assembly of Notables did not perform any spectacular work, it highlighted for the king some of the serious problems facing France. *See also* Parlements.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## **Assembly of the Known and Verifiable Representatives of the French Nation**

Suggested in June 1789 by the abbé Emmanuel **Sieyès**, the Assembly of the Known and Verifiable Representatives of the French Nation was an early name for the **National Assembly**.

Following the opening of the **Estates-General** in May 1789, the proceedings of the body were deadlocked over the issue of the verification of credentials. The **Third Estate** refused to budge on its demand that all three orders of the Estates be verified at the same time. The demand meant a recognition of the Third Estate as equals by the **nobility** and the Catholic Church. Radicals in the Third Estate sabotaged and dismissed all attempts at compromise. At the same time, a majority of nobles in the First Estate refused to accept this symbolic **equality**. The deadlock finally broke in mid-June, when priests from the Second Estate began attending roll calls of the

Third Estate. As more priests began attending every day, the Third Estate asserted that it was the only truly representative body in **France**.

On June 15, the Third Estate began debate on the issue of a new name. Sieyès, who had called the roll, suggested the name “The Assembly of Known and Verifiable Representatives of the French Nation,” a dig at those nobles and churchmen who refused to attend and present their credentials. By the end of debate on June 17, however, the name “National Assembly” won a large majority. With this symbolic act, the Third Estate declared itself the true source of sovereignty in France and set the stage for a conflict with the king.

The phrase “known and verified” appeared in the resolution adopting the name “National Assembly”; the Third Estate was still careful to note that it had invited all members of the Estates-General to participate in its deliberations.

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### **Association of the Friends of the People (1792–1795)**

In the early 1790s, some liberal **Whigs** believed that moderate parliamentary reform might save **Britain** from revolution more effectively than complete hostility to change. As early as March 1790, Henry **Flood** moved in the House of Commons to redistribute seats from the rotten boroughs to the counties, and to extend the franchise to resident householders. He failed to gain much support, but on April 11, 1792, liberal Whigs, encouraged by the Earl of Lauderdale, established the Association of the Friends of the People to give a lead to proposals for moderate parliamentary reform. The association included Charles Grey, Lord John Russell, Philip Francis, Samuel Whitbread, and Christopher **Wyvill**, but Charles James **Fox** remained aloof, though not opposed to its establishment. This was never a large association, and members were overwhelmingly drawn from the propertied elite. The fees were two-and-a-half guineas per annum, but country members paid only one guinea. Meetings were held on the first Saturday of every month, though they appear to have been more frequent at first. Between meetings, a general committee was entrusted with the task of encouraging supporters of parliamentary reform to join similar societies. Grey and Russell were early chairmen.

The association’s declared aims, printed in its *Address to the Nation* (April 26, 1792), were “to restore the freedom of election, and a more equal representation of the people,” and to secure more frequent elections. It never adopted a specific plan of parliamentary reform, and it strove to distance itself from popular radicals at home and French revolutionaries abroad. It failed to give a lead to those popular societies influenced by Thomas **Paine** and the French, and it failed to rally much support in **Parliament**. Indeed, its establishment was one cause of the royal proclamation against seditious writings of May 21, 1791, and it later drove more conservative Whigs into the arms of the prime minister, William **Pitt** the Younger. On February 9, 1793, *The Report on the State of Representation*, which had been commissioned by the association, was delivered by George Tierney. It provided detailed

evidence of the inadequacies of the existing system of representation, much of it drawn from T.H.B. Oldfield's *History of the Boroughs* (1792), but it did not propose specific reforms. Nor did the association's petition, which was presented to Parliament by Charles Grey on May 6, 1793, along with others from the popular societies. Grey distanced his proposals from those of the more radical popular societies but could not prevent Pitt from charging the association with holding dangerously subversive views. Grey's motion to refer the association's petition to a committee was heavily defeated by 282 votes to 41 on May 7.

A proposal to debate whether the system of representation was satisfactory secured only 11 votes on May 31. In July the association opposed the summoning of a convention of reform societies that gathered in Edinburgh in October 1793. This was supported and organized by the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People, a separate and more radical society. The association still failed to put forward its own specific proposals. Philip Francis recognized that this exposed the association to attacks from both committed radicals and militant conservatives. In April 1794 he produced his own ideas for reform, printed in *Plan for a Reform of the Election of the House of Commons*, which proposed extending the franchise to resident rate-paying householders. By now, however, the Whig party was disintegrating. The association suspended its meetings and abandoned its agitation for reform on May 30, 1795.

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H. T. DICKINSON

## Austria

In the eighteenth century, Austria was a large multinational empire in east-central Europe; it was a state very unlike the emerging nation-states of western Europe. Confronted as the Austrians were by the varying customs of their subject peoples, they faced problems of effective governance. Habsburg rulers implemented **Enlightenment** ideas in the eighteenth century to improve the running of their empire. Later revolution and war with **France** turned Austria's rulers away from the enlightened absolutism of the eighteenth century and toward the reactionary conservatism of the nineteenth.

It was defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) that prompted reform in the Austrian Empire. The Habsburg ruler of the period, Maria Theresa, along with her son, the co-regent **Joseph II**, instituted reforms in the administration of the state, finances, education, agriculture, and religion. Many of these reforms were influenced by cameralist ideas designed to improve the efficiency of the state, though many of Maria Theresa's advisors subscribed to the ideas of the Enlightenment, particularly in economics and the law. The empress herself remained wary of reformist ideas, partly out of religious conviction, and partly due to her son's total embrace of such ideas and the admiration that he and her advisors held for the Prussia of **Frederick II**.

Nevertheless, the Theresian reforms were instrumental in helping Austria to recover from the effects of defeat. They also redefined social and political relationships

within the Habsburg Empire. This was especially true of the peasantry, at whom many of the reforms, such as those dealing with feudal dues, were aimed. Reform continued under the reign of Joseph, who became sole ruler in 1780. Though emperor for only 10 years, Joseph attempted to turn the Habsburg Empire into a rationalized and bureaucratized state. Intemperate with inferiors, Joseph only listened to those advisors whose views matched his and, as a result, his reforms invited resistance. This came from many quarters: the **nobility**, who disliked his meddling in feudal matters; the church, which resented his reforms aimed at religious toleration and the creation of a state church; and most especially the various nationalities, who resented his plans at “Germanization” of the empire. When Joseph died in 1790, many of his ambitious reforms had been either retracted or scaled back.

Joseph’s successors, **Leopold II** and **Francis II**, guided Austria during the period of the **French Revolution** and the **Napoleonic Wars**. Leopold, who reigned until March 1792, did not see the Revolution as a threat and thus retained many of the most useful reforms. However, Francis II, upon ascending the throne, saw the Revolution as a product of the Enlightenment and an assault upon the natural order. Constant defeat at the hands of French revolutionary armies hardened that opinion. The effect was that Francis abandoned almost all the reforms of the preceding decades, placing Austria in opposition to the many ideas that came to dominate the European world in the nineteenth century. *See also* France; Prussia and Germany, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on.

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ROY KOEPP

### *L'Autel de la Patrie*

The *Autel de la Patrie* (altar of the fatherland) was a ritual structure built for the swearing of patriotic oaths during the **French Revolution**, primarily in the context of revolutionary festivals. The altar was introduced most spectacularly during the 1790 Festival of Federation, held in Paris on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, although it had been preceded by several smaller regional variants. At the Festival of Federation, the altar was built in the center of the Champ de Mars, an arena between the Military Academy and the Seine that had been constructed especially for the festival. This space and its decorations had been largely built by the people of Paris after work had fallen well behind schedule. Designed by the architect Joseph Ramée, the altar provided the focus for the swearing of the oaths of allegiance to “the nation, the law and the king” taken by the members of the newly constituted **National Guard**. The altar took the form of a large earth mound on which was positioned a large canvas-covered wooden framework decorated with patriotic and classical images and slogans and painted in trompe-l’œil to represent a more permanent marble structure. Set on a circular base, the 25-foot-high square altar had steps leading up four sides, where several hundred officiating priests stood, led in the oath by **Talleyrand**, bishop of Autun, and **Lafayette**, head of the National Guard.

Despite its ephemeral construction, the altar survived for some time, appearing shortly afterward at the festival in honor of the victims of Nancy in September 1790. It was reused, in modified forms, at several subsequent revolutionary festivals, most

notably at the **Fête de l'Être Supreme** (Festival of the Supreme Being), held in Paris in 1794. At this festival the site of Ramée's original geometric structure was landscaped into an elaborate mountain, which accommodated members of the **National Convention**, while a platform housed robed musicians playing patriotic hymns. At the top of this altar was a podium where Maximilien **Robespierre** took his oath, next to a Doric column topped by a statue representing the French people that had stood on the altar since the festival of August 10, 1793. The entire structure appears to have disappeared at some point in Year IV (1795–1796).

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RICHARD TAWS



# B

## **Babeuf, François-Noel (1760–1797)**

Journalist, revolutionary, political theorist, and social critic, François-Noel Babeuf (later known as Gracchus Babeuf) won renown during the **French Revolution** for conspiring to overthrow the government of the **Directory** (1795–1797). Tried and executed in 1797, his memory might have faded had not Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels taken an interest in his work two generations later. Inspired by Babeuf's passionate defense of the rights of peasants and *sans-culottes*, Marx and Engels recast his revolutionary experience in terms meaningful to the nineteenth century, naming Babeuf an early spokesman of the proletariat and forefather of modern communism. In so doing, they ensured his place in the history of social thought.

The eldest son of a desperately poor family, Babeuf was born in the French province of Picardy in 1760. As a young man, Babeuf established himself as a feudal notary, helping members of the **nobility** recover feudal dues as he witnessed firsthand the profound poverty of their tenants. A keen observer and thoughtful reader, he integrated philosophical reflection with his widening experience of the world as he embarked on a lifelong project first to attenuate and then to eliminate social inequality.

Babeuf welcomed the French Revolution enthusiastically in 1789. He participated in local struggles against feudal privilege and **ancien régime** taxes then moved to Paris in 1793 shortly after the overthrow of the monarchy. Having taken the name Gracchus to honor ancient advocates of land redistribution, Babeuf shared in the political activism of the capital as he observed the *sans-culottes'* movement at its height and worked closely with their most radical allies, the Enragés. However, he was imprisoned for falsifying notarial records and so missed much of the **Reign of Terror**, returning to Paris only after Maximilien **Robespierre's** fall in 1794. As the **Thermidorian Reaction** gained momentum, Babeuf urged the *sans-culottes* to recover the political rights and price controls they enjoyed during the Terror. To that end, he founded a newspaper, *Le tribun du peuple* (The People's Tribune), which counseled a *journée*, or popular insurrection, for bread and implementation of the democratic Constitution of 1793.

Imprisoned for attempting to provoke a riot, Babeuf debated strategy with other outlawed radicals. By the time he was released eight months later, his thinking had crystallized into a plan to eradicate poverty by abolishing private property. He resurrected *Le tribun du peuple* to condemn the new government of the Directory as an instrument of the rich that plundered and oppressed the poor. France, he asserted, ought to commit itself to *le bonheur commun*, the common welfare of all. Angered by growing government repression, Babeuf added violent resistance to vocal opposition by joining the Conspiracy of Equals, a small group of democrats plotting to overthrow the Directory. But the Equals were arrested before they could act. Although Babeuf pleaded innocent to the charge of conspiracy, he used the Equals' widely publicized trial to advocate democracy and the extirpation of private property. When the jury declared him guilty, he stabbed himself with a makeshift knife. Bloodied and dying, he was guillotined the following morning.

Babeuf's thought evolved steadily over the course of his short life, becoming increasingly radical as his reading and revolutionary experience widened. Whereas he penned essays as a young man that recommended ameliorating poverty with progressive taxation and more generous government spending, he became committed in the final years of his life to establishing complete social **equality**. Inspired by his reading of utopian theorists, eighteenth-century economists, and classical republican philosophers, Babeuf argued that all humans have a natural right to survival. The best means by which a society may guarantee this right is to ensure that each member has sufficient resources to live. Because Babeuf believed economic growth to be finite, he argued that the only way to ensure sufficiency for all is to prevent any from having too much. Thus, he proposed creating a central administration to collect agricultural produce and manufactured goods and to redistribute them equally. Once social inequality was abolished, he promised, the ills it brought in its train—jealousy, theft, murder, punishment, and despair—would disappear as well.

Babeuf's commitment to social equality was matched by his devotion to democracy. He feared that men are driven by the will to dominate, and so those who hold office will inevitably attempt to subordinate their fellows. And yet all citizens, even women, have a fundamental right to share in government. Therefore, the populace must resist domination with elections, petitioning, and, when necessary, insurrection. Babeuf departed from his democratic convictions, however, when he joined the Conspiracy of Equals. Now he argued that a temporary dictatorship was necessary to lead popular insurrection against the current government and to supervise the transition to a new political and social order. He naively imagined this as a short-term arrangement that would quickly give way to genuine popular government.

In the nineteenth century, Babeuf's compatriot Filippo Buonarroti revived his memory with an account of the Conspiracy of Equals that stressed the socialist dimensions of Babeuf's thought. Marx and Engels elaborated on this tradition, distinguishing Babeuf from the utopian Socialists without fixing his reputation decisively. Historians and philosophers continue to debate whether Babeuf was the last great Jacobin of the French Revolution, the first revolutionary communist, or a precursor of twentieth-century totalitarianism, but all agree that he made a fundamental contribution to the development of radical social and economic thought in the modern world. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Jacobins.



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LAURA MASON

### Barère de Vieuzac, Bertrand (1755–1841)

Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac was a key figure in the **French Revolution**. In early 1793, as the official presiding over the French **National Convention**, he played a crucial role in convicting and executing former king **Louis XVI**. As a member of the **Committee of Public Safety** in 1793–1794, he participated in France's desperate defense of her territory against invasion and helped suppress internal opposition. Barère had been a member of a privileged class prior to the Revolution and had held moderate views about political change prior to 1789. Thus, he is a prime example of those Frenchmen who were radicalized by the course of events.

Barère was born in Tarbes, in southwestern **France**, on September 10, 1755. Both his mother and father inherited titles of **nobility**. Barère received a legal education



Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

at the University of Toulouse, qualifying as an attorney at the age of 19. Possessing a formidable intellect, he built a successful law practice in his native city.

The young lawyer exhibited only mild signs of discontent with the prerevolutionary order. For example, he entered essay contests sponsored by scholarly academies in his area of France. The subjects, such as a eulogy to a medieval king, provided the opportunity for oblique criticism of contemporary affairs. Nonetheless, Barère mainly exhibited a set of moderate political views. Although steeped in the works of the writers of the **Enlightenment**, he did not share the admiration for England that such authors exhibited, and he remained convinced that monarchy was the appropriate form of government for France.

A lawsuit took Barère to Paris for the first time in the spring of 1788 as financial crisis gripped the government. He remained in the French capital until early 1789, and his political views shifted to favor the creation of a representative assembly. But he remained a cautious reformer. He remarked that France was not America, and a sharp break with the nation's past institutions was not feasible. Upon his return to Tarbes, he was quickly elected a representative of the **Third Estate** for the forthcoming meeting of the **Estates-General**.

Over the next several years, events pushed Barère farther away from his position as a moderate reformer. In 1789, he stood with those delegates who favored transforming the Estates-General into a national assembly, he defied the king's order to disperse, and he voluntarily relinquished his title of nobility. Nonetheless, suspicious of mass opinion and afraid of popular violence, Barère backed the country's new constitution, with its provisions for an electorate restricted to the well-to-do. As an energetic and competent member of the **Constituent Assembly**, which replaced the Estates-General in 1789, Barère emerged as a national figure by the time the Assembly dispersed in September 1791.

After a year back in Tarbes, Barère returned to Paris as a delegate to the newly elected National Convention, in which he tried to act as a mediator among the various factions. He showed his willingness to sanction sharp change by voting to replace the monarchy with a republic, but his conservatism remained in evidence. For example, he favored a negotiated settlement with the countries against whom France had gone to war in 1792. His stature as a leading figure in the Convention was confirmed in January 1793 when the delegates chose him as the organization's presiding officer.

Barère's first great task in his new role was to preside over the trial of the deposed king. A convinced monarchist as late as 1791, Barère now demonstrated how events had pushed men like himself to accepting more radical change. He helped convince the Convention to convict "Louis Capet," and Barère voted both for a guilty verdict and for the former monarch's execution. When elements in the Convention tried to arrange a reprieve for Louis, Barère personally blocked the effort.

In July 1793, France's revolutionaries faced peril on all sides. Foreign enemies invaded from a number of directions, and internal opposition was reaching dangerous dimensions. An emergency executive emerged in the form of the 12-man Committee of Public Safety, and, for the next year, it directed the defense of the Revolution with vigor and brutality. Barère emerged as an important member of the organization. Casting aside his earlier moderation, he now helped formulate policies like the mobilization of all of France's resources for war with sweeping government controls over the economy. His name also became linked with the harsh repression of those

in the French population who seemed to oppose the Revolution. A brilliant orator, Barère often served as the spokesman and defender of the committee's policies in front of the National Convention. But in July 1794, Barère switched sides, opposing the most radical members of the committee like Maximilien **Robespierre** and helping moderate elements in the Convention to depose them.

For the remainder of his long life, Barère stood outside the circles of power. His role as a revolutionary terrorist had made him lasting enemies. He had to escape from prison in 1795 to avoid deportation to the penal colony in French Guiana. After years of hiding in Bordeaux, he reappeared in public to serve **Napoleon** as a pamphleteer. But Barère proved unable to negotiate Napoleon's declining years in power and the swift changes of French political fortunes. He accepted the return of King **Louis XVIII** in 1814, but he then rallied to Napoleon in 1815. Named a politically undesirable individual after Napoleon's defeat at **Waterloo** and the final return of Louis, Barère fled to exile in **Belgium**. There he led a financially precarious existence supported in part by revenues from property his family still held in France.

In 1830, the French revolution that placed Louis-Philippe on the throne allowed Barère to return to his native land. After a short stay in Paris, he settled in Tarbes, where, in a final episode of political activity, he served in the local government. He died in Tarbes on January 13, 1841. *See also* Reign of Terror.

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NEIL M. HEYMAN

### **Barnave, Antoine (1761–1793)**

Antoine Barnave was a French lawyer from Grenoble and deputy to the **Constituent Assembly** during the **French Revolution**.

In 1790, Barnave was elected to the presidency of the Assembly and became an influential participant in debates surrounding the status of *gens de couleur* in Saint-Domingue. Concerned about alienating Saint-Domingue's white population and subsequently endangering the commercial prosperity of **France** and the survival of the Revolution, Barnave opposed extending rights to *gens de couleur*. However, Barnave's political influence in the revolutionary government would be short lived. In 1791 Barnave accompanied the royal family to Paris after their failed attempt to flee France. After this trip, Barnave corresponded with **Marie Antoinette** in the hopes of convincing the royal family to cooperate with the revolutionary government and accept the new constitution. A constitutional monarchy, Barnave felt, would be preferable to a republic, which he feared could leave France vulnerable to foreign invasion. Some considered this to be a counterrevolutionary position and, following the discovery of his secret correspondence with Marie Antoinette, Barnave was arrested and later executed on November 29, 1793. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Haitian Revolution; Louis XVI; Reign of Terror; Varennes, Flight to.

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MARGARET COOK ANDERSEN

**Barras, Paul-François-Nicolas, Vicomte de (1755–1829)**

A member of the **Directory**, Paul-François-Nicolas Barras was actively involved in three coups d'état (9 Thermidor, 13 **Vendémiaire**, and 18 Fructidor) and is considered one of the most influential French leaders after Maximilien **Robespierre**'s fall in 1794 and before **Napoleon**'s coup in 1799.

Born into an aristocratic family in southeastern **France**, Barras joined the Languedoc cadet regiment at age 16. Attracted by exoticism, in 1776 he left for **India** with the Pondicherry regiment. After a 10-month voyage, he finally arrived at his destination and was soon seduced by his new life. But in 1778, the British began attacking Pondicherry, and after several battles and a brave defense, the outnumbered French were forced to surrender. In 1779, Barras returned to France, but two years later he was back in India with his regiment. He stayed in the Cape, which was then a Dutch possession, until 1783. His adventures in India now over, he returned to France before peace was signed with Britain.

Promoted to the rank of captain, Barras confronted the duc de Castries, the secretary of war, whom he violently reproached for incompetence and whom he blamed for many of France's military failures. Feeling compelled to quit the navy, Barras started speaking out publicly against the government—although not against the king. In 1786, he left Paris for a year: he may have accidentally become involved



Paul-François-Nicolas, Vicomte de Barras. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

in one of Cagliostro's shams as a result of his popularity with women. Back in Paris, he befriended the comte de **Mirabeau** and led an epicurean life. He witnessed firsthand the Revolution of July in 1789 and the fall of the **Bastille**. He strongly opposed the aristocrats who left the country, displayed a very liberal attitude toward the abolition of **privileges**, and adopted an active position in favor of liberty. In 1790, he joined the Freemasons and the **Jacobins**. In January of the following year, Barras was back in his native Provence to marry Pélagie Templier, a very ardent monarchist who did not share her new companion's political views. She would spend much of her life in this region far from her husband.

In September 1792, Barras was elected a member of the **National Convention**. In January 1793, he voted for the king's execution. In March, fearing an invasion of foreign troops to restore the **ancien régime**, the government sent him, along with Louis-Stanislas **Fréron**, to the southeastern regions to monitor the republican armies. In May, he was made *commissaire* of the southeastern army. However, royalist insurgents gained control of the Toulon region and wanted Barras arrested. Showing great initiative, he decided to march toward Toulon with the army and retake it from the insurgents and the British. There he met **Napoleon** Bonaparte, who, though only a lieutenant, already displayed great skill at military tactics. He won Barras's trust and was allowed to organize and direct the attack. On December 17, the city was again under republican control.

### *Coup of 9 Thermidor*

Back in Paris in January 1794, Barras was received with mistrust by **Robespierre** and the **Committee of Public Safety** because he was suspected of having taken for himself a considerable amount of loot from Toulon. He therefore secretly conspired with opponents of Robespierre such as **Tallien** and **Fouché**. After the **Law of 22 Prairial**, which increased the rate at which people were sent to the guillotine, the opposition between Robespierre and Barras became irreversible. The conspiracy led to the coup of 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794) and Robespierre's execution the following day. Barras was chosen to command the **National Guard** and to put down any possible public uprising. On 10 Thermidor, he proceeded to visit **Louis XVI's** nine-year-old son, who was detained in a Paris building called the Temple. Officially, Barras went there to inquire after the boy's health, but this episode remains a mystery: Barras is suspected by some historians of having replaced the young **Louis XVII** with a mentally retarded boy in order to save the former from certain death. He at times referred to this event in his memoirs.

The situation in France was quite unstable, since no political faction could truly direct the country. Like the **Thermidorians** like Fréron, Fouché, and Tallien, Barras himself moved to the Right of the political spectrum for fear of anarchy. They reduced the role of the Jacobin Club and of the Committee of Public Safety. Barras devoted much of his time to trying to solve the terrible food shortage the people were facing. In May 1795, he traveled in the north, particularly **Belgium** and Holland, to collect grain and flour, when a popular uprising led by former **Montagnards** occurred. Upon his return to Paris, he was made a brigadier general by the Convention. Like most political leaders, Barras realized that France was in dire need of a new constitution. He wanted the ideology of 1789 without the influence of the *comités révolutionnaires*. The Convention, with **Boissy d'Anglas** as its president, formed a commission in charge of drafting a new constitution, which was to

be known as the Constitution de l'An III (Constitution of Year III). It was decided that the executive power would reside in the hands of a Directory consisting of five directors chosen by the Council of Ancients. In this way, the Thermidorians hoped to eliminate the opposition of the royalists on the Right and of the Montagnards on the Left.

Before the new system could be enforced, the government was faced with a new threat. The royalists, using to their advantage the strong discontent reigning in the country, and intent on taking over the Convention, managed to form an army of about 8,000 men. Barras was unanimously chosen to organize the defense. Having only a couple of thousand men with him, he wasted no time in recalling many former officers discredited after the **Thermidorian Reaction**. Napoleon, who had become Barras's protégé, offered his services. He was reintegrated into the military and played an essential part in the coming conflict. A clash took place on 13 Vendémiaire. Barras, with tremendous energy, motivated his troops and fought the insurrection. Following many bloody confrontations, the insurgents retreated and Barras was now considered the savior of the Republic.

### *The Directory*

On 4 Brumaire (October 26, 1795), the Convention held its last session, and two days later, the Council of Ancients elected five directors. With the fewest votes out of the five, Barras was now a member of the Directory, and his main role was to oversee the police. He was now 40 years old, and regardless of the small number of votes he received, he formed part of the new executive power; indeed, he was its dominant figure. His contacts with shrewd statesmen like Robespierre, Tallien, and Mirabeau had taught him the art of maneuvering in the political arena. Despite opposition from the royalists and the Jacobins, he would generally follow a policy of balance. He tried to keep both groups involved in the French political scene for fear that the elimination of either one could prove too beneficial to the other party and therefore a challenge to the new government. However, he was preceded by an unruly reputation. Most of his contemporaries agreed that his interests in women, good food, money, intrigue, and power were rather excessive. His relationships with the two most fashionable women of the time, Madame Tallien and **Joséphine** de Beauharnais (future wife of Napoleon), were notorious.

On November 3, 1795, the directors began to govern and were already faced with terrible inflation resulting from economic and political insecurity. The situation favored the birth of many strongly anti-Directory, extreme-Left **political clubs**. One of the most famous was the Club du Panthéon, which chose François-Noël **Babeuf** (soon after to change his first name to Gracchus) as its leader. He was violently opposed to authority and proposed social changes with strong socialist accents that would later influence Marx and Lenin. In April 1796, the Conspiracy of the Egaux, led by Babeuf, was considered a dangerous threat to the state. After several vain attempts to convince them to drop their plot, Barras had them arrested and their leader guillotined.

Meanwhile, on the frontiers, Bonaparte, now in command of the republican army in northern Italy, was in charge of fighting the Austrians. His nomination had been regarded as Barras's gift for Bonaparte's wedding. The future emperor's crushing victories contributed to some stability but at the same time made him a disturbingly cumbersome hero for the five directors.

In the following months, the partisans of the **ancien régime** gathered their forces again. Barras urged the other directors to organize a repression, but they feared it would only provoke a counterrevolution. In a reorganization of the government, Barras managed to have **Talleyrand** put in charge of foreign affairs. However, with two directors, **Carnot** and **Barthélemy**, siding with the monarchists, and mounting resistance from former **Girondins**, Barras decided to request Bonaparte's help to prepare a coup. The latter sent General Augereau and his troops to support the repression. On 18 Fructidor (September 4, 1797), Barras ordered the arrest of Carnot and Barthélemy, as well as many other deputies. The Bourbons' threat was suppressed without bloodshed and the royalists would have to wait until 1815 and Napoleon's fall to rule again. The immediate consequence of 18 Fructidor was that Barras could now be considered the real leader of the French nation. The entourage of the future **Louis XVIII**, living in Mitau and aware of Barras's prestige and influence, was persuaded through financial compensation and offers of protection to assist Louis in bringing royalty back to Paris—but it would be to no avail. In December 1797, Bonaparte returned from his military triumphs in Italy a national hero. His expectations of becoming a member of the Directory were short lived and he, therefore, turned his attention to the conquest of Egypt, much to the relief of the directors, who considered him a threat.

After the menace from the Right, the government faced a challenge from the Left. The chronic and general dissatisfaction across the country was now being used by the Jacobins to help them win the approaching legislative elections. On 22 Floréal (May 11, 1798), the Directory managed to pass a law that permitted the cancellation of elections of deputies unfavorable to Thermidorian views.

### *Later Career*

In October 1799, Bonaparte returned from Egypt, intending to overthrow the Directory and seeking Barras's support. But tired and worn out from diplomacy, the director did not seize this opportunity. Bonaparte turned to **Sieyès** to join him in his coup. On 18 Brumaire (November 9), Bonaparte took over and had Barras detained. The latter found himself betrayed and abandoned by many of his former protégés, including Talleyrand and Fouché. After several attempts by Fouché and the future empress, Joséphine, to persuade Barras to reconsider and become minister in the new regime, the former director declared a lack of interest in public office. In the spring of 1800, he was offered ambassadorial posts throughout Europe and in the United States, which he also rejected.

Even though Barras was not now actively involved in the French political scene, Barras was still regarded as a possible danger by the **Consulate**. In July 1800, he was ordered to leave Paris and to reside no closer than about 70 miles from the capital. He went to Brussels, where he stayed for four years, and then moved to the south of France. In 1813, falsely suspected of conspiracy, Barras was sent into exile in Rome. In 1814, he returned to France to witness Napoleon's fall, but ironically he was contacted by Fouché, and later by Jérôme Bonaparte, who sought his support for the emperor's return from Elba, as well as by the monarchists for his help in restoring the Bourbons. At age 59, 15 years after his eviction from power, Barras was still sought after by the principal political actors in France. Nevertheless, he refused both offers and after Napoleon's exile to St. Helena returned to Paris, where he died on January 29, 1829.

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GUY-DAVID TOUBIANA

### **Barré, Isaac (1726–1802)**

Isaac Barré, the only son of two Huguenot refugees, was born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College from 1740 to 1744. He was commissioned into the army in 1746, rising to the rank of captain in 1758. He served under General James Wolfe on the Rochefort expedition of 1757 and fought at Louisburg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759. He lost an eye at Quebec, where his patron, Wolfe, who had made him his adjutant general, despite his lowly rank, was killed. On his return to **Britain**, Barré found a new patron in Lord Shelburne, whose influence brought him into politics. He was a member of **Parliament** for Chipping Wycombe from 1761 to 1774 and then for Calne from 1774 to 1790. Shelburne carried very considerable influence in both boroughs. Barré spent most of his political career in opposition, and during these years he earned a formidable reputation as a brave and powerful speaker whose speeches were well delivered, held the attention of his fellow members, and embarrassed those he was attacking.

In 1763, Barré followed Shelburne into opposition to George Grenville's ministry. He made a powerful speech, marked with great bitterness, against general warrants on January 29, 1765. As the American crisis developed, Barré won renown as a champion of the colonists and as a powerful critic of government policies. He opposed the proposed **Stamp Act** on February 6, 1765, though on grounds of expediency rather than principle. On this occasion he famously referred to the colonists as "the sons of liberty." In 1766 he not only supported the repeal of the Stamp Act but also opposed the **Declaratory Act**, on grounds of principle. He now argued that Parliament did not possess the right to tax the colonies. In 1769 the colonists recognized him as a friend of America, naming a town in Pennsylvania Wilkes-Barré. In 1774 Barré supported the **Boston Port Act**, believing that Parliament had to be prepared to use coercion in response to the **Boston Tea Party**. Barré believed that Parliament should show unanimity in the face of the American crisis, but he urged conciliation more than coercion. He opposed all the other so-called Intolerable Acts of 1774, and he pressed for the repeal of the offending tea duty. When war was threatened, his military experience convinced him that the colonies could not be easily conquered. Throughout the **American Revolutionary War**, he frequently attacked the government, taunting Frederick North, Lord **North**, and even accusing ministers of being traitors.

Barré served as vice-treasurer of **Ireland** during the administration of William Pitt the Elder, Earl of **Chatham**, from 1766 to 1768, and after the fall of Lord North in 1782, he held the well-paid post of treasurer of the navy under Charles Watson-Wentworth, Lord **Rockingham**, and then the even more lucrative post of paymaster general under Lord Shelburne. When William **Pitt** the Younger became prime minister at the end of 1783, he gave Barré a lifetime sinecure as a clerk of the pells. Around this time Barré became totally blind, and he played little further part in politics. He left Parliament in 1790 because he opposed Lord Shelburne's sympathetic position on the **French Revolution**. He died unmarried on July 20, 1802.

H. T. DICKINSON



## Bastille, Fall of the (1789)

The storming and fall of the Bastille prison on July 14, 1789, a popular insurrection that triggered the spread of revolution across **France** and marked the entry of the people into the political sphere, was the central act of the outbreak of the **French Revolution**. Although the prison contained very few prisoners at the time of its fall, none of them incarcerated for political reasons, and most locked up again shortly afterward, the Bastille had a legendary reputation as a sign of **ancien régime** oppression, and its capture by the artisans and workers of Paris was viewed as a massive symbolic victory. Destroyed soon after its fall, the Bastille consequently functioned simultaneously as a symbol of both absolutist subjugation and the liberty brought about by the Revolution.

Built between 1356 and 1382, the Bastille was a royal fortress turned state prison, which during the eighteenth century came to stand for the arbitrary nature of justice under an absolutist monarchy. Situated in the east of Paris, at the entrance to what later became the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the Bastille was an instantly recognizable structure, with its eight prominent towers and low, stocky form. Accounts of the sufferings of those incarcerated in the Bastille, particularly those held by **lettres de cachet**, were scandalous and horrific and increased in number toward the end of the century with the publication of the writings of notorious ex-prisoners such as Latude and Linguet. The incarceration of writers such as **Voltaire**, and tales of mythic or semi-mythic figures such as the comte de Lorges and the so-called Man in the Iron Mask, further developed the legend of the Bastille as a place of unparalleled horrors and the capricious curtailment of personal and intellectual freedom.

The reality was somewhat more benign: the majority of prisoners were impounded for obscene or scandalous writings, while the notorious torture chambers were a figment of the collective imagination, and conditions were on the whole comparatively good. Prisoners such as the Marquis de Sade were detained in considerable luxury, although the regime of silence surrounding the prison meant that Sade's invented claims of outrage and torture in the Bastille found a receptive audience.

A combustible and anxious atmosphere prevailed in Paris in July 1789. Following the **Third Estate's** declaration of independence in the **Tennis Court Oath** at Versailles the previous month, the subsequent acquiescence of King **Louis XVI** was viewed with some suspicion, as troops began to surround Paris and take up strategic positions within the city. The king's dismissal of Jacques **Necker**, the popular prime minister, further exacerbated collective agitation and paranoia about monarchical plots, fuelled by rumor and the theatrical speeches of the journalist Camille **Desmoulins**, who warned the crowds massed in the gardens of the Palais Royal that Bernard-René de Launay, governor of the Bastille, was preparing to fire cannon on the inhabitants of the districts surrounding the prison, and that the king's Swiss Guards, massed on the Champ de Mars, were preparing to violently suppress the nascent revolution.

On July 12, 5,000 Parisians took the busts of Necker and the duc d'**Orléans**, the king's liberal nephew, from Curtius's waxworks and paraded them through the Tuileries Gardens, where the demonstrators were attacked and scattered by nervous troops led by the Prince de Lambesc. That night the majority of the hated customs gates surrounding the periphery of Paris, where merchants had to pay taxes on goods entering the city, were burned down as symbols of absolutist oppression of

the people. The next day, prisoners at the prisons of La Force and the Conciergerie were forcibly released, while crowds ransacked shops and monasteries in a search for arms and gunpowder with which to defend themselves against the perceived threat. On July 14, after petitioning for weaponry at the **Hôtel de Ville** on the Place de la Grève, and after breaking into the weapons store at the Invalides barracks, the crowd learned that much of the city's store of gunpowder had been transferred to the Bastille. A committee of electors of Paris, recently chosen in the elections to the **Estates-General**, and headed by Jacques de Flesselles, a leading merchant, urged de Launay to surrender. The governor refused to give up either the prison or the gunpowder stored there, a decision that turned out to be fatal.

Meanwhile, crowds were beginning to gather in increasingly large numbers at the outer walls of the Bastille, angrily demanding entry. Soon, the drawbridge had been breached and the crowd surged into the courtyard, surrounding the prison itself, at which point de Launay ordered his troops to fire on the invaders, inflaming the crowd and rapidly escalating the level of aggression. As news of de Launay's response spread, at roughly two o'clock in the afternoon, citizens began to converge on the prison from all over Paris, armed with makeshift weapons and galvanized by the infamous cry "A la Bastille!" The long-acknowledged symbolic importance of the Bastille as a site of tyranny now outweighed the practical demands for arms in the minds of the crowd. Joined by mutinous royal soldiers who refused to fight against fellow Frenchmen, the crowd bombarded the prison and its defending garrison of one hundred soldiers and Swiss Guards, finally forcing de Launay to surrender at five o'clock.

De Launay, who as the son of a former governor had himself been born in the Bastille, was immediately captured. The seven prisoners remaining in the prison were also released, for a while at least, although none had been found in the infamous *cachots*, or underground cells. Initially protected from the lynch mob by the soldiers who had fought on the side of the people, de Launay was eventually seized by the crowd, who identified him with the treachery committed at the Bastille. Panicking, he kicked out, striking an unemployed pastry cook named Dénot, whereupon he was repeatedly stabbed and shot by the crowd. With apparent relish Dénot swiftly decapitated de Launay with his kitchen knife, and his head was paraded through the streets on a pike in a scene of popular violence that was later to become familiar. Similarly brutal fates awaited de Flesselles, as well as Foulon, a minister due to have played a role in the government appointed to replace that led by Necker, and his son-in-law **Bertier de Sauvigny**, the intendant of Paris. Accused of having tried to starve the people of Paris and of saying that the people could always eat grass, Foulon's mouth was stuffed with straw after his decapitation.

Almost immediately after the fall of the Bastille, Pierre-François Palloy, a local building contractor present on July 14, took for himself the commission to demolish the prison. Palloy subsequently carved the stones of the Bastille into miniature replicas, which he distributed to each of the 83 departments in France and figured prominently as quasi-religious objects—*ex-votos*, as he called them—in revolutionary festivals. Alongside former prisoners such as Henri Masers de Latude, who had famously escaped from the Bastille, Palloy organized paid nocturnal visits to the prison cells for thrill-seeking tourists. Palloy also played an important role in the production of memorabilia and ceremonial uniforms for the recognized *vainqueurs*, or conquerors, of the Bastille, and organized the unofficial celebrations on the site of the Bastille following the anniversary of its destruction on July 14, 1790, after

the official Festival of Federation. At this event a garlanded scaffold was built to mark the outline of the prison, already flattened, while a flagpole marked its former height. The Place de la Bastille was used as a ritual space throughout the Revolution and in subsequent revolutions in the nineteenth century. The fall of the prison retains to this day a powerful symbolic resonance and is commemorated by the annual July 14 celebrations across France.

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RICHARD TAWS

### **Batavian Republic (1795–1806)**

The Batavian Republic (*Bataafse Republiek* in Dutch) was a French-controlled republic that approximately covered the modern-day Netherlands between 1795 and 1806. During the **French Revolutionary Wars**, the Dutch republic initially became a member of the First Coalition and fought French troops in the Austrian Netherlands (now **Belgium**). However, in 1795, the French army defeated the Austrians and their Dutch allies and invaded the Dutch republic, forcing stadtholder William V of Orange to flee to **Britain**. The Batavian Republic was then proclaimed on January 19, 1795; the republic was named after the Batavians, a Germanic tribe that had lived in the area of the Netherlands in Roman times and was regarded as the ancestors of the Dutch nation.

**France** treated the new “sister republic” as a vassal state. In the Treaty of The Hague (1795), the Batavian Republic was forced to surrender strategically valuable territory and pay a heavy war contribution of one million guilders. Moreover, in later years, the republic was compelled to issue loans at a low rate of interest. Politically, the republic witnessed the struggle between those loyal to their federalist tradition and supporters of a centralized state based on a French model. The debates on the constitution continued for six years until 1801. The new administration reorganized the existing government structure and marked the establishment for a centralized government and unitary state. In 1805 Napoleon appointed Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck as *raadspensionaris* (grand pensionary) to govern the republic and strengthen the executive branch. Schimmelpenninck instituted a number of major reforms, including a new tax system, expansive health and agricultural reforms, and new sea reclamation regulations. Under the new Education Act, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish schools received equal recognition.

As a French vassal state, the Batavian Republic had to participate in the struggles waged by French Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, as a result of which the Dutch lost most of their colonial empire and Dutch trade collapsed, causing a series of economic crises for the republic. In 1806, Napoleon abolished the Batavian Republic and declared his brother Louis Bonaparte king of the new Kingdom of Holland. *See also* Netherlands, United Kingdom of the.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

**Beauharnais, Joséphine Tascher de la Pagerie, Vicomtesse de**

*See* Josephine, Empress of France

**Belgium**

The country of Belgium came into existence following a revolution in 1830, during which the people of the southern Low Countries declared their independence from the United Provinces of the Low Countries (consisting of **Holland** and Belgium joined together), created at the Congress of **Vienna** in 1815.

The Treaty of Münster (1648) formally recognized the division of the Low Countries into northern and southern states. The southern portion fell under the strict control of an occupying Spanish government. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), the Spanish lost control over the territory and rule was transferred to the Austrian Habsburgs. Up to 1748, the Austrians changed very little, but the enlightened despots, Maria Theresa and **Joseph II**, instituted a series of liberal reforms.

The primary cultural and political unifier in the territory was the Catholic Church. The church saw its role as more than just a spiritual provider; it took over many aspects of life, especially in education, and came to function as a powerful political bloc. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, saw the church as an obstacle to progress and promoted the secularization of the state and the economy. The Catholic Party would come to strongly oppose unification with the north, while the Liberals supported it.

In 1814, delegates at the Congress of Vienna decided that the northern and southern Low Countries should be reunited to form the United Provinces of the **Netherlands** under the leadership of King William I. William's grand plan was to reinvigorate the northern economy by merging it with the south. The southern Netherlands were the first continental region to successfully follow in Britain's footsteps and industrialize, which gave them the potential for rapid growth. His first acts in office included heavy investment in infrastructure and the creation of an investment bank to lend money for economic development.

William had not counted on the formidable opposition from the southern provinces. In addition to conflicts over religious and linguistic differences, ordinary taxpayers and even the Liberals did not want to share the burden of higher debt and tax rates from the north. The **July Revolution** (1830) in France seemed to provide a potential model for overthrowing an unpopular king. That summer, a riot broke out in an opera house in Brussels. Initially, the riot had more to do with the grievances of industrial workers, but it came to be led by liberals opposed to William, whose troops arrived too late to quell the rebellion. Citizens decided to call their new country Belgium, after the Roman word for their area of the Low Countries.

The Belgians entered into talks with Britain, which accepted independence in exchange for perpetual neutrality. The British also chose the new ruler, Leopold van Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a German Lutheran who converted to Catholicism in order to become King Leopold I. William rejected the settlement and organized the Ten Days' Campaign against the Belgian rebels. Though initially successful, his troops withdrew after reports of a French army surfaced. William finally acquiesced to Belgian independence, which was formally granted in April 1839.

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LAURA CRUZ

### Bertier de Sauvigny, Louis-Benige-François (1737–1789)

Louis-Benige-François Bertier de Sauvigny was a French nobleman and intendant of Paris who was murdered in July 1789. He was born on March 24, 1737, in Paris, the son of Louis Jean Bertier de Sauvigny, the intendant of Paris. In 1768, he became adjoint to his father in the post of intendant and assumed full duties in 1771, and the title in 1776. He earned royal favor for his decisive actions in suppressing the rural unrest during the Flour War in 1775. In 1777, Bertier de Sauvigny became the *surintendant de la maison de la Reine*. Over the next two decades, he earned a reputation at the court as a humanitarian reformer who was in charge of a network of beggars' prisons (*dépôts de mendicité*), implemented some tax reform in the *généralité* of Paris, and worked on agricultural improvement and in public health and charitable establishments. Bertier created a network of 88 *dépôts* with 14,000 admissions to fight the widespread problem of mendicity. He eventually combined the *dépôts'* roles as detention centers with rehabilitative functions, which converted the *dépôts* into beggars' prisons, where conditions horrified observers and arrests and internments sometimes were arbitrary. Thomas Adams's study showed that one-fifth of the *dépôts'* 230,000 inmates died in the three decades of its existence, and many among the poor considered Bertier de Sauvigny a jailer.

Bertier bitterly opposed Jacques **Necker's** reforms and earned the hatred of the Parisian populace, who accused him of conspiring to starve the populace. On July 18, 1789, while traveling to supply royal troops deployed around Paris, Bertier de Sauvigny was detained by the revolutionary authorities at Compiègne. The fact that papers relating to grain supplies for troops were found in his portfolio only deepened suspicion of his involvement in grain speculation. On July 22, he was sent under escort to Paris, where he was met by hostile crowds who accused him among other things of starving 6,000 inmates to death at the *dépôt* at Saint Denis. The head of his father-in-law, Joseph-François Foulon (Foulon de Doué), the controller of finances, who had been arrested and murdered shortly before, was held up to him on a pike; a handful of hay was in its mouth as an allusion to Foulon's alleged comment that if the poor were hungry they should eat straw. Unhappy with the electors' decision to move Bertier de Sauvigny to the Abbaye, a seventeenth-century prison, pending trial, the mob seized him and killed him in front of the **Hôtel de Ville**, mutilating his body and parading his head on a pike throughout the city.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### **Bertrand de Moleville, Antoine François, Marquis de (1744–1818)**

Antoine François Bertrand de Moleville was a French statesman and royalist whose memoirs and *Annals of the French Revolution* were important sources for early nineteenth-century historians.

Born in Toulouse, he became intendant in Brittany in 1784 and was the object of popular hostility after dissolving the Parlement of Rennes in 1788. Bertrand de Moleville accepted **Louis XVI**'s nomination as minister of marine on October 1, 1791, only after a personal audience with the king: his account of that meeting suggests a royal strategy of passive resistance to the Constitution of 1791. As minister, Bertrand de Moleville faced great opposition from the port of Brest, where revolutionaries accused him of concealing the large number of naval officers who had abandoned their posts. He was sympathetic to the officers, who faced indiscipline, mutiny, and even physical attacks, and was committed to upholding executive authority against challenges from local administrations. Although a motion calling for his impeachment was narrowly defeated in the **Legislative Assembly**, Bertrand de Moleville resigned on March 9, 1792, to spare the king further embarrassment. He continued to serve Louis, however, by spying on and seeking to bribe revolutionary leaders.

Bertrand de Moleville tried to arrange the king's escape after the storming of the Tuileries Palace on August 10, 1792, but was forced to flee himself. In October, he reached England, where he published various works and had contact with Charles James **Fox** and Jacques **Mallet du Pan**. Bertrand de Moleville returned to France in 1814 but found little favor with the restored monarchy of **Louis XVIII** and died in Paris in 1818. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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WILLIAM S. CORMACK

### **Billaud-Varenne, Jacques Nicholas (1756–1819)**

A lawyer and pamphleteer, Jacques Nicholas Billaud-Varenne was a member of the **National Convention** and the **Committee of Public Safety** during the **Reign of Terror** (1793–1794) during the **French Revolution**. Billaud-Varenne, born in La Rochelle, was the son of a lawyer who had high ambitions for his son. Educated by the Oratorians of Nioret, he received a classical education before he turned his attention to legal studies. Although he studied law at Poitiers and took the lawyers' oath in 1778, his interests were more literary than legal. While employed as a prefect of studies at the Oratorian Collège de Juilly from 1783 to 1784, he wrote comedies such as *Une femme comme il y en a peu*. Billaud left the Oratorians after just over a year in their service after writing a comedy called *Morgan*, which was too libertine for the fathers. He may have also left at his father's orders in order to start a sensible legal career. According to his biographers, Billaud's plays were not especially popular in the provinces. Even after Billaud, desperate to have his *Morgan* performed, offered coauthorship to the leading actor, the play was still turned down. Unable to find a practice in his native La Rochelle, he went to Paris on his father's money at the age of 28. He soon found a job working on a part-time basis for Danton, but other than that, he seems to have been unemployed most of the time.

In addition to his plays, Billaud produced two serious works, one radical in terms of religion, the other about politics, and very conventional. Both were written on the eve of the French Revolution. The first, *Le dernier coup porté aux préjugés et à la superstition*, was completed in 1787 and published anonymously in London the same year, and in **France** in 1789. It was a critique of the current state of the Catholic religion, which foreshadowed some of the Revolution's attacks on the established church. Billaud criticized the laziness of the regular clergy, and he advocated several reforms, including a simplification of ritual, the prohibition of clerical vows, the marriage of priests, and a limitation on their numbers. This does sound similar to proposals made by various deputies during the **Constituent Assembly** in 1789. He did not, however, go nearly as far as the Constituents. The nationalization of church lands and the clerical oath were not present in Billaud's pamphlet. This was very much an **Enlightenment** critique of the church, similar in many respects to **Voltaire's** attacks. What Billaud was advocating was a cleaning up of abuses within the church and a return to a simpler and purer form of Catholicism. It was the work of a keen deist.

Billaud's second pamphlet, *Despotisme des ministres de France*, was completed in 1788 and published anonymously in Amsterdam in 1789. This work was far less radical than his first. Its major theme was that the natural alliance between king and people had been destroyed by the rise of ministerial despotism, which threatened revolution. Billaud approved of the proposed reforms of the Baron de **Turgot** and Jacques **Necker**, whom the **parlements** attacked, and he advocated the abolition of monastic vows, free trade, and the abandonment of seigneurial dues in return for compensation. The goal of reform, according to Billaud, was to avert revolution. He even argued that legislative power belonged to the king and suggested the meeting of a group that was very similar in composition to the **Assembly of Notables**—the princes of the blood, the peers, and representatives of the parlements and provincial assemblies—to discuss the budget. Billaud saw no need for the drafting of a new constitution.

Billaud neglected his legal career beginning in the spring of 1789, when he began writing pamphlets, such as *Le peintre politique ou Tarif des opérations actuelles*, published anonymously in November. In it, he disapproved of the Constituents' voting of the suspensive veto. This pamphlet gained him admission to the Jacobin Club, but he did not take an active part in the debates until the flight of **Louis XVI** to **Varennes** in June 1791. Instead, he focused his energy on the more radical club, the **Cordeliers Club**, led by his former employer Georges **Danton**.

When Billaud-Varenne proposed a republican government at the Jacobin session of July 1, 1791, he was expelled from the club. He went immediately to the Cordeliers, where he was embraced by Danton. This speech was soon published as a pamphlet, *L'acéphocratie*. Billaud was later readmitted to the club during the so-called purification vote, run by the radicals after the Varennes crisis.

During the period of the **National Assembly** (1791–1792), Billaud rarely spoke at the Jacobin Club, but he never missed a session, and it was during the sitting of the National Assembly that he became known throughout the country. He spoke of the war, of which he was a partisan, but only in principle, on December 19, 1791. He was convinced that France should go to war, but only after the revolutionaries had taken precautions against the court. He was thus opposed to Brissot's demand for immediate aggression against **Austria**.

When the monarchy was overthrown on August 10, 1792, Billaud became a member of the revolutionary Paris Commune. There is little doubt that he played a role in the **September Massacres**. He was elected a deputy from Paris to the National Convention on September 20. It was during the period of the Convention that Billaud demonstrated his most radical behavior. He voted in favor of the king's trial, against the appeal to the people, and for Louis XVI's death. Sent on a mission to Brittany to recruit men for the army in March 1793, he successfully put down counterrevolutionary uprisings. He returned to the Convention in time to participate in the struggle against the moderate faction known as the **Girondins**, which was expelled on June 2.

Billaud was elected president of the Convention on September 5, 1793, after his second mission to the northern departments. The next day, he was appointed to the Committee of Public Safety under pressure from leaders of the *sans-culottes* in Paris such as Jacques **Hébert**. Billaud was in charge of corresponding to the **representatives on mission** and the popular societies in the countryside. On the same day, he secured the passage of a law that gave the committee complete control over provincial authorities on 14 Frimaire, Year II (September 6, 1793). At this time, Billaud published his treatise *Éléments du républicanisme*, in which he proposed popular demands such as the redistribution of wealth and the right to work.

A supporter of Maximilien **Robespierre** in his struggle with the radical Hébertiste faction in Paris, Billaud voted for Robespierre's presidency of the Convention on June 4, 1794. Yet he soon challenged Robespierre's leadership and conspired with **Collot d'Herbois** and other revolutionaries to bring about Robespierre's fall from power on 9 Thermidor, Year II (July 27, 1794). During the period immediately following the Terror, known as the **Thermidorian Reaction**, Billaud was deported in April 1795 to French Guiana, where he married and worked as a farmer. He refused an amnesty from **Napoleon** in 1800 and died in Haiti in 1817. *See also* Calendar, French Revolutionary; Civil Constitution of the Clergy; Constitutions; French Revolutionary; Hébertistes; Jacobins; Legislative Assembly; Pamphlets (French).

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LEIGH WHALEY

## Bill of Rights (United States)

The Bill of Rights refers collectively to the first 10 amendments to the **United States Constitution**. Initially drafted by James **Madison** in June 1789, the Bill of Rights was part of a compromise worked out between Federalist supporters and Anti-Federalist opponents of the Constitution. The condition that these amendments would be passed immediately after ratification was a key point in overcoming opposition to the Constitution, particularly in divided states like **Massachusetts**, **Virginia**, and **New York**, which included such conditional language in their ratification instruments. The American bill of rights drew upon diverse European and



American precursors, most notably, George **Mason**'s 1776 Virginia Declaration of Rights, the 1689 English bill of rights, and the Magna Carta. From these influential expressions of the traditional rights of English subjects, Madison compiled a list of judicial liberties such as due process and trial by jury, as well as civil rights like freedom of expression, petition, assembly, and **religion**.

The notion that a bill of rights was necessary was by no means shared by everyone, however. Many of the Constitution's most vociferous defenders, including Alexander **Hamilton**, argued that a bill of rights was not only unnecessary, given the strictly delimited powers outlined in the Constitution's main articles, but that providing a bill of rights might at some point in the future be interpreted to mean that these and only these liberties (and not some others heretofore unspecified) were secured to the people or the states. Hamilton famously argued in the *Federalist* no. 84: "I go further, and affirm that bills of rights, in the sense and in the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted; and on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?" According to Hamilton, bills of rights were agreements extracted by the people from sovereigns with theoretically unlimited powers, as was the case with the Magna Carta and King John. The United States Constitution, by way of contrast, was not an agreement between a people and an otherwise absolute monarch but a document that created a government with strictly enumerated powers.

On the other side, however, many Anti-Federalists feared the unprecedented powers that the United States Constitution granted to the federal government. Such a power distanced from the states and insulated from the will of the people was liable to become tyrannical if sufficient checks were not put in place. This argument for the absolute necessity of a bill of rights was made by the Anti-Federalist "Brutus" (thought to be Abraham **Yates**) in his paper "On the Lack of a Bill of Rights," later dubbed "Antifederalist Number 84." Directly challenging Hamilton's claim that a bill of rights was unnecessary because of the Constitution's strictly enumerated powers, Brutus argued that the Constitution's own proscriptions against bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, and titles of **nobility**—powers that are nowhere explicitly given to the new federal government—demonstrate the dangers of the Constitution's implied powers. "With equal truth it may be said," Brutus noted, "that all the powers which the bills of rights guard against the abuse of, are contained or implied in the general ones granted by this Constitution."

Anti-Federalists and many undecided delegates were persuaded to support the Constitution only with the understanding that a bill of rights would be immediately appended to it. This agreement—known as the Massachusetts Compromise—made the states' ratification of the Constitution conditional on the subsequent passage of a bill of rights. Similar agreements paved the way for ratification in tightly divided states like Virginia and New York. Even so, many of the founding generation were skeptical about this expedient for limiting the power of the new federal government. In his 1787 correspondence with Madison, Thomas **Jefferson** complained that while he would have preferred an even more extensive set of reserved liberties, the Bill of Rights as it came into being was better than nothing.

After 17 articles were introduced by Madison in June of 1789, the **House of Representatives** deliberated and passed the articles on August 24, 1789. These 17 were

reduced to 12 in the final version approved by the entire **Congress** and submitted to the states for ratification on September 25, 1789. Of these original 12 provisions, only the last 10 (originally numbers 3–12) were ratified by the requisite three-fourths of the states and incorporated into the Constitution on December 15, 1791. The original second proposed amendment dealing with compensation for senators and representatives was ratified only belatedly in 1992 as the Twenty-seventh Amendment.

The Bill of Rights gives expression to the fundamental civil and political rights that Americans have come to regard as central to their freedom. The First Amendment provides for religious liberty and freedom of expression, prohibiting the establishment of an official religion and guaranteeing free speech, petition, assembly, and freedom of the press. The Second Amendment provides for state militias and a right to keep and bear arms. The Third Amendment prohibits the government from compelling individuals to quarter soldiers in their homes. The Fourth Amendment secures their homes and property from unreasonable search, seizure, or inspection without probable cause or a legal warrant. The Fifth Amendment provides legal rights of due process, including grand juries, and prohibits double jeopardy, forced confessions, or takings. The Sixth Amendment guarantees defendants a speedy public trial, the right to be confronted by witnesses, and legal counsel. The Seventh Amendment provides for trial by jury. The Eighth Amendment secures the right of bail and forbids cruel and unusual punishments. The Ninth stipulates clearly that the enumeration of these specific rights does not imply that there are no other significant rights retained by the people. The Tenth specifies that those powers not specifically delegated to the new federal government are to be retained by the states or the people at large.

Since its ratification in 1791, the United States Bill of Rights has been a reference point for American constitutional law and for statements of human rights throughout the world. Some of the most influential U.S. **Supreme Court** decisions have hinged on interpretations of the precise nature and scope of individual rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights. The French **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**—adopted on August 27, 1789, at almost the same time as the U.S. Bill of Rights—and the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights are both often compared and contrasted to the United States Bill of Rights. Critics have pointed out, however, that while the U.S. Bill of Rights is historically descriptive of rights that are already in existence and have traditionally been enjoyed by American citizens, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the 1948 UN Declaration are both normative and aspirational, describing idealized rights to which all human beings ought to be entitled, even if it is unclear how these rights might be provided to them. *See also* The Federalist Papers.

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RICHARD BOYD

### **Blackstone, Sir William (1723–1780)**

Sir William Blackstone was an English jurist and professor, and the first person to lecture on English law at an English university (Oxford). His lectures on common

law (published in four books as *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1765–1769) are considered foundational to American and English jurisprudence, though they have been translated into French, German, and Russian as well. Book I, the “Rights of Persons,” examines the absolute rights of individuals, monarchs, governments, and corporations. Book II, the “Rights of Things,” examines real-property law. Book III, “Private Wrongs,” examines civil liability, courts, and judicial procedure, and book IV, “Public Wrongs,” examines criminal law, including offenses against God and **religion**.

Blackstone asserted that the Bible was the revealed word of God and that it contained divinely ordained and revealed laws that derived both from God’s nature and God’s commands to humanity. He also asserted that God ordained the laws of nature, such as the law of gravity, recently elucidated by Isaac Newton (1643–1727), as a means of both ordering God’s created universe and enabling humanity to thereby understand the universe. Blackstone further asserted that these revealed and natural laws are in complete harmony because of their single divine source. He maintained that human laws are subordinate attempts by finite and sinful humanity to declare or translate the infinite and divine law revealed in the Bible and nature into the human context. Any laws that violate the clear statements of divine or natural law are injurious to the human condition.

Thus, so Blackstone asserted, the only valid laws are those that conform to the revealed laws of God and the natural laws reflective of them. Any law imposed by any government, society, or individual that alters or is counter to divine law as revealed in the Bible and reflected in nature is invalid. The commandments of God, the superior, override the codes of humanity, the inferior.

Common law is the codified laws derived by judges from the generally accepted understanding of divinely revealed and natural law and the generally accepted customs and uses in **Britain** that Blackstone believed were reflective of Christian tenets. Judges were to make decisions on which there was no directly applicable revealed or natural law based on the combined wisdom of prior interpreters and what was accepted as general rules of conduct in a society guided by the laws of God—a Christian society, albeit one that protected the rights of non-Christians.

Blackstone restricted voting to property owners, believing that only they had an interest in public policy, though he asserted that slavery was antithetical to natural law. Blackstone also published treatises on the Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

## **Bland, Richard (1710–1776)**

Richard Bland was born on May 6, 1710, on his family’s plantation in Prince George County, **Virginia**. A gentleman planter, Bland served in a variety of civic and public offices. He enjoyed a growing historical reputation because of his authorship of bills and pamphlets that helped lay the intellectual groundwork for the principles of the **American Revolution**.

Bland graduated from William and Mary College and probably studied at Edinburgh University, although absolute historical proof of the latter is lacking. He served as a justice of the peace and became an officer in the militia in 1739. In 1742, Bland was elected to the House of Burgesses. In 1753–1755, Bland opposed the Virginia governor's so-called pistole fee on the grounds of public rights.

Bland's first major pamphlet was published in 1760. "A Letter to the Clergy on the Two-Penny Act" criticized increasing the Anglican clergy's pay and opposed the creation of an American bishopric. Also in 1760, Bland wrote and published "An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies." While this pamphlet did not argue for American sovereignty, it did suggest that Americans should have some authority over their affairs, most notably taxation. The inquiry is the first published articulation of this sentiment. Bland attended the First **Continental Congress** (1774), where the inquiry informed the thinking of much of the members and the writing of the Declaration of Rights.

Even though a break with Britain seemed inevitable, Bland sought rapprochement with Britain. He helped defeat Patrick **Henry's** call to take up arms in 1775. Also in 1775, Bland briefly served as a member of the Second **Continental Congress** but, citing poor health, had to return home to Virginia. Bland remained in Virginia, helping write the state's first constitution, and was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1776. He died October 26, 1776, in Williamsburg. Richard Bland was also a scholar of early Virginia history and preserved many rare documents and records of the colony's early days.

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CHARLES ALLAN

### **Boissy d'Anglas, François Antoine de, Comte (1756–1826)**

Comte François Antoine de Boissy d'Anglas was a French revolutionary politician and a deputy to the **Estates-General**, the **National Convention**, and the **Council of Five Hundred**.

The son of a doctor, Boissy was a Protestant from Grimaudier in the Ardèche department. Trained as a lawyer, he was also a poet, historian, and writer who held moderate political beliefs: **equality** before the law, constitutional government, and religious tolerance. He was a member of the academies of La Rochelle, Lyon, and Nîmes. A lawyer to the Parlement of Paris from 1783, Boissy purchased the office of *maître d'hôtel de Monsieur*, the future **Louis XVIII**. He resigned from this office in 1791.

Boissy was elected a deputy to the Estates-General from the Ardèche. He did not play a major role in the debates of the **Constituent Assembly**. During the interval between the Constituent Assembly and Convention, he served as a *procureur-général-syndic* for his department from 1791 to 1792.

He was elected a deputy to the Convention, where he represented the Ardèche. A moderate, he sat with the **Plain**. He was sent on a mission to Lyon to quash bread riots due to subsistence problems. During the trial of **Louis XVI**, he voted for the referendum, against death, and in favor of imprisonment. He voted for the impeachment of Jean-Paul **Marat**.

Boissy's political career blossomed after the **Thermidorian Reaction**. He joined the **Committee of Public Safety** on December 5, 1794, and was in charge of food distribution, a task at which he was very successful and for which he received the name Boissy-Famine. He accidentally became president of the Convention on 1 Prairial (May 20, 1795) during the Prairial Rising, an invasion of the Convention by Parisian *sans-culottes* demanding, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793." At the risk of his life, he defended the Convention from the invading mob, who murdered the deputy Féraud, put his head on a pike, and presented it to Boissy. Throughout this event, Boissy remained composed. The next day, the Convention applauded his behavior. He was charged with drafting the Constitution of the Year III (1795) with Creuzé-Latouche, Lanjuinais, and La Revellière-Lépeaux. This constitution represented a triumph for republican conservatives such as Boissy. These men created a bicameral legislature with a franchise based on tax qualification. Elected to the Council of Five Hundred in 1795 by 72 departments, Boissy opted for that of the Seine. He was proscribed during the Fructidor rising and fled to England.

Boissy returned to France after the coup d'état de **Brumaire** (November 9–10) 1799. He was nominated to the Tribunate and **Senate**. With the Bourbon restoration, Boissy was appointed to the Chamber of Peers, where he sat as a prominent liberal until his death in 1826. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; French Revolution; Parlements; Reign of Terror.

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LEIGH WHALEY

## **Bolívar, Simón (1783–1830)**

Simón Bolívar is one of the most powerful and influential figures in Latin American political history. Known as "the Liberator," Bolívar was a South American revolutionary leader as well as a general who fought against Spanish domination in Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Panama, and Bolivia. He dedicated his life to the independence of the Spanish New World colonies, and the unification of much of Latin America.

### ***Bolívar in Brief***

A man of great charm and charisma, Bolívar was renowned for his eloquent speeches and literary skill. Historical records indicate that he spoke so eloquently and free of error that his speeches did not require editing when they were printed. His writings are acclaimed and highly regarded for their philosophical and insightful content. Combined with his military genius and art of governance, his personal qualifications allowed him to rise to the rank of a great statesman. He founded and became first president of Bolivia, a country that bears his name, and led a political movement toward unification across South America. Despite his considerable abilities and influence, he was humble and prone to lead a simple and ordinary life. He ate the same food as his common soldiers, despite the fact that he was born into a very wealthy family. When he died, he was almost as poor as an ordinary South American of the time, by virtue of having spent his fortune on the cause of South American unity.

Because of his devotion to the people of South America and his intellectual and practical contribution to the region, Bolívar is still remembered and admired in Latin America. His legacy and imprints are so visible in the region that statues of him adorn the main squares of all major Latin American cities. Even in the cities Bolívar visited briefly, such as London, as well as places he never visited, such as Washington, New York, and Buenos Aires, there are statues of Bolívar. In Venezuela a city, a mountain, an international airport, its currency, hospitals, schools, and main squares are named after him; the country also changed its name to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 1998. Some contemporary Latin American leaders, including Hugo Chávez of Venezuela and Evo Morales of Bolivia, assert that they are following the footsteps of the Liberator and call for adherence to the principles of Bolivarian revolution to counter the dire effects of neoliberal global financial policies.

However, while Bolívar was a great revolutionary figure, a very influential politician, and a prolific writer and thinker, it can also be argued that his efforts failed to bear much fruit due to his failure to achieve his primary goals. Even the emphasis of leftist Latin American leaders on his ideas and thoughts confirms that he remains an intellectually controversial person. For instance, Hugo Chávez was recently accused of distorting the historical facts about him and inventing a populist Bolívar. While Chávez and other leftist Latin American leaders contend that Bolívar was a leftist revolutionist, at least some scholars maintain that his system of thought has nothing to do with leftist rhetoric, which did not exist in his time.

While a purely leftist discourse tends to describe him as an uncompromising anti-imperialist, the more balanced approach recalls his well-crafted diplomacy when he convinced the British Empire to back South America against the Spanish. Liberals view him as a fighter against repression and tyranny, whereas Marxists assert that he was the leader of a bourgeois revolution. For some who fall in between, Bolívar was simply a reformist, who, while changing the South American political landscape, opted to leave its colonial heritage intact.

Bolívar's failure to unite South America highlights the complexities associated with his personality and ideological tendencies. While he was able to free Latin American nations from Spanish rule, Bolívar's lifelong goal went unfulfilled. Furthermore, during his last years, at least some South Americans wanted him out of political office, so much so that they attempted to assassinate him. Ultimately, realizing his life was at stake, Bolívar felt he should leave his office as well as his country.

### ***Bolívar's Life: Revolution and Resistance***

During his short yet active life, Simón Bolívar fought in numerous wars, organizing resistance movements against the Spanish in hopes of expelling them from Latin America. Sometimes a very brutal soldier, Bolívar was largely successful in these wars, regardless of his lack of extensive military training. While he possessed the necessary organizational and leadership skills necessary to mobilize the people to peacefully resist Spanish rule, he did not hesitate to resort to violent action; indeed, the revolutions he inspired essentially relied on military might.

Born to a wealthy Creole family in Caracas in 1783, Bolívar lost his parents at an early age. His uncle hired a tutor, Simón Rodríguez, to educate him. Rodríguez acquainted Bolívar with the works of the great thinkers of the European **Enlightenment**, including **Voltaire** and **Rousseau**. Bolívar also became aware of the **French**

**Revolution** when he was only a child. After Rodríguez had to flee the country in 1796 due to his opposition to Spanish rule, Bolívar was sent to Europe to complete his education. He visited **Spain** in 1799 and **France** in 1802.

While in Europe, Bolívar married and soon after returned to his native land. However, his wife died that year, and he left for Paris. As a boy, Bolívar had spent a considerable amount of time deliberating over the writings of such European rational thinkers and philosophers as **Locke** and **Hobbes**. Later, during his time in Europe, the idea of freeing South America became crystallized in his mind. His acquaintance with Alexander von Humboldt in Paris had at least a partial impact on his determination to end Spanish rule in Latin America. It is believed that Humboldt encouraged Bolívar—albeit indirectly—to begin the process of liberation. Influenced by **Napoleon's** striking military and political achievements, Bolívar also came to the realization that a single man could change the fate of a nation. In August 1805, Bolívar, along with Rodríguez, left Paris and traveled to Italy, where the two visited Rome—long associated with freedom from repression. There, Bolívar reportedly vowed to free his country.

Simultaneously, Bolívar also developed his political philosophy based on the promotion of freedom, liberty and human rights, and opposition to monarchy and tyranny. In Europe, he became an ardent republican and returned to his homeland in 1807 via the United States as a man dedicated to the emancipation of Spanish America. During his stay in the United States, he was able to observe the operation of its liberal institutions.

In 1808, recognizing that Napoleon's invasion of Spain was severely eroding the mother countries in South America, Bolívar decided to launch a movement to liberate Latin America. To this end, he convened a national congress in Caracas in March 1811. Bolívar addressed the delegates and urged them to take immediate action in pursuit of independence, which was formally declared on July 5. Independence, however, could not be sustained. Bolívar was forced to flee the country to Cartagena, where he published his first great political statement, in which he urged revolutionaries to throw off Spanish rule. Although he captured Caracas and established a second Venezuelan republic in 1813, at which time he was proclaimed Liberator, the Spanish once more defeated him in 1814, and in the following year he went into voluntary exile to Jamaica. There he authored arguably his most important intellectual work, *La carta de Jamaica* (The Letter from Jamaica), in which he laid out his blueprint for the emancipation of Latin America. In December 1815, he took refuge in Haiti, where he was welcomed and received extensive support for his cause. Unique among the governments Bolívar approached for practical help, Haiti agreed to supply him with funds and military equipment.

Thus prepared, in 1817, Bolívar invaded Venezuela and defeated Spanish forces there. For the third time, he established a revolutionary republic and was elected president. Several months later he defeated the Spanish again and entered Bogotá in 1819, where he became president and military dictator of the surrounding region. There he charged legislators with the responsibility of laying the foundation of a new state to be known as La República de Colombia. In the same year, its congress adopted a republican constitution for this new federation, which consisted of three parts, Colombia, Venezuela, and Quito (Ecuador). Even though the latter two regions remained under Spanish control, Bolívar believed he would eventually succeed in uniting the whole region under constitutional rule. In this he succeeded,

after defeating Spanish forces in June 1821 at the Battle of Carabobo, which freed Venezuela of Spanish control. He continued his military campaign against Spanish domination, resulting in the liberation of Ecuador at the end of 1821.

In 1824, Bolívar also liberated Peru and was elected president of that country in 1825. In his honor, a new country named Bolivia was founded in the southern part of the country. With Peru liberated, Bolívar's objective of emancipating South America was almost complete. Gran Colombia, a loose federation created by Bolívar, reached its greatest geographical extent thus far, prompting Bolívar in 1826 to convene a congress of Central and South American states to achieve his lifelong dream of Latin American unity. However, problems soon arose: first, internal disagreements emerged, and later local dissidents rioted against the central government.

In an effort to end the internal turmoil, Bolívar called for a convention in April 1828. It soon became evident, however, that Bolívar was not as successful in the political sphere as in the military arena. Although at the beginning he favored a federal structure with a strong central government, the convention now adopted a document that provided a loose and decentralized confederation of political entities. As a result, Bolívar did not endorse the work of the convention and proclaimed himself dictator in August 1828. On September 25, in Bogotá, an assassin attempted to kill Bolívar. Recognizing the popular dissatisfaction with his political leadership, Bolívar resigned from the presidency of Colombia in 1830 and left for Europe, which he never reached, dying of tuberculosis on December 17 of that year.

### ***Ideological Foundation of Bolívarian Revolution***

While through his martial abilities he secured the emancipation of South American nations from Spanish rule, Bolívar failed to leave a well-defined political and ideological legacy to serve as the basis for those nations to flourish and build on their independence. His political thoughts were often so vague and unfixed—at times even conflicting—that it is difficult to identify a coherent ideology. Bolívar was certainly eager to support his military achievements with an ideological foundation that would suit conditions in Latin America. Hence, it would be unfair to characterize him merely in military terms. As already noted, he possessed a bright intellect and a creative mind and was a prolific writer. However, from his writings and actions, it may be said that he was a pragmatic ruler rather than an adherent to a particular ideology or school of political thought.

To achieve this, Bolívar was determined to do whatever was required. According to his first political manifesto in 1812, military victories and independence should be followed by the establishment of a political system in which a strong government creates a president for life. His rationale was simple: people should not cast blame for their oppression on the Spaniards but must look to their own disunity. Thus, according to Bolívar, the only way to avoid the risk of domination by a foreign power is by establishing a central government led by a strong leader.

Likewise, in his famous *La carta de Jamaica*, while proposing the establishment of constitutional republics, each with a hereditary upper house and an elected lower house, he once more underlined the importance of creating a president for life. At the first available opportunity, Bolívar implemented his plan. After liberating Upper Peru in April 1825, he drafted a constitution that reflected his vacillation between a purely authoritarian regime and a political system that would allow popular participation. The constitution provided for a lifelong president, a legislative body with



no significant power, and a highly restricted form of suffrage. Even as late as 1826, when a league of Latin American nations was convened in Panama to discuss issues concerning them, Bolívar remained an authoritarian republican.

While he appeared never to have abandoned his inclination toward authoritarianism, Bolívar was also a keen defender of freedom in the broadest sense. The fundamental principles and premises of the Enlightenment strongly influenced his political thinking, and British ideas on the art of governance played an important part in this process. For Bolívar, British constitutionalism could serve as a model for the people of his continent, though he maintained that liberty did not simply mean freedom from absolutism, but freedom from an oppressive colonial power, and ought to be secured through genuine independence guaranteed by a liberal constitutional regime. Nevertheless, his seemingly liberal views never led him to rely on popular support in his rule of liberated territories. In the end, he failed in his quest to reconcile his authoritarian ambitions with a political system based on the consent of the majority. Conversely, Bolívar was quite clear in his approach to nationalism. In view of its usefulness to the cause of Latin American independence, he sought to rely heavily on nationalist sentiments. However, in recognition of the absence of a strong European-style nationalist base in Latin America, Bolívar sought to foster and encourage a style of nationalism that suited the region. Nevertheless, in his writings, Bolívar avoided defining the term “nation” and employed the terms “nation,” “patria,” “state,” and “republic” almost interchangeably, making no distinctions between them.

Bolívarian nationalism is not based on a specific culture, ethnicity, or race. Bolívar wished the whole of Latin America to share common values. In light of the fact that the region was very diverse in terms of ethnic, national, and religious attachments and allegiances, Bolívar was particularly careful to ensure that this diversity did not create sharp divisions within this heterogeneous society. To this end, he avoided making references to particular ethnic, religious, or national identities. Still, he viewed this diversity as an asset and sought to benefit from it. To this end, he tried to underline the importance of a continental spirit and thus encouraged unity in Latin America. Significantly, he also often called himself first an American, and then a Venezuelan. As early as 1813, he openly invited immigrants to settle in Venezuela, and promised **citizenship** to those who demonstrated their commitment to the country.

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CENAP CAKMAK

### **Bonald, Louis Gabriel Ambroise, Vicomte de (1754–1840)**

A political and proto-sociological philosopher, Bonald was, with de Maistre, a leading voice of reactionary opposition to the principles of the **French Revolution**. A political absolutist, he based his philosophy on the primacy of revelation. Bonald

expressed a fiercely royalist position, which viewed the Catholic Church and monarchical authority as the twin pillars of society in **France**. In the infamous work *On Divorce* he argued that divorce, which was legalized in France in 1792, was responsible for the breakdown of domestic society. Bonald's writings also asserted the divine origin of language, which in his view was not innate to humans but revealed. From this he deduced the divine origins of the scriptures and the infallibility of the church.

In 1791, motivated by his opposition to the principles of the Revolution, Bonald emigrated and joined the army of the Prince of Condé before finally settling at Heidelberg. There he wrote his first major work, the reactionary *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux* (3 volumes, 1796). Other major works include *La législation primitive* (3 volumes, 1808) and *Recherches philosophiques sur les premiers objets des connaissances morales* (2 volumes, 1818). Upon his return to France in 1797, he found himself out of favor with the authorities and lived for a period in retirement before being named councilor of the Imperial University in 1808.

Following the Restoration in 1814, he became a member of the Council of Public Instruction and between 1815 and 1822 served as a deputy in the chamber. In 1822 he was named minister of state with responsibility for the censorship commission, a position that suited his outspoken advocacy of literary censorship. Bonald withdrew from public affairs in 1830 and died a decade later.

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JEFF SHANTZ

## Bonaparte, Napoleon

See Napoleon I

## Boston Massacre (1770)

On the night of March 5, 1770, British soldiers fired upon a crowd of civilians in King Street in Boston. Five men died from their wounds. The incident has been remembered popularly as the Boston Massacre. While a trial found that the soldiers fired in self-defense against an angry mob, these shootings fueled Bostonian resentment of Britain's encroachments on colonial self-government. In the conflict between crown and colonies, the Boston Massacre was the first time that the British shed the blood of American colonists. As such, it was a major escalation of tensions that ultimately led to the **American Revolution**.

In 1767, **Parliament** asserted the authority to tax America by passing the **Townshend Acts**. These laws imposed duties on paper, painter's colors, glass, and tea imported by the colonies. They established an American Board of Commissioners of the Customs, a bureaucracy to collect the taxes, as well as a new system of vice-admiralty courts, courts operating without juries under British admiralty law, to adjudicate violations of the acts.

The new American Board was headquartered in Boston. The elected representatives of the town of Boston and the province of **Massachusetts** denied Parliament's right to tax the colonies, and the people did not welcome the customs commissioners to their city. Only two years before, mobs in Boston had prevented the collection of taxes resulting from the **Stamp Act** by pressuring the designated tax collector to resign his post, while the colonies forced repeal of the act by organizing a boycott of British goods. Whig politicians in Massachusetts recognized that the tactics that brought them victory over the Stamp Act might also work against the Townshend Acts.

In 1768, the Massachusetts House of Representatives, led by Whig leader Samuel **Adams**, called on the other colonial legislatures to petition King **George III** to repeal the Townshend Acts. Merchants put economic pressure on Parliament by agreeing not to import any British goods. Bostonian mobs tried to prevent collection of the new duties by intimidating the customs commissioners, while gangs of boys ridiculed and harassed merchants who breached the non-importation agreement. As colonial opposition gained strength, the governor of Massachusetts, Francis Bernard, claimed to be powerless to protect the commissioners and enforce the hated taxes.

That fall, the British government deployed in Boston two British army regiments, thus supporting royal authority with the threat of military force. The people of Boston widely viewed the soldiers as instruments of a conspiracy to destroy their freedom to govern and tax themselves. As the city's military occupation wore on, the people often clashed with the soldiers and customs officers. On February 22, 1770, one customs official killed a 12-year-old boy when the former fired a shot into a crowd of schoolboys throwing rocks at his house.

Public anger toward the occupation rose to fever pitch. Rumors of a British plot to massacre the town spread. In the first few days of March, brawls broke out between soldiers and civilians in Boston. Gangs of workers armed with sticks and game for a fight could be seen marching in the streets. On the evening of March 5, a boy insulted a soldier on sentry duty at the main guardhouse on King Street. When the soldier struck the boy in the head with the butt of his musket, a furious mob tried to lynch him.

While the sentry hid in the customhouse, Captain Thomas Preston and a squad of eight soldiers came out of the guardhouse to rescue him. They were themselves surrounded by the angry townspeople. The mob insulted the soldiers, threatened to kill them, dared them to fire, and struck them with their fists, pieces of ice, and sticks. After being hit in the head, one of the enlisted men called on his fellow soldiers to fire, which they did, shooting eight men in the crowd. Four of the civilians died on the scene, and a fifth died from his wounds soon after.

Under extreme political pressure, acting governor Thomas **Hutchinson** withdrew the regiments from the city. Samuel Adams called the incident a massacre, and it has been known as the Boston Massacre ever since. Adams accused Preston of ordering his men to fire on protesters who were peacefully and legally assembled. Paul **Revere** depicted this characterization of the incident in a famous broadside engraving that further prejudiced the already enraged people of Boston against the British garrison.

The Crown government in Massachusetts indicted Thomas Preston and the eight enlisted men for murder. Considering the public mood, it seemed unlikely that they could get a fair trial. But Boston **Tories** managed to pack the jury for Preston's trial, effectively guaranteeing his acquittal.

After much delay, the captain's trial was held in October 1770. Robert Treat **Paine** and Samuel Quincy prosecuted Preston, while John **Adams**, Josiah **Quincy**,

and Samuel Auchmuty provided his defense. The defense proved—even to the satisfaction of many Whigs—that Preston had not given an order for his men to fire, and the Boston jury acquitted him of murder.

In the second trial, held in November, Adams and Quincy argued that the soldiers were not guilty of murder because they fired only in self-defense. A Cambridge jury found six of the soldiers not guilty of murder. Two were found guilty only of manslaughter and were released after their thumbs were branded.

Despite the acquittals of Preston and his men, Samuel Adams continued to argue in the public press that they were guilty of murder and that the six casualties of March 5 were the victims of a premeditated massacre. This distorted view of the incident continued to dominate the thinking of most Bostonians, fuelling further protests against British authority that finally culminated in war.

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J. PATRICK MULLINS

### **Boston Port Act (1774)**

The Boston Port Act was one of five legislative measures enacted by **Parliament** during the spring of 1774 and known collectively as the **Coercive Acts**. The Boston Port Act (approved March 31, 1774; effective June 1, 1774) closed the port of Boston as a measure to coerce the town to compensate the British East India Company for the destruction of its tea during the **Boston Tea Party**. Boston depended upon the carrying trade and its many peripheral industries as the basis of its local economy. With the port closed, many men lost their jobs, and residents were forced to depend upon the generosity of other colonies to supply foodstuffs via Boston Neck (the narrow strip of land that then connected Boston's peninsula to the mainland).

Whigs from **Massachusetts** regarded the Port Act as intolerable not only because its provisions created significant economic hardship for thousands of residents, but also because they believed the act violated certain of their rights as subjects of **George III**. Because the 1689 Declaration of English Rights provided that no English (from 1707, British) citizen would be taxed without his interests being represented in Parliament, and because the 1691 **Massachusetts** charter stipulated that its General Court was empowered by the Crown to levy whatever taxes were necessary to satisfy any demand made by Parliament for funds, the citizens of Massachusetts believed the **Tea Act** had violated their chartered rights and their rights as Englishmen. Massachusetts's Whigs believed the Tea Act (as well as the **Sugar Act** of 1764, the 1765 **Stamp Act**, and the **Townshend Acts** of 1768) emanated from the designs of a corrupt British ministry that manipulated Parliament into enacting measures that violated the British constitution. Provincial Americans therefore believed it to be their duty as British subjects loyal to the Crown to resist those measures and to petition the king for redress of their grievances.

Parliament intended the Port Act to be temporary—it would be revoked when the town of Boston paid the British East India Company for its loss. Several individuals, including Benjamin **Franklin** (who was then in London, engaged by several colonies as an agent to represent their interests to the British government), offered

to pay restitution, but Boston declined their aid, which created a standoff between the town and Parliament.

When the Port Act became effective, General Thomas **Gage** replaced Thomas **Hutchinson** as governor of Massachusetts. Gage arrived in Boston in May 1774, accompanied by four regiments of British regulars to enforce the Tea Act and Coercive Acts (including the Port Act). Following the battles of **Lexington and Concord**, the rebels' siege of Boston ensued, and approximately 20,000 militiamen from New England surrounded the British-held town. The Continental Congress appointed Virginian George **Washington** commander of the **Continental Army** in June 1775; he assumed command of the New England forces two weeks after the Battle of Bunker Hill. In September of 1775, Gage was recalled and replaced by General William Howe. The siege continued until March 1776, when Henry Knox engineered the transport to the siege lines of many of the cannon that Nathaniel Greene's expedition had seized when it captured Fort Ticonderoga. Washington had the cannon installed upon Dorchester Heights (overlooking Boston) on the night of March 4, using prefabricated fortifications. The Americans' command of this strategic position forced the British army to evacuate Boston. Departing by sea on March 27, 1776, the troops took many Massachusetts **Loyalists** with them to Nova Scotia. The fall of Boston to rebel control brought an end to Port Act. *See also* Continental Congress, Second.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

### **Boston Tea Party (1773)**

The Boston Tea Party refers to the actions of group of Bostonians affiliated with the **Sons of Liberty** who on the evening of December 16, 1773, disguised themselves as Mohawk Indians; boarded the *Beaver*, *Eleanor*, and *Dartmouth*, three merchant ships docked in Boston Harbor; and dumped their cargo of 45 tons of tea overboard.

Their vandalism was a protest not against the imposition of a new duty, as in the case of the **Stamp Act** of 1765, but rather more directly against the lifting of an import duty from the British East India Company. In May 1773 **Parliament** removed the duty on tea entering **Britain** and permitted the company to be its own exporter of tea to the colonies. Since the passage of the **Townshend Acts** in 1767, the 13 colonies had paid a tax on sundry manufactures from Britain, including tea, yet had also managed to smuggle tea in from other suppliers, mostly from the **Netherlands**. Relief from the tea duty now put the company in a position to undercut the price offered by the smugglers and bring tea to the colonies at a new low price. Additionally, the company consigned their imported tea to merchants friendly to the Crown's cause, such as Thomas **Hutchinson**, the royal governor of **Massachusetts**.

At same time, the Crown stepped up measures against tea smuggling, which, in combination with the new advantage given to the East India Company and the colonial merchants it favored, imperiled the business of Boston merchants, who had adapted successfully to the circumstances of 1767–1773. The Sons of Liberty declared the company's actions to be those of an illegal monopoly, convened a meeting

at the Old South Meeting House, and sent a message to Hutchinson demanding that company tea recently arrived from Britain be sent back. When the governor refused, Samuel **Adams** declared famously, if somewhat pompously, that “This meeting can do more to save the country,” whereupon roughly a thousand men marched to Griffith’s Wharf.

The Tea Party’s destruction of property had the effect of prodding the Crown into imprudent reprisals, among them the passage of the so-called **Coercive Acts**, which were broadly supported by public opinion in Britain at the time and today commonly considered to mark the beginning of the **American Revolution**. It was in commenting on the Tea Party that the essayist and lexicographer Samuel Johnson offered his belief that “Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel.” Against this vengeful sentiment Parliament and public **Tories** such as Edmund **Burke** counseled restraint, lest the Americans be exhilarated to further rebellion by further repression. John **Adams**, one of the founders of American nationhood, hoped and predicted that precisely this would happen. Although Adams detested the very mob action to which his second cousin Samuel Adams was drawn, he noted that neither injury nor death resulted from the Tea Party, while its drama made it “an epoch of history.”

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### **Brissot de Warville, Jean-Pierre (1754–1793)**

Jean-Pierre Brissot was a French author, journalist, and radical politician during the **French Revolution**. Although born to a relatively humble family, Brissot achieved considerable heights as a man of letters, as the founder of the *Patriote Français* newspaper, as deputy to the **Legislative Assembly** and the **National Convention**, and as chief of the Girondin faction in the Convention. Brissot’s fall was just as dramatic as his rise: as a result of a series of poor policy choices and inept political decisions, Brissot became one of the first victims of the **Reign of Terror** in October 1793.

Brissot was born in Chartres on January 15, 1754, the third of seven children to survive beyond infancy. His father, a moderately successful bourgeois restaurateur, earned enough money to provide his son with an education, and Brissot originally pursued a career in law. The philosophical works that Brissot read voraciously, however, pulled him in a more literary direction, and after failing to ingratiate himself with the Parisian bar, Brissot decided to become a man of letters, eventually publishing works on religion, law, politics, economics, and foreign affairs. Most were quite radical in tone, by prerevolutionary standards, and they often bore the clear intellectual fingerprints of Brissot’s idol, Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**.

Although Brissot hoped that literary works would make his fame and fortune, he was repeatedly disappointed in that hope, perhaps in part because his writings were generally rather derivative. To make ends meet in the meantime, Brissot turned to journalism, first as the editor of the French edition of the *Courier de l’Europe* in 1779, and later as publisher of two London-based journals. All these ventures proved

failures, drowning Brissot in debt. They did afford Brissot the opportunity to visit Britain and several Swiss cantons, including Geneva, where in 1782 he befriended Swiss banker Etienne Clavière.

In 1784, however, Brissot's prerevolutionary career reached its lowest ebb. Following the collapse of his London publications, Brissot returned to **France** only to be held in the Bastille for two months for irritating French governmental officials. The assistance of several people, including Clavière, won Brissot his freedom, but after his release Brissot was so impoverished that he may have accepted a position as a police spy to help make ends meet. Brissot's fortunes soon turned for the better, however, as Clavière's sponsorship won Brissot a job ghostwriting for the comte de **Mirabeau**, a publicist who sold his pen to various causes. Soon after, Brissot was recruited to the prestigious position as publicist for the reformist duc d'**Orléans**, though his controversial work for Orléans was cut short by the threat of another stay in the Bastille and Brissot's subsequent flight to Britain and Holland.

In the meantime, Brissot took advantage of his relative financial wherewithal to write more freely and published various works, most notably his *Examen critique des voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, which praised the virtues of the newly independent American republic. Brissot's interest in things American led him to an enduring interest in abolitionism, and Brissot was a founding member of La Société des Amis des Noirs, modeled on British antislave-trade societies. His passion for the Americas culminated in a 1788–1789 voyage to the United States, funded by Clavière, who hoped to attract Brissot to his scheme to speculate on the American debt. Brissot had his own motives: he wanted to make contacts with American anti-slavery activists and even considered immigration to the United States.

Brissot's plans were interrupted by the outbreak of revolution in France in 1789, however, and Brissot hurried home to take part. Once back in Paris, Brissot unsuccessfully sought election to the **Estates-General** and then talked his way into the Paris municipal government, which found him useful as a publicist. Brissot also tapped into his experience as a journalist and established the *Patriote Français*, which was to become one of France's most influential newspapers, in July 1789. He then negotiated his way as a journalist into a seat in the Legislative Assembly of 1791–1792, where on the basis of his wide travels and many international contacts he was appointed to the diplomatic committee.

Brissot's position in the diplomatic committee represented the height of his career, but also the beginning of his downfall. Convinced that war would unite the Revolution against despotism and force the vacillating king to proclaim his loyalties, Brissot pushed the country into conflict with Austria and Prussia despite the unreadiness of the French army and the warnings issued by fellow radical Maximilien **Robespierre** that “no one loves armed missionaries.” The disastrous war that followed, and the climate of fear that it bred in France, led to a Parisian popular revolt on August 10, 1792; the abolition of the monarchy; and the establishment of a new electoral body, the National Convention. It also led to a rift between Brissot and Robespierre, the two most influential radical leaders of the day: Robespierre became convinced that Brissot was a crypto-royalist, while Brissot accused Robespierre of plotting with Parisian militants to achieve a dictatorship.

Although his war plans failed, Brissot was still popular enough to earn a seat in the National Convention, but the political atmosphere of the Convention soon became poisoned by the Brissot-Robespierre split. Between September 1792 and

June 1793, Convention deputies gravitated into two loose camps, the radical Montagnard faction of Robespierre and the Girondin camp of Brissot, which was characterized by a legalist approach to politics and hostility to Parisian insurrection. Brissot and his allies were particularly upset by the **September Massacres** of 1792, which they interpreted, with some justification, as a personal threat. Unfortunately, Brissot proved inept as a faction leader, for he alienated possible allies (such as Georges-Jacques **Danton**) and repeatedly provoked Parisian radicals.

Brissot's failure to conciliate Paris eventually proved fatal. On June 22, 1793, a Parisian insurrection forced the Convention to purge Brissot and 22 other Girondin deputies. Following a staged trial in October, Brissot was led to the guillotine, singing "La Marseillaise" as he went, one of the first victims of the national bloodletting of the Terror. *See also* Abolitionists; Abolition of the Monarchy; Brissotins; Girondins; The Mountain; Newspapers (French); Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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BENJAMIN REILLY

## Brissotins

The Brissotins (also known as **Girondins** or Rolandins) were a loosely knit group during the **French Revolution** that included Jean-Pierre **Brissot de Warville**, the Marquis de **Condorcet**, Marie-Jeanne Philipon **Roland**, Jean Marie **Roland de la Platière**, three lawyers from Bordeaux—Armand **Gensonné**, Marguerite-Elie **Gaudet**, and Pierre-Victorien **Vergniaud**—their friends, and other deputies. Estimated to include approximately 130 deputies, they advocated war and opposed centralization of government in Paris and economic regulation but were divided over the fate of King **Louis XVI**. When a mob of 80,000 surrounded the **National Convention** on June 2, 1793, and demanded a purge of the Girondins, 29 were expelled and a number were subsequently executed. *See also* Jacobins; Political Clubs (French).

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LINDA S. FREY AND MARSHA L. FREY

## Britain

In the mid-eighteenth century, most politicians and political commentators maintained that Britain possessed an ancient constitution and that the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 had placed that constitution on a firmer foundation. The constitution was widely praised as a mixed form of government, with the king representing the monarchical form, the House of Lords the aristocratic form, and the House of Commons the democratic form of government. By mixing these three forms and balancing them by ensuring that each had its special function (the king was the head of the executive, the Lords were the head of the judiciary, and the Commons voted on taxes) and that all three combined to make up the sovereign authority in the state as king-in-parliament, Britain was able to enjoy the twin benefits of liberty and stability. The king's authority was limited by the need to seek



the advice and financial support of **Parliament**. Both houses of Parliament met in session every year, and laws required the consent of the Commons, the Lords, and the king (though the monarch had never vetoed any measure passed by Parliament since 1706).

Although the House of Commons was regarded as representing the people as a whole, it was, in fact, an essentially aristocratic chamber. Its membership was largely composed of substantial country gentlemen and relatives or clients of the aristocracy; even the minority of MPs (members of Parliament), who were financiers, merchants, lawyers and senior officers in the armed forces, were usually wealthy owners of real estate. MPs were by law required to possess substantial real estate. Parliament responded more to pressure applied by powerful economic interests than to the grievances of the ordinary people. The parliamentary franchise was based in almost all cases on property qualifications; these were uniform in the counties (the 40-shilling freeholder) but varied considerably in the boroughs. No more than 20 percent of adult males in all were qualified to vote in England and Wales; the proportion was far less in Scotland. Some constituencies (the pocket or rotten boroughs) had very few voters, and these were easily managed by the propertied elite, especially as votes were given by oral declaration in public. Some large urban centers such as Manchester and Birmingham had no direct representation in Parliament, but there were populous counties and large boroughs with a sufficient number of voters to make them open constituencies in which the electors had some say in who represented them in Parliament. Once elected, MPs represented the nation as a whole, not just their constituents.

Although a limited monarch, the king not only had great prestige and was shown great deference but was constitutionally the head of the executive, and he appointed all ministers, judges, magistrates, bishops, and senior officers in the army and Royal Navy. His powers, however, were in practice delegated to a prime minister and a cabinet of leading politicians who required the king's favor before they could hold such positions. The main political task of the prime minister and his colleagues was to manage Parliament so that the necessary revenues were raised to fund the policies of the state and certain laws that were deemed advisable or beneficial were passed. To assist them in managing Parliament, the king's ministers dispensed royal patronage to their supporters in the legislature and even to some voters in the constituencies. They could also exploit the patronage and influence of their leading supporters. It was relatively easy for any administration to secure the majority in the House of Lords, since it had a relatively small membership and the Crown appointed bishops and judges and could create or promote peers of the realm. On very few occasions indeed was an administration outvoted in the House of Lords.

The House of Commons, however, was much more difficult to manage because it had 558 members until the Act of Union with **Ireland** in 1800, and a further 100 members thereafter. Those members in receipt of Crown patronage (known at the time and ever since as the Court and Treasury Party) could usually be counted upon to support the king's ministers except when the government proved quite incapable. There were about 200 such members in 1760, but less than half that number by 1815. This was never enough to guarantee that a ministry could secure the majority in the House of Commons, especially when it was in serious trouble over unpopular taxes or reverses in foreign wars. Many MPs were independent country gentlemen of substantial wealth who owed their seats in the House of Commons

to the patronage and influence they possessed in their own constituencies. While many of these independent members were predisposed to support the king's ministers, their votes could not always be relied upon, and their support might be lost when they were most needed, in a political crisis.

Having been placed in high office by the king, not by the people or even by the people's representatives, ministers of the Crown had to have the abilities and the policies to win the consistent support of the majority of MPs present in the House of Commons. Since by the mid-1760s there were no longer any organized parties that could be counted upon to secure the majority for the ministers, the cabinet had to possess enough political talent to win over independent-minded backbenchers. The essential skills required were the ability to raise loans and taxes (especially in war time), the debating skills needed to present a good case in the chamber (especially when challenged by able opponents), and the wise and effective conduct of war and diplomacy. Effective prime ministers such as Frederick North, Lord **North**, and William **Pitt** the Younger were good at raising loans and taxes, even during very expensive wars. While the national debt expanded enormously in wartime, both ensured that Britain's finances were in much better shape than those of her enemies. Both these long-serving prime ministers were also fine speakers and debaters who could usually win the backing of independent members. They were both assisted by able ministerial colleagues. All governments were expected to safeguard the landed interest, boost commercial expansion, increase Britain's colonial possessions, and maintain the balance of power in Europe. The economy was usually promoted through noninterference or by allowing particular vested interests to promote legislation that would increase personal wealth and advance the country's economic interests. Ministers never tried to manage the economy and rarely advocated national policies on social issues; bills on such subjects were usually presented as private or local bills by independent backbenchers.

The **Tory** party had completely collapsed at the national level before 1760. The Whig party also disintegrated in the early 1760s as **George III** set out to undermine the "Old Corps" of **Whigs** that had dominated the administrations of George I and George II. He deliberately appointed ministers and exploited Crown patronage in order to weaken party discipline and unity. Very soon, while almost all MPs would still have regarded themselves as Whigs, either they belonged to a number of quite small factions based on personal, family, or geographic connections rather than to a large party held together by particular principles or a set of policies or they were independent members with no loyalty to any faction or party. This situation very slowly changed over several decades in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Members of both houses of Parliament recognized that the American and the French revolutions posed profound ideological challenges and severe military challenges to the British constitution and political system. At the same time, the gradual but eventually massive transformation of Britain that is usually referred to as the Industrial Revolution (substantial demographic growth, rapid urbanization, major commercial and industrial expansion, and the concomitant growth of the urban middle class and the industrial working classes) presented Parliament with major social and economic problems and created extra-parliamentary forces no longer ready to subordinate themselves to the landed elite.

All three revolutions tended to divide the political elite between liberals and conservatives (although these specific terms were not applied to political attitudes until

the early nineteenth century). A new Whig party based on the Rockinghamite and then the Foxite factions began to emerge during the American crisis. Its members were alarmed at the damaging and then disastrous conflict with Britain's American colonies. They advocated economical reform to reduce Crown patronage and became convinced that Crown influence needed to be reduced and civil liberties safeguarded if the traditional balance of the constitution was to be preserved. They sometimes cooperated with reformers outside Parliament, but they were essentially an aristocratic party that expected to lead the people, not to serve them. They claimed to be the true inheritors of Whig principles, and they commandeered that party label as they improved their party finances, organization, and propaganda in the 1780s. Very badly split by the **French Revolution** in the 1790s, the **Whigs** were a tiny party in the later 1790s. There followed a slow recovery in the early nineteenth century. Aided by many military disasters during the long war against **Napoleon** and by some major scandals that undermined the political reputation of the government, the Whig party had recovered sufficiently by 1815 to number about 200 MPs in the House of Commons.

The conservative administrations that dominated during the late eighteenth century—led by Lord North (1770–1782) and the younger William Pitt (1783–1801)—were condemned for being Tory by their political opponents. Both prime ministers, however, claimed that they were Whigs since they clearly did not uphold such old Tory doctrines as divine right, indefeasible hereditary succession, or nonresistance, and they obviously were entirely loyal to the Revolution Settlement of 1688–1689 and to their Hanoverian monarch. Nonetheless, under challenge from domestic radicals and external revolutionaries, they stood by the prescriptive rights of the king and the established church, placed more emphasis on political stability than on civil liberties, firmly defended aristocratic influence, opposed political reform during external revolutions, and were ready to deploy force against foreign revolutionaries and repressive measures against domestic radicals. This being so, they deserved to be labeled conservative, but their opponents preferred to attach the despised label of Tory to them and their supporters. Both North and Pitt rejected the label, with some justice. Neither made much effort to create an organized and unified political party. They were content to rely on the support of the king and the Court and Treasury party, on a handful of loyal supporters who were personal admirers, and on their ability to win over independent members through personal integrity, debating skills, and financial expertise. Many independent MPs supported Lord North during the American crisis until the War of American Independence was clearly lost; then they deserted him. During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the clear majority of the propertied elite continued to support conservative governments led by Pitt or his disciples. By the early 1810s, Pitt's disciples in government at last accepted the Tory label given to them by their Whig opponents. By 1815, the Court and Treasury party was much reduced, far fewer MPs were true independents, and most MPs could be identified as being either a Whig or a Tory.

By the mid-eighteenth century the middle-class voters in the larger urban and rural constituencies had become used to exercising the franchise relatively freely. Some of them had also learned how to mount extra-parliamentary lobbying or pressure group campaigns to ensure that Parliament paid some attention to their economic interests and their religious prejudices. In many of the larger towns, local affairs were dominated by the middle-class citizens living in them, not by the neighboring landed elite. In many urban areas the poorer inhabitants had also learned to defend

their interests by taking to the streets in popular demonstrations and violent riots. With no effective police force and with much of the army overseas, the governing elite sometimes had to take note of such popular protests. The age of revolution in the later eighteenth century created problems that not only challenged the governing elite but presented opportunities that encouraged the middling orders and even the laboring poor to take a greater interest in national politics. Influenced by the ideas propagated by American patriots and French revolutionaries, and subject to the socioeconomic stresses produced by the Industrial Revolution, the middling and lower orders began to press for political reforms that would enable their interests to be taken into greater consideration by the Westminster parliament.

The urban middle classes began to form clubs and societies, to inform themselves about public affairs, and to become more conscious of their civil liberties and resentful at their limited political rights. They became increasingly critical of the landed elite and were ready to challenge the undue influence that this wealthy minority exercised over Parliament. They learned to use the flourishing and expanding press to educate a wider public on political issues and their political rights. An increasing number of the middling orders became critical of the use of Crown influence and patronage, rallied in support of John **Wilkes** when the rights of the Middlesex electors seemed threatened, were deeply concerned at the crisis created by successive governments' American policies, and were inspired by the ideas and arguments advanced by American patriots and French revolutionaries. The Americans challenged British ideas about representation and sovereignty; created a republic without a monarch, aristocracy, or established church; and produced a written constitution with an extensive bill of rights. The French Revolution inspired a more profound ideological debate, raised ideas about universal natural rights, and attempted a greater social revolution at home. The political impact on Britain was dramatic, and it galvanized thousands of Britons to promote the rights of man and urge a very radical reform of Parliament.

Many British reformers initially appealed to the ancient constitution and historic rights of Englishmen (or Britons) to justify their demands for parliamentary reform, but increasingly the more advanced reformers appealed to universal natural rights. They argued that Parliament could only serve the interests of the whole nation and preserve the civil liberties of the people if it were made more representative and were elected by free, fair, and frequent elections. Many reformers wished to transfer seats from the small rotten boroughs to London, the more populous counties and such unrepresented towns as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield. The more radical reformers advocated a major extension of the franchise, to at least all male householders, though some such as John **Cartwright** and Thomas **Paine** supported universal manhood suffrage. Advanced radicals also favored annual or at least triennial general elections, the secret ballot, the abolition of property qualifications for MPs, and the payment of MPs. All these reforms had been advocated as early as 1780. However, most radicals—even the most famous feminist, Mary **Wollstonecraft**—stopped short of supporting votes for women. Adult females were still mainly regarded as mere appendages of men and as dependants of their male relatives.

Very few radicals followed Thomas Paine in supporting the creation of a republic and advocating the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy. Most radicals believed that democratizing the House of Commons would be enough to ensure the reduction of the tax burden on the people and the elimination of many social and

economic grievances. Paine, for example, wanted to slash the costs of government, to tax the landed elite more heavily, and to use the funds so raised to support a variety of social welfare payments to the poor. Thomas **Spence** went even further and advocated the abolition of private property and, with it, the end of dire poverty. Although a small revolutionary movement emerged in Britain in the late 1790s (and was soon destroyed), there was little desire for radical change through violent revolution on the French model.

Radical demands for parliamentary reform were firmly opposed by the vast majority of the powerful ruling elite. The government never lost its nerve, the economy remained strong, and the political system proved robust under pressure from domestic critics and foreign enemies. The government distributed counterpropaganda, passed repressive legislation, exploited the judicial processes, and occasionally used force to defeat the more dangerous radicals. Almost all the leading radicals were arrested, harassed, or intimidated. The elite also promoted patriotism, encouraged popular loyalism, and blackened the reputation of radicals. Large numbers of Britons, particularly in the rural areas, remained deferential, and even in urban areas many followed the political lead of their social superiors. They were prepared to enlist in a loyalist campaign to preserve the existing political system and safeguard the prevailing social order against domestic radicals, colonial rebels, and French revolutionaries. Popular loyalists imitated the radicals in using the press, joining clubs and societies, attending crowd demonstrations, and addressing the Crown and petitioning Parliament. The more militant loyalists were ready to use force to intimidate domestic radicals and rushed to join the armed Volunteers from the mid-1790s. It is very likely that more ordinary Britons were loyalists rather than radicals by the end of the eighteenth century.

Government repression and militant loyalism destroyed the reform movement in Britain by the later 1790s. The campaign for reform was inhibited as long as French revolutionary principles posed a potent threat. By 1810, however, a French threat based on revolutionary principles had largely subsided and a moderate reform measure was supported by over one hundred MPs in the House of Commons that year. Veteran reformers were joined by newer converts in campaigning for moderate parliamentary reform. Appeals were largely made to the ancient constitution and the historic rights of the people rather than to universal natural rights. New reform clubs were formed, such as the Hampden Club in 1811 and the Union Society in 1812. Reform was promoted in many newspapers and journals. John Cartwright took reform to the industrial areas of the country by embarking on a series of missionary tours to encourage provincial reformers to petition for parliamentary reform. In 1813, he claimed to have secured 130,000 signatures on petitions requesting reform. It was not until the end of the **Napoleonic Wars** in 1815 and the severe postwar distress that came with peace, however, that radicalism was again as powerful as it had been in the early 1790s. *See also* American Revolution; Fox, Charles James; French Revolutionary Wars; Rockingham, Watson-Wentworth, Charles, Marquess of; Tories.

H. T. DICKINSON

### **Brumaire, Coup d'Etat de (1799)**

The coup d'état de Brumaire of 1799 was the act by which **Napoleon** became **First Consul**, thus overthrowing the **Directory** and inaugurating the Napoleonic

era in **France**. Upon Napoleon's return from Egypt, the popular mood in France favored any government likely to return security to the state and a measure of order to society. The executive and legislative powers were in conflict, and the Directory was hated for its tyranny. Inflation was beyond control as the value of paper currency plummeted. There were serious food shortages and charges of open corruption. The coup was not orchestrated so much as executed by Napoleon, since it was the abbé Joseph **Sieyès**, a venerable figure of the revolutionary generation, who had had a hand in the downfall of Georges-Jacques **Danton**, and Maximilien **Robespierre** who decided to act. Sieyès recruited **Talleyrand** and minister of police Joseph **Fouché** to the plot. The three together then chose Napoleon as the sword of their collective will. For his part, Napoleon hated the **Jacobins** as much as he despised the royalists and declared that he would save France from the red and white terrors alike. He was happy to be orchestrated up to a point. He commanded the armed forces and the loyalty of most of its generals, so once his co-conspirators set the stage for a coup they would be in no position to determine its ultimate outcome.

On November 9, 1799 (the eighteenth day of the "foggy month," according to the revolutionary calendar), the two parliamentary chambers of the Directory were summoned to Saint-Cloud, a village north of Paris where Napoleon was, according to the plan, to enter the chamber in full uniform, awe the deputies with his presence, and present them with the fait accompli of their fall to a provisional **Consulate** consisting of Napoleon, Sieyès, and Pierre-Roger **Ducos**. In the event, not all the directors were prepared to swoon at the sight of him, and the coup seemed momentarily lost when Napoleon's small bodyguard was overrun and the general himself bloodied. At that point, the larger body of Napoleon's troops poured in and settled the issue with leveled bayonets. The legislators were put under arrest and the three consuls charged with drafting a new constitution. But the First Consul was almost immediately and by force of circumstance alone a de facto military dictator, with men and materiel at his disposal far exceeding anything ever available to Louis XIV.

In Napoleon's view, France had had since 1789 only one real government, the **Committee of Public Safety**. Contemptuous of the ideologues whose theories had brought the country to desperate straits, he was resolved to return it to order through his personal authority alone. But the opportunity now afforded to his ambition went well beyond the borders of France. "If we take as a basis for all operations true policy, which is nothing else than the calculation of combinations and chances," he had written to Talleyrand in 1797, "we shall long remain *la grande nation*, the arbiter of Europe." The coup thus ended the revolution in France while spreading much of its legacy to every corner of Europe.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### **Bull, William (1710–1791)**

William Bull, the lieutenant governor and commander-in-chief of **South Carolina**, belonged to the distinguished Bull family of Warwickshire that had played an

important part in South Carolina as early settlers. William's grandfather Stephen Bull (1635–1706) held important positions in the colony. He shared with his father, William Bull (1683–1755), the same name, and both served as lieutenant governors of the colony. The younger William received his education in South Carolina and Europe.

Bull became a member of South Carolina's colonial council in 1751, speaker of the House of Delegates 12 years later, and lieutenant governor from 1763 to 1775. In January 1773 the first museum was opened in Charleston, and William acquired materials for it. For the slaves, the first black Baptist church was opened, while the Charlestown chamber of commerce was also established. At the time of the **American Revolutionary War**, John **Rutledge** (1739–1800) was elected governor of South Carolina on March 26, 1776. After the defeat of a British squadron under Admiral Sir Peter Parker (1721–1811) in Charlestown Harbor, Bull returned to **Britain** in 1782 along with Loyalist troops and civilians. He died in London on July 4, 1791.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### **Burke, Edmund (1729–1797)**

Edmund Burke was born in Dublin, **Ireland**, on January 12, 1729. His father, Richard Burke, was an Anglican, an attorney, and a man with an authoritarian manner. His mother was Roman Catholic. From visits to his maternal grandfather in County Cork, near the ruins of Kilcolman, he developed a love of Ireland and a gift for eloquent speech.

Burke was educated at the village school of Glanworth and then at the Ballitore Academy, where, under Quaker influences, he learned tolerance for others in matters both religious and secular. In 1744 he entered Trinity College in Dublin, where his understanding of philosophy and his knowledge of history were enriched by his studies. He wrote poetry and developed a dislike of logic.

In 1747, Burke founded the Historical Society of Trinity College. He graduated from Trinity in 1748 at the age of 19 with a bachelor's degree in arts and quickly engaged in writing and editing a periodical, the *Reformer*. He also wrote pamphlets attacking mercantilism and discussing the *Idea of a Patriot King* by Viscount Bolingbroke. Burke wanted to pursue a literary career. His father, however, wanted him to become a lawyer. Consequently, in 1750 he traveled to London to study law at the Middle Temple. Finding law unappealing, he spent his time reading literature. In 1755 Burke's father, angry with his failure to advance in his legal studies, cut off his allowance. With his legal studies ended, so was the opportunity for admission to the bar. Uncertain about what to do with his life, Burke considered taking a post in the colonies, but he abandoned the idea when his father objected.

In 1756, Burke published two books on philosophical themes. The first was *A Vindication of Natural Society*, in which he refuted the demand that there be a reason to support the existence of moral and social institutions. He rejected the criticism that rationalists would employ against the established order. The second book,

*A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756), was a well-received work in axiology. In 1757 a book entitled *An Account of the European Settlement in America* was anonymously published. When suspicion about its authorship pointed toward Burke, he denied its authorship. However, he is believed to have had a major hand in the drafting of the book. In addition, the first parts of Burke's *The Abridgement of the History of England* were printed at that time. However, the complete book was not to be issued until after Burke died. The books Burke published gained him a literary reputation and introductions to London's literary circles.

In 1757, Burke married Jean Nugent, a Presbyterian and the daughter of a physician who had treated him for a recent illness. Burke found a quiet rest in his father-in-law's home that he had never known in his own. From 1759 until 1791, Burke was an anonymous editor of *The Annual Register*, earning £100 per year. That year Burke met William Gerald "Single Speech" Hamilton, who employed Burke as his secretary. In 1761 when Hamilton went to Ireland as chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, Burke accompanied him as a minor secretary. While in Ireland, he wrote *Tracts on the Popery Laws*, an attack on the laws restricting Roman Catholics. However, Burke was unhappy highlighting the problems of Irish Roman Catholics, even though he was himself sympathetic, because it was his mother's religion.

In 1763, Burke decided not to become an Irish politician. He resigned and returned to England to serve in English politics, notwithstanding the fact that his Roman Catholic sympathies were a liability and would hurt him in the future. Soon after returning to England, Burke joined the Literary Club, which had been founded by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It met once a week for supper at the Turk's Head in Soho. While its members stimulated Burke's intellectual growth, he and Hamilton ended their relationship at this time over a major disagreement.

In need of an income, Burke accepted the position of private secretary to Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquess of **Rockingham**, the incoming (July 1765) prime minister and leader of the **Whigs**. In December 1765, Burke became a member of **Parliament** for Wendover, a pocket borough belonging to Lord Verney. The election marked the beginning of Burke's political career, which would be tied to the Whigs and especially to the Rockingham group.

Burke's first speeches in Parliament called for the repeal of the **Stamp Act**, which had enraged the American colonists. The Rockingham government repealed the act, but Burke's speeches then and afterward, while deemed wise and practical, usually put his fortunes on the losing side of issues so that he never became a minister, nor did he achieve the prosperity he desired. In 1766, Rockingham was forced from power by **George III**. Although offered a position in the new government, Burke followed Rockingham into the opposition faction.

In 1770, Burke published his first major political work, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, a critique of the king's attempts to turn the **Tories** into a court party with which he could dominate Parliament. In 1774 Lord Verey sold his four parliamentary seats to raise needed funds. In response, Burke ran for Parliament in the seaport of Bristol, where his views on trade, similar to those of his friend Adam **Smith**, were popular. His *Bristol Speeches* were among his best. In them he defined the trustee theory of representation, which views a representative as someone who represents the whole society and votes to promote the good of all, not just that of the district being represented.



In 1774, Burke delivered his “Speech on American Taxation,” in which, for all practical purposes, Burke took the side of the American colonies against the British government. Burke likened the British Empire to a family—a group of adults united as equals in a single harmonious whole. Others would see this image as one in which Britain was the mother and the colonies were disobedient children. For Burke, the empire was an aggregation of many states under a single head. Yet at the same time Burke also believed in parliamentary supremacy. Reconciling these two concepts of supremacy and autonomy was difficult for Burke and others to do.

On March 22, 1775, Burke made a *Speech on Reconciliation with America*, in which he proposed that the Crown and Parliament seek reconciliation with the American colonies before it was too late. His advice was ignored. In August 1776 Burke found the idea of American independence and the prospect of a British defeat too terrible to reconcile. To him victory for either side was disastrous. Victory for the Americans would separate a great part of the empire from the mother country. Victory for the Crown would be to see injustice and oppression gain the day.

Burke’s support for removing Catholic disabilities achieved mixed success with the passage of the Savil Act (1778). Disabilities were removed, but his support made him a target in the resulting anti-Catholic Gordon riots in London (1780), in which over three hundred people were killed. His sympathies were unpopular in Bristol, as well, so in 1780 he ran for a seat in the Rockingham family borough at Malton, Yorkshire, which Burke would represent until his retirement.

In March of 1782 Burke was appointed paymaster general in the short-lived Rockingham government. It seemed that he was about to rise to the political heights he sought, but the death of Rockingham in July 1782 left Burke without his principal patron and led him to make intemperate speeches in Parliament. In 1783 Burke, concerned about abuses in **India** under the East India Company’s rule, initiated a long series of speeches and proposals for reform, including calls for the impeachment of the governor general of Bengal, Warren Hastings. Matters came to a head in 1790 when Hastings was impeached and subjected to Burke’s condemnation in a speech lasting four days. At the end of a seven-year trial Hastings was acquitted, but Burke had laid the foundation for reforms in India.

In November 1790 Burke published his most famous work, his lengthy tract entitled *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings of Certain Societies in London*. It was read throughout Europe and encouraged opposition to the Revolution.

*Reflections on the Revolution* was written to oppose Thomas **Paine**’s pamphlet, *The Rights of Man*, which had been written in support of the **French Revolution**. A revolutionary personality, Paine had fled England shortly before the **American Revolution** because of agitation against the Crown. In early 1776 he had published the pamphlet *Common Sense*, which made a devastating attack on the institution of monarchy using extensive anti-monarchical passages from the Bible. Paine’s work had a deep impact on the colonists and played a major role in gaining adherents to the cause of independence. While the attempts of **Loyalists** (Tories) such as James Chalmers (*Plain Truth*, 1776) failed to make an impression against Paine’s rhetoric, *The Rights of Man* would meet a formidable opponent in Burke.

Burke’s central reason for rejecting the principles of the French Revolution rested on his belief that the claim that reason alone was sufficient for proper governance was arrogant. To Burke the experience of the generations reflected in received tradition embodied a higher wisdom than that of a few people in any one generation.

In 1791 Burke wrote *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, constituting his ideas of “the people” and of “natural aristocracy,” and written in response to the decision of the Whigs to follow Charles James **Fox** in support of the French Revolution instead of Burke in opposition. As the Revolution progressed Burke issued other critical works, including *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796), in which he defined Jacobinism as an attack against the rights of property. He developed a conception of the whole of Europe as a Christian commonwealth and also wrote *A Letter to a Noble Lord* (1796), a defense of the pension he was receiving against the attack of the Duke of Bedford.

In his last years Burke was a power in Europe without position, property, or prosperity, regarded by the Irish Roman Catholics as their champion. He advised **Louis XVI** and French royalists, as well as the Polish king, Stanislaus.

As Burke neared death, his rejection of the French Revolution grew, and he advised war against it. When war was declared in February 1793, his prestige grew even greater. He died on July 9, 1797, and was buried in the parish church of Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire.

Burke’s influence has been lasting. His idea of a political party as a group of people sharing a common political philosophy that they are seeking to put into law by taking control of the government is now a classical definition. His views on natural aristocracy and other ideas were to greatly influence European conservatism in the nineteenth century. *See also* Jacobins.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

### **Butler, John (1728–1796)**

John Butler, an officer in the British Army and one of the founding fathers of Upper **Canada** (Ontario), was born at New London, **Connecticut**, in 1728 to Lieutenant Walter Butler and Deborah Dennis. At the time of French and Indian War (1756–1763), he took an active part in the capture of Fort Frontenac, Niagara, and Montreal. He was friendly with the indigenous Indians and rallied many of them to the British side.

Stationed at Niagara at the time of **American Revolutionary War**, the Loyalist colonel and his Indian contingent made an abortive trust toward the Mohawk Valley during the Saratoga campaign of 1777. His loyalist troops, known as Butler’s Rangers and consisting of 10 companies, made forays into the Wyoming Valley in the following year and defeated Colonel Zebulon Butler (1731–1795). A massacre followed, to be repeated later in the Cherry Valley, where Butler’s son, Major Walter Butler (1752–1781), was mainly responsible for the atrocities committed there. From his headquarters (1779–1781) at Niagara, Butler, under the command of General Guy Johnson (1740–1788), launched attacks against frontier areas.

After the war, Butler served as deputy superintendent for the Indian Department, becoming one of the prominent leaders on the Niagara peninsula. He died on May 12, 1796, after a protracted illness.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### **Buzot, François Nicolas Léonard (1760–1794)**

François Nicolas Léonard Buzot was a French revolutionary politician who sat as a deputy to the **Estates-General** and the **National Convention**. Buzot was the son of an attorney at the local bailiwick of Evreux and a noblewoman. He received a solid classical education at the college of Evreux. By 1786, Buzot had qualified for the bar and was practicing at the local bailiwick. The next year, he was elected a notable to the electoral body of Evreux. On April 28, 1784, Buzot married his cousin, who was 13 years his senior. This enhanced his financial position. She brought to the marriage a substantial dowry of 14,000 livres in cash and 2,800 livres in furniture and other goods.

In 1789, Buzot not only helped to draft the *cahiers de doléances* of the **Third Estate** of Evreux but was successfully elected as a deputy from the Third Estate to the Estates-General. He formed part of the democratic Left in the Constituent (or National) Assembly. The extreme Left, always a tiny minority, composed of men such as Jérôme **Pétion** and Maximilien **Robespierre**, insisted on the right of the sovereign people to assert its authority, even against the will of the Assembly. Buzot spoke in favor of the nationalization of church lands and of the right of all citizens to bear arms. Buzot and Robespierre concurred that there should be juries for both criminal and civil trials. Buzot argued that without the establishment of juries, there could be neither justice nor liberty. He opposed the royal veto and the *marc d'argent*, or limitations on the franchise.

From September 1789, Buzot was a member of the Breton Club, which became the Jacobin Club, although he was not a frequent speaker. He kept a regular correspondence with the **Jacobins** and the municipality of Evreux.

In February 1791, he met Jean Marie **Roland** and Lanthenas through Pétion and became one of the most assiduous members of the group that assembled four times a week at Madame Marie-Jeanne **Roland's** Paris salon.

In June 1791, Buzot was elected vice president of the criminal tribunal of Paris, while Pétion was elected president and Robespierre public prosecutor. All three refused their posts, but their elections revealed their popularity at this time. In the same month, after the king's flight to **Varennes**, Buzot revealed himself to be one of the most radical revolutionaries, arguing for the trial of King **Louis XVI** by an elected **National Convention**.

After being elected to the **Constituent Assembly**, Buzot was elected to the criminal tribunal of the department of Eure. He accepted this position and remained in Evreux until his election to the National Convention on September 3, 1792. At the Convention, he allied himself with the faction opposing the Paris Commune and

supporting the creation of a **National Guard** to protect the Convention from the Commune. He voted for the appeal to the people and the king's death, but with reprieve. During the subsistence crisis in the spring of 1793, he opposed in principle the **Maximum**, or price controls on necessities.

As a member of the faction known as the **Girondins**, Buzot was proscribed and arrested during the uprising of May 31 to June 2, 1793. He escaped from Paris to Normandy, where he joined others purged from the Convention. After he was outlawed on July 8, he and Pétion fled to the Gironde, where they committed suicide. His corpse was found in the woods, partially eaten by wolves, on June 18, 1794, at Saint-Magne. *See also* French Revolution; National Assembly.

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LEIGH WHALEY



## C

### **Cachet, Lettres de**

Lettres de cachet (sealed letters) were writs issued directly by the French king authorizing the arrest or seizure of specific people or things, as well as other very specific activities. Their origin lies within the absolutist theory that all law emanates from the king and that his word is the foundation of law. The lettres were issued outside normal judicial channels, and since the lettres were issued by the highest legal authority (the king), no court could question their application. The monarch could thus keep people in prison as long as he wished or order various tasks to be carried out without legal recourse. They were usually addressed to a particular person, who would be asked to convey someone to a particular prison (often the Bastille) and to keep them there until further notice. They were used quite early in French history (perhaps as early as the twelfth century) but were most commonly used beginning with Louis XIV; their peak usage occurred during the reign of Louis XV (an estimated 100,000 people were detained). They were often issued at the request of noble families who could no longer control the behavior of delinquent family members; both the Marquis de Sade and the comte de **Mirabeau**, for example, were incarcerated by lettre at the request of their families. Lettres de cachet became a symbol of the despotic monarchy and were abolished by the **National Assembly** on January 15, 1790.

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LEE BAKER

### **Cadoudal, Georges (1771–1804)**

Georges Cadoudal was a royalist and a prominent counterrevolutionary leader in western **France**. Born into a peasant family near Auray, Cadoudal studied at Vannes and began his career as a clerk. A devout Catholic, he opposed the revolutionary excesses against the Catholic Church, and in 1793, he joined the Vendean army at Fougères. He was seized while organizing an uprising at Brest in June 1794 but

escaped after the Thermidor coup and became a leader of the Vendéan and Chouan rebels. A strong and capable leader, he commanded the rebel forces and, in 1800, was offered a general's commission by the **First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte**, which he declined.

Persecuted, Cadoudal fled to **Britain**, where he was supported by the comte d'**Artois** and the British government. Over the next three years, Cadoudal helped organize a series of plots against Napoleon. In December 1800, Cadoudal's agents were implicated in the infamous Infernal Machine incident when a barrel filled with gunpowder exploded near Napoleon's carriage. In 1803, Cadoudal was involved in another conspiracy, which allegedly also included generals Jean-Charles Pichegru and Jean Moreau. The plan was to kidnap and kill Napoleon, open the French border to the royalist army, and restore the comte de Provence (the future **Louis XVIII**) on the throne. Napoleon's police, however, infiltrated the conspiracy and arrested its members. Despite his initial success in evading the police, Cadoudal was captured in March 1804 and was executed on June 25 of that year. *See also* Therimorian Reaction; Vendéan Rebellion.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### *Cahiers de Doléances*

*Cahiers de doléances* were lists of grievances prepared by the electors in the three orders prior to the meeting of the **Estates-General** in May 1789.

The cahiers were lists of grievances drafted by the three orders in each of the 234 constituencies in **France** during the elections of the Estates-General in 1789. Each order—the First, Second, and Third Estates—met separately to draft their cahiers. In the **Third Estate**, every village or parish as well as each urban guild would produce a cahier.

These lists of recommendations and complaints were intended to guide the deputies in their debates when the Estates-General met in May. They provide a portrait of the perspectives, concerns, and aspirations of the French people on the eve of the **French Revolution**. Common concerns included issues such as **equality** of taxation, the creation of a representative government, and an end to royal absolutism, but not the monarchy. The Third Estate and the **nobility** desired regular meetings of the Estates-General and personal liberties. The nobility were in favor of reforms to the legal system and the abolition of censorship. The clergy were concerned to retain many of their **privileges** over education and religion. Parish priests (lower clergy) were prepared to accept reforms. They denounced abuses in religious orders, the holding of multiple benefices and the absenteeism that went with it, and the misdistribution of church wealth. The peasant cahiers reflected local concerns over taxation, particularly the gabelle (salt tax), and bridge repair; a desire for the abolition of dues and tolls; and a general discontent over the seigneurial system. *See also* First Estate; Second Estate.

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LEIGH WHALEY

## Calendar, French Revolutionary

In their revolutionary zeal to change the **ancien régime**, eliminate symbols of the past, and create a new society, members of the **National Convention** abolished the Gregorian calendar, introducing a new revolutionary calendar on October 5, 1793. The new calendar inaugurated a new revolutionary era, which began with the proclamation of the republic on September 22, 1792. A politician and agronomist, Charles Gilbert Romme, designed the calendar.

Each year was divided into 12 months, each 30 days long. At the end of the year an additional 5 (or 6 in a leap year) days were added as supplementary days. Every month constituted three 10-day weeks called *décades*, each divided into 10 days bearing numerical names: primidi, duodi, tridi, quartidi, quintidi, sextidi, septidi, octidi, nonidi, and décadi. Special names were assigned for every month and every day in a year by a politician and a poet, Philippe François Nazarine Fabre d'Églantine, who was a member of the committee preparing the changes. He was a member of the **Cordeliers Club** as well as of the **Jacobins**.

The names assigned to each month were based on the features of nature. Since these names were formed out of a combination of French, Latin, and Greek words, they are practically impossible to translate. In autumn there was Vendémiaire (from Latin *vindemia*, “vintage”), Brumaire (from French *brume*, “mist”), and Frimaire (from French *frimas*, “frost”). Winter was divided into Nivôse (from Latin *nivosus*, “snowy”), Pluviôse (from Latin *pluviosus*, “rainy”), and Ventôse (from Latin *ventus*, “windy”). Spring was composed of Germinal (from Latin *germen*, “seed”), Floréal (from Latin *flos*, “flower”), and Prairial (from French *prairie*, “meadow”). Finally, Messidor (from Latin *messis*, “harvest”), Thermidor (from Greek *thermos*, “hot”), and Fructidor (from Latin *fructus*, “fruits”) made up summer.

Each day of the year was given a name connected with animals (days ending with five), tools (days ending with zero), or plants and minerals, rather than saints in the Gregorian calendar. The supplementary five or six days were originally known as *les Sansculotides*. After Year III (i.e., 1795) these days were given special names: la Fête de la Vertu (Virtue Day), la Fête du Génie (Talent Day), la Fête du Travail (Labor Day), la Fête de l'Opinion (Opinion Day), la Fête des Récompenses (Rewards Day), and la Fête de la Révolution (Revolution Day).

In 1794, on Maximilien **Robespierre**'s suggestion, four national holidays were proclaimed to commemorate the storming of the **Bastille**, the storming of the Tuileries, the execution of **Louis XVI**, and the collapse of the Gironde. Years were numbered with Roman numerals; the year starting on September 22, 1792, was Year I; the next, Year II; and so forth. The revolutionary calendar was abolished by Emperor **Napoleon** on January 1, 1806 (10 Nivôse, Year XIV). It was reintroduced for two months during the Paris Commune in 1871. Along with changes to the calendar, a futile attempt was undertaken to reform the clock. Each day was divided into 10 hours, each of 100 minutes, themselves divided into 100 seconds.

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JAKUB BASISTA

### **Cambacérès, Jean-Jacques-Régis de (1753–1824)**

As a French statesman and archchancellor of the empire, Cambacérès acted as intimate adviser to **Napoleon** and exercised extensive powers during the First Empire. The son of Jean-Antoine de Cambacérès, adviser at the Court of Auditors, Aides and Finances of Montpellier, Cambacérès graduated from the college of Aix-en-Provence and practiced law in Montpellier. He eventually succeeded his father at the Court of Auditors, where he served for 15 years before the **French Revolution** interrupted his life. In 1789, he was elected as a representative of the **nobility** of Montpellier to the **Estates-General** but could not take his seat because of the reduction of the number of representatives for Montpellier. Instead, he became one of the founding members of the Société des Amis de la Constitution et de l'Égalité in Montpellier and was elected president of the Criminal Court of Montpellier in 1791. A year later, he became the deputy from Hérault to the **National Convention** in September 1792. From October 1792, Cambacérès served on the Committee of Civil and Criminal Legislation, participated in the trial of **Louis XVI**, and supported the death penalty. Avoiding factional infighting in the Convention, Cambacérès mainly concerned himself with judicial and legislative matters and supervised the preparations of two successive drafts of the **Civil Code** in 1793–1794.

In July 1794, Cambacérès indirectly participated in the **Thermidorian Reaction**, which led to **Robespierre's** downfall, and briefly served on the Committee of War, making his first acquaintance with General Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1794–1795, he served on the **Committee of Public Safety** and played an important role in concluding peace treaties with Tuscany, Prussia, the **Netherlands**, and **Spain**. After the dissolution of the Convention, Cambacérès served on the **Council of Five Hundred**; he prepared his third draft of the Civil Code in June 1796 and acted as a president of the Council of Five Hundred in October and November 1796. Failing to secure reelection in May 1797, Cambacérès returned to his private law practice for two years and established a reputation as a skillful lawyer. On July 20, 1799, he was appointed the minister of justice and supported General Bonaparte during the coup d'état of 18–19 **Brumaire** (November 9–10, 1799). Cambacérès was proclaimed the second consul in December 1799 and was actively involved in the political life of the **Consulate**, presiding over the **Senate**, chairing the meeting of the Council of State, and performing the functions of the **First Consul** in Napoleon's absence. He facilitated the signing of the **Concordat** in 1801, the creation of the Legion of Honor, and the establishment of the life consulate in 1802.

Between 1800 and 1804, Cambacérès worked on the monumental task of drafting and adopting the famous Civil Code inspired by Napoleon. He was elected to the French Academy in 1803. The following year, Cambacérès prepared the legal grounds for the proclamation of the empire. He became archchancellor of the empire on May 18, 1804, and received the Grand Aigle de la Légion d'Honneur on February 2, 1805. Presiding over the Senate and the Council of State, he exercised





Jean-Jacques-Régis de Cambacérès. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

extensive powers during Napoleon's absences on campaign between 1805 and 1813 and was conferred the title of Duke of Parma in 1808.

After the first Bourbon restoration, in 1814, Cambacérès returned to private life. When, however, Napoleon escaped from Elba, Cambacérès was again appointed archchancellor of the empire, directed the Ministry of Justice, and presided over the Chamber of Peers during the Hundred Days. Under the Second Restoration, he was forced into exile in Brussels, where he lived until 1818, when he was allowed to return to **France**. He died in Paris of apoplexy on March 8, 1824, and was buried at the Père-Lachaise Cemetery. *See also* Amis de la Constitution, Société des.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### **Cambon, Pierre-Joseph (1756–1820)**

Pierre-Joseph Cambon was a financial administrator and a French revolutionary politician. The son of a wealthy cloth manufacturer, and the eldest of a family of

four brothers and two sisters, Cambon assisted his father with the operation of the family business in Montpellier. On the occasion of his father's retirement, Cambon assumed control of the business, Cambon et Compagnie. Cambon's financial experience and expertise would later serve him well in his revolutionary career.

In 1788, on the eve of the **French Revolution** in 1788, Cambon's interests shifted from finances to politics. Elected to the municipal council of Montpellier and to the **Estates-General** (although this election was voided on July 25, 1789, as too many deputies from Hérault were elected), Cambon was involved in the drafting of the *cahiers de doléances* for the **Third Estate**. He signed the **Tennis Court Oath** on June 20, 1789, and was a witness to the early events of the Revolution.

After his election was voided, Cambon returned in January 1790 to Montpellier, where he served as a member of the municipal council and founded the local Jacobin Club. As a Protestant member of the municipal council, Cambon sent National Guardsmen to Nîmes to assist the Protestants in their struggles with the Catholics.

At this time, Cambon was a constitutional monarchist. As president of the electoral assembly of the department of the Hérault, which met in June 1790 to elect the administrators of the department, he signed an address praising **Louis XVI**. A year later, views concerning the monarchy had changed dramatically. This was evident at the Montpellier Jacobin meeting of June 22, 1791, when Cambon, as president, signed an address to the **National Assembly**, inviting it to proclaim a republic.

Elected to the **Legislative Assembly** on September 4, 1791, representing the department of Hérault, Cambon was soon an active contributor to the financial debates. With a reputation as an expert on financial matters, Cambon was made a member of the Committee of Finances. He reported on the state of French finances and suggested methods to eliminate the debt throughout the autumn of 1791 into the spring of 1792. He advocated reducing the number of assignats and was the first to suggest the creation of a *grand livre*, or register of the debt. Allying himself with the Brissotin faction, he supported going to war and proposed sequestering émigré property on February 9, 1792.

Reelected to the **National Convention** from Montpellier, Cambon was once again voted a member of the finance committee. Historians are in agreement that from September 1792 to April 1795, Cambon was the virtual head of **France's** finances. As a method of lowering the war debt, he advocated introducing assignats into the occupied territories, such as **Belgium**, and taxing the wealthier inhabitants.

During the king's trial, he voted for death, but he opposed the creation of **revolutionary tribunals**. Although a member of the first **Committee of Public Safety** from April 7, 1793, to July 10, 1793, he opposed the events of May 31 through June 2 and was saddened by the arrest of his former Girondin colleagues.

From July 1793 to July 27, 1794 (9 Thermidor), Cambon was France's chief financial officer. Practically every piece of financial legislation passed by the Convention originated with him. His goal was to restructure the national debt, and he did this by uniting the debts of both those of the **ancien régime** and of revolutionary France with the *Grand livre de la dette nationale*, an index of the state's debtors and creditors.

On 8 Thermidor, Cambon turned against Maximilien **Robespierre**, arguing in the Convention that Robespierre was the cause of the Convention's paralysis. He remained on the finance committee until April 1795, when he was implicated for his involvement in the uprising of 12 Germinal, Year II. He escaped arrest and returned to his estate in Montpellier. Although his political career was effectively over, Cambon

was elected to the Chamber of Deputies on May 15, 1815, during the Hundred Days. With the Restoration, he was banished from France. He settled in Saint-Josse-ten-Noode in the **Netherlands**, where he died on February 15, 1821. *See also* Brissotins; Emigrés; Girondins; Jacobins; Reign of Terror; Thermidorian Reaction.

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LEIGH WHALEY

### Campbell, Lord William (d. 1778)

Lord William Campbell was a naval officer; a member of the House of Commons; and, most notably, the colonial governor of Nova Scotia and later **South Carolina**. He was the fourth and youngest son of the Duke of Argyll. Although we have no birth date for William Campbell, he achieved the rank of captain in the navy by 1762. During a 1763 voyage to South Carolina, Campbell married Sarah Izard, who came from a prominent local family. In 1764, he was elected to the House of Commons but only held that position for two years, leaving to take the post of the governor of Nova Scotia. Unsatisfied with his post there, he petitioned for transfer and became the governor of South Carolina, effective in 1774.

Campbell arrived in South Carolina one year later on June 17, 1775, on the eve of the **American Revolution**. The Council of Safety had already met and effectively exercised power in the colony. Campbell's family connections through marriage proved useless since the majority of the Council of Safety were patriots. Hoping to become an effective governor, Campbell conspired with the Tory-sympathetic frontiersman and various Indian nations. When word of the negotiations became public, Campbell's position was further compromised. He boarded a British warship and left for Jamaica. Campbell subsequently returned to Charleston as part of the unsuccessful British naval attack on the city, but he was badly injured and returned to England, where he died soon after on September 5, 1778.

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CHARLES ALLAN

### Camp de Jalès, Conspiracy of the

The conspiracy of the Camp de Jalès is an example of opposition to the **French Revolution**. However, Catholic and royalist opposition failed to achieve any potent synthesis or receive popular support, and the movement withered.

In June 1790, pro-revolutionary forces, many of them Protestant, killed a large number of Catholic members of the **National Guard** at Nîmes in an episode referred to as the *bagarre*. In August 1790, 20,000 members of the National Guard assembled at the rural setting of Jalès. The mood of the National Guard was one more of loyalty than that of conspiracy to overthrow the government. However, driven by the defeat of the *bagarre*, Catholic leaders, most notably François Froment, dominated the assembly's agenda and attempted to create a fusion of popular Catholic, royalist,

and patriotic resistance to the new government. At the end of the first camp, the gathering declared itself in opposition to the new regime, vowed to seek aid from abroad, and set a schedule for future camps. Leaders of the camp made contact with the comte d'Artois (the future Charles X), an exiled Bourbon nobleman in Turin who was actively pursuing counterrevolutionary aims.

In February 1791, the camp met for a second time at the same location. An attempt to encourage the mainly Catholic National Guard to march on Nîmes largely failed. The few hundred who participated in the effort were dispersed, and many were killed by a mostly Protestant pro-revolutionary force. Sixty-nine National Guardsmen were drowned in the Rhône in March 1791, an act many believed to be revenge for their refusal to join the counterrevolutionary activities. In January 1792, François Froment traveled to Coblenz, in the Rhineland, to contact the exiled royalist faction led by the comte d'Artois. Froment's objective was to garner support for a supposed popular insurrection in the Midi. This resulted in the final Camp de Jalès, held in July of 1792 but only attended by a few hundred men. National Guard and regular forces subsequently attacked and dispersed the camp.

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CHARLES ALLAN

### Camus, Armand Gaston (1740–1804)

Armand Gaston Camus, a lawyer to the Paris Parlement, was a member of the French **National Assembly** from 1789 to 1791, and a deputy of the Haute-Loire at the **National Convention** in 1792, after which he acted from August 1789 as chief archivist of the Commission des Archives, later the Archives Nationales.

Camus was, alongside Jean-Sylvain Bailly, the first to enter the Tennis Court at Versailles on June 20, 1789, where he was the second signatory to the oath that declared the **Third Estate** would not disband until a constitution had been agreed upon. He was also responsible for gathering together the list of signatories. For a short period between October 28 and November 11, 1789, Camus was president of the National Assembly. Respected for his financial knowledge, Camus was deeply involved in the debates surrounding the appearance of revolutionary paper money, the assignat, the initial value of which was based on confiscated church properties, and was responsible in 1790 for the publication of the so-called *livre rouge*, which listed the expenses and numerous secret pensions issued by the court.

Camus achieved widespread notoriety for his responses to the papal bulls of 1791 condemning the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**, of which he was a principal author, and for which he had voted. Because of this anti-clerical stance, which contradicted his pre-Revolution role as lawyer to the clergy, and his involvement in the suppression of the titles of the **nobility** in July 1791, he became a popular subject for counterrevolutionary caricatures produced during this period, which also derided his role in the issuance of assignats. Absent during the vote for the death of the king, which he supported, he became a member of the **Committee of Public Safety** in 1793. As part of the group sent to recapture the treacherous General Dumouriez, Camus was later imprisoned by the Austrians in April 1793 in the prisons of Maastricht,

Coblenz, and Olmütz. He was finally released in November 1795 in exchange for Madame Royale, the daughter of Louis XVI.

Prior to the Revolution, Camus had translated several classical works, including Aristotle's *History of Animals*, and was a member of l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres from 1783. As archivist, Camus brought together many important bureaucratic documents issued during the Revolution and developed analytic methods of classifying them, thus forming the basis of the modern Archives Nationales. In 1802, largely informed by his experience with the assignat, Camus wrote a tract analyzing the development of stereotype printing, a nationalist project that characterized advances in printing technology as a specifically French phenomenon.

Camus was elected to the **Council of Five Hundred**, although he refused the positions of minister of finance and minister of police. In 1800 he was named *garde des Archives Générales* under the **Consulate**. Disagreeing with the policies of the new government under **First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte**, Camus withdrew from politics in 1802 and concentrated on his archival and literary work until his death from a stroke in November 1804. *See also* Tennis Court Oath.

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RICHARD TAWS

## Canada

At the start of tensions and war between 13 North American colonies and **Britain**, which commenced in 1775 and concluded with the Peace of Paris of 1783, there was a good deal of discussion and concern regarding the leanings and views of British settlements in Canada. While many Canadians were of English stock, there was a sizable minority who descended from the French and clung tenaciously to their religion, culture, and language. This ethnic-cultural division worried the British, who feared fighting a war across the expanse of British North America, and prompted American colonists to encourage Quebec to join the independence movement that emerged in 1775. The French Canadians embraced a middle ground and attempted to maintain neutrality even in the face of efforts by the **Continental Army** to seize portions of their territory.

**Parliament**, as part of a larger strategy to suppress the rebellion in North America, passed the **Quebec Act** in 1774; the statute provided sanction for the prominent role that language and faith played in the French-speaking portions of Canada. In short, this legislation affirmed the French language, French civil law, and the prerogatives of the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, the physical boundaries of Quebec were extended south, allowing French speakers along the Mississippi River to share a common border with the Quebecois. The Quebec Act is ordinarily considered one of the **Coercive Acts**, which were passed at the same time; however this action was a conscious decision on the part of the British to ensure that Canada did not fall into rebellion.

The Continental Congress that met in Philadelphia in 1775 identified an alliance with Canadians as a major objective of foreign policy and diplomatic efforts. The leaders in the Congress, especially George **Washington**, understood the psychological and logistical benefits that would emerge from a large-scale rebellion in British

North America. To this end, the Congress dispatched Benjamin **Franklin**, Samuel **Chase**, Charles **Carroll**, and John Carroll to negotiate and to seek terms with leaders in Quebec. The prominence and Francophone temperaments of this delegation reflected the importance that the Continental Congress placed on negotiating this alliance. Nonetheless, the Quebec Act and suspicion of the intentions of the rebellious colonies caused Quebec to maintain neutrality in the conflict.

The Continental Congress authorized military operations in Quebec, hoping to stimulate diplomatic negotiations or, at least, to secure strategic positions to conduct operations against British regulars, who were arriving in large numbers by 1775. On December 31, 1775, the Continental Army initiated operations against Quebec when General Benedict Arnold and Major General Richard Montgomery staged a coordinated attack. Montgomery conquered Montreal and quickly joined up with Arnold's forces, which were laying siege to Quebec City. The army was eventually repulsed and retreated completely from Canada over the summer of 1776.

The proclamation of neutrality and the British victory in Quebec made the region a logical destination for thousands of **Loyalists** seeking refuge during the rebellion. In the long term, the decision to remain neutral preserved French hegemony in Quebec and prevented Canada from being absorbed into the newly created United States. American aspirations to acquire Canada were enshrined in the **Articles of Confederation**, which included a clause allowing Canada to join the confederacy at will and continued until 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was established. *See also* Continental Congress, Second.

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JAMES T. CARROLL

### **Carnot, Lazare (1753–1823)**

A French professional army officer who rallied to the revolutionary side in 1789, Lazare Carnot played the leading role in directing his country's military affairs in the early 1790s during the **French Revolution**. As a member of the **Committee of Public Safety**, the 12-man executive body appointed to defend the Revolution, Carnot had the responsibility for raising, training, and employing the vast numbers of men the government conscripted. His career as a military figure continued for two decades thereafter.

Commissioned in the artillery in 1773, the young officer's prospects in the pre-revolutionary army were limited by his middle-class background. With the overthrow of the Old Regime in 1789, he found new political and military possibilities. He was elected to **France's Legislative Assembly** in 1791 and to the **National Convention** the following year. The veteran soldier soon gained a reputation as one of the government's military experts. His vote in the Convention in January 1793 to execute King **Louis XVI** exemplified his loyalty to the revolutionary order.



Lazare Carnot. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

In August 1793, Carnot joined the Committee of Public Safety. With foreign armies threatening the survival of the Revolution, Carnot's first military task was to stabilize and energize France's armies along the country's northeastern border. He personally helped to lead one army in a key victory at Wattignies in October 1793.

The dynamic military organizer then turned his attention to forming and directing the 800,000 men serving in France's 12 field armies. Carnot amalgamated veteran soldiers with raw conscripts to form disciplined and stable fighting units, replaced lethargic commanders with enthusiastic young generals, and drew up plans for the campaigns that defeated France's principal enemies by the middle of 1794. He urged the use of aggressive tactics, above all the use of the bayonet whenever possible.

Carnot survived the fall of Maximilian **Robespierre** and the other radical members of the Committee of Public Safety in July 1794. He remained an influential figure, and, as one of the five members of the new governing **Directory**, he continued to occupy himself with the country's military efforts. His most important decision came in early 1796 when he appointed the dynamic young **Napoleon** Bonaparte commander of the French army in Italy.

Although he disapproved of Napoleon's lust for power—in 1802 as member of the Tribunal appointed by the French **Senate**, he voted against making Napoleon consul for life—Carnot went on to serve the dictator. In 1814, as foreign armies moved to invade France, he distinguished himself in leading the defense of Antwerp.

Carnot was a marked man when the Bourbon monarchy finally returned to power. In 1815, he went into exile, settling finally in Prussia. He died there in the city of Magdeburg on August 2, 1823. *See also* French Revolutionary Wars.

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NEIL M. HEYMAN

### Carrier, Jean-Baptiste (1756–1794)

Carrier, a radical orator and terrorist during the **French Revolution**, was born in 1756 in a small village, Yolai, in the Auvergne, to a prosperous farmer and his wife. He went to Paris to study law and then settled in Aurillac.

In 1792, he became a deputy to the **National Convention**. A powerful orator, he joined the **Mountain** and voted for the death of the king; the arrest of the duc d'Orléans; the coup of May 31, which forced the **Girondins** from power; and the establishment of the **revolutionary tribunals**. Carrier is most notorious for his missions to western **France**, especially Nantes, where counterrevolutionary uprisings had broken out. In the Vendée, he ordered mass executions, often by firing squads or more notoriously by mass drownings (*noyades*). He euphemistically referred to these as “republican baptisms.” Although historians disagree about how many individuals he executed (some estimate as many as 10,000), they all acknowledge the unspeakable cruelty of those who hacked off the arms and legs of the victims, including children, who tried to escape from the sinking boats.

Recalled to Paris, in part because of Maximilien **Robespierre**, he helped to overthrow the “incorruptible” and his allies. Carrier was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal. He was, unlike many of his victims, allowed a trial, at which he was condemned to death. He died on the **guillotine**, maintaining his innocence. *See also* Reign of Terror; Thermidorian Reaction; Vendéan Rebellion.

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LINDA S. FREY AND MARSHA L. FREY

### Carroll, Charles (1737–1832)

Although Charles Carroll was a member of the Second **Continental Congress**, signed the **Declaration of Independence**, and was part of a mission to draw French **Canada** to the American side during the **American Revolution**, most of his political work was conducted at the colonial and state level. An important part of his significance lies in his religion: Carroll was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration. His participation in politics on the national level served as notice that although they were excluded from most forms of participation in most colonies, Catholics could be counted on to serve their own government, not the church.



Carroll served as a delegate in the **Maryland** assembly in 1774 and later in the Continental Congress in 1776 and 1777. From 1777 to 1800, he served as a Maryland state senator. Elected to the Continental Congress in 1780, he did not serve there but remained in his own state. Although he did not participate in the **Constitutional Convention** in 1787, he campaigned vigorously for Maryland to ratify the **United States Constitution**.

After Maryland's adoption of the Constitution, Carroll served as a U.S. senator from 1789 to 1792. Holding office as a state senator in Maryland at the same time, he was forced to choose between serving in the national **Senate** and his state senate. He chose to serve his state and resigned from the U.S. Senate. He died in 1832, the last living signer of the Declaration of Independence. *See also* Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### Cartwright, John (1740–1824)

Cartwright was commissioned in the navy in 1758 and served under both Lord Howe and Sir Edward Hawke during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Concerned by the American crisis, in 1774 he produced the first of over 80 works, *American Independence: The Glory and Interest of Great Britain*, in which he maintained that the Americans had the right to choose their own rulers and tax themselves. He wanted each colony to have its own separate and independent legislature but to form a confederation with **Britain** based on a community of interests. Refusing to serve against the Americans, he ended his naval career but did agree to become a major in the Nottinghamshire militia. He was referred to as Major Cartwright ever thereafter.

The disastrous American war convinced him of the need for radical political reform. In *Take Your Choice!* (1776), he advocated universal manhood suffrage. In *The People's Barrier against Influence and Corruption* (1780), he supported what became known as the six points of parliamentary reform: universal manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, annual parliaments, the secret ballot, abolition of property qualifications for MPs (members of **Parliament**), and the payment of MPs. Never a social leveler, Cartwright generally based his program of parliamentary reform on an appeal to the ancient constitution and to the historic rights of Englishmen, but he occasionally wrote as if he accepted the doctrine of natural rights. He certainly believed that the Anglo-Saxons had possessed a democratic legislative assembly and that this ought to be restored.

Cartwright supported the association movement inspired by Christopher Wyvill, especially the radical association in Westminster, and in April 1781 he helped to found the Society for Constitutional Information. Largely composed of radical Dissenters, the SCI published political tracts designed to educate the people about their rights and liberties. In the 1790s he supported reform again and opposed the war with revolutionary **France** in *The Commonwealth in Danger* (1795). Always a patriot, however, he advocated the creation of an Anglo-Saxon-style militia to meet the threatened French invasion in the two volumes of *England's Aegis* (1804–1805).

In 1804 he helped the reformer Sir Francis Burdett gain election for Middlesex and, with Francis Place, William **Cobbett**, and Thomas Wooler, he campaigned to revive radical politics. He was active in setting up the Hampden Club in 1811 and the Union Society in 1812 to campaign for parliamentary reform, and he did much to develop such clubs in the provinces.

In 1812 he began missionary tours around the country to encourage support for reform. He claimed to have gathered 130,000 signatures for a reform petition in 1813 alone. He supported the popular reformers after 1815. Attending a huge open-air radical meeting of the Birmingham Union Society in 1819, he was indicted for sedition. This did not prevent him from attending the more famous radical meeting at St Peter's Fields in Manchester on August 16, 1819, when the yeomanry charged at the crowd. Cartwright escaped injury at "Peterloo," but he was convicted on the earlier charge of sedition at Warwick on May 29, 1821, and was fined £100. Despite his advanced age, he was not intimidated, and he completed a massive summary of his belief in the need to recover lost Anglo-Saxon liberties in *The English Constitution Produced and Illustrated* (1823). In it, he praised the American republican experiment. In his last work, *A Problem*, he used the United States as an example for the union of all nations.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Catherine II (the Great), Empress of Russia (1729–1796)**

A German-born empress of Russia (1762–1796), originally named Sophie Frederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst, Catherine the Great confirmed Russia's leading position on the map of eighteenth-century Europe. She undertook considerable efforts—albeit unsuccessfully—to reorganize Russia's administration and laws. During her reign, the Russian Empire extended its territory into the Crimea, in Poland, and in Central Asia. Feared and admired during her lifetime, Catherine was perceived very positively both by official historiography and by the Russian people after her death—even in the Soviet era.

Sophie Frederike, the daughter of a lesser German prince, was related to the Holstein family through her mother. At the age of 14, she was engaged to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, an arrangement that changed her position considerably, since her future husband was the grandson of Peter the Great and heir to the Russian throne. In 1744 Catherine arrived in Russia, married Peter, and received the title of Grand Duchess Catherine Alekseyevna. On January 5, 1762, Catherine's husband, Peter III, inherited the Russian throne, though he was not a promising monarch. Six months later, on July 9, Catherine proclaimed herself the Russian empress in Kazan Cathedral (she was helped by her lover Grigory Orlov, some army units, the court, and the "enlightened" aristocracy). Peter III abdicated, only to be assassinated eight days later. In September, Catherine was crowned in Moscow, beginning her 34-year rule in Russia as Catherine II.

Catherine was greatly influenced by French and British **Enlightenment** ideas. She had numerous thoughts about how to implement these ideas, yet she soon realized

that Russia was too backward to support any real reform. In 1767 Catherine consulted her subjects (apart from the serfs) on potential reforms, but long debates and the impossibility of introducing liberal solutions left laws and constitutions to remain in draft form. In 1762 Catherine secularized the property of the Orthodox Church, reduced the clergy to the status of state functionaries, and filled the state treasury, though most of her other reforms failed. Nevertheless, this activity, together with her frequent contact with the great thinkers of her age, in particular **Voltaire** and Denis **Diderot**, brought her respect and the good opinion of many across the Continent.

Catherine was much more successful in foreign policy, above all in her retention of friendly relations with Prussia. In 1764, she installed her old lover, Stanisław August Poniatowski, on the Polish throne. Six years later she took part in the first partition of Poland and thereafter sought to control Polish affairs in the Russian interest. Between 1768 and 1774 she waged a successful war against Turkey, which brought her fame and the rise of her next lover, Grigory Potemkin, who would thereafter play an important role in the domestic and foreign policy of Russia until his death in 1791.

Russia's war effort against Turkey was endangered in 1773, when Cossacks under the leadership of Yemelyan Pugachev rose up and in June 1774 prepared to march on Moscow. The rebellion was ruthlessly crushed, and Pugachev was beheaded in 1775, but the terror inspired by the uprising was not forgotten. In 1783, during the next clash with Turkey, Russia seized the Crimea and subdued the Crimean Tartars, thus gaining control of the north shore of the Black Sea. At the same time, Catherine was extremely careful not to embroil Russia in a European war.

Although inspired by the philosophy of the Enlightenment, Catherine felt seriously threatened by the events of the **French Revolution**. All Russians were ordered to leave revolutionary **France**, and French **émigrés** who settled in Russia (**Louis XVI's** brothers, for instance, were welcomed in Russia) were forced to cut all ties with France. News of the beheading of **Louis XVI** and the spread of radical revolution in France saddened her tremendously. Similarly, she felt threatened by the **Polish constitution** of 1791, which was intended to introduce a well-ordered state in the territory of her western neighbor. However, Russian troops entered Poland and forced the king to suspend the constitution, and in 1793 Russia, together with Prussia, staged the second partition of Poland, seizing most of Polish Ukraine. Finally, a national uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794 convinced Catherine to wipe Poland off the map altogether, which she did the following year, dividing among herself and Prussia and **Austria** the last of Poland's independent territory.

The vast majority of Russians did not benefit from Catherine's rule, for although she was a good administrator, and her army considerably extended the borders of her empire, the condition of most social groups remained unaltered, in spite of her enlightened ideas. If her impact on society as a whole was small, she nevertheless contributed to Russian culture: she served as a patron of literature, established learned societies, founded schools, supported the sciences, and wrote various works herself. *See also* Poland, Partitions of; Pugachev Rebellion; Russia, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on.

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JAKUB BASISTA

### Chapelier's Law (1791)

Named after its sponsor to the **National Assembly**, Isaac-René-Guy Le **Chapelier**, the *loi Le Chapelier* was passed on June 14, 1791, and banned "any kind of citizen's guild in the same trade or of the same profession." The deputies were concerned above all to destroy the institutions of privileged corporatism and to substitute law for privilege as the foundation of a new society.

The law declared it "contrary to the principles of liberty" and the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** for citizens in a common trade to make agreements among themselves in order to set prices for goods or labor. In a constitutional order founded on individual **equality** before the law and the right of each citizen to develop his talent to the fullest extent and for the maximum profit, guilds were ideologically anathema. The Assembly was in effect overturning the mercantilist tradition championed by Louis XIV's minister of finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, of vigorous state regulation of the economy and responding to the protest of the merchant class to *laissez-nous faire*. The law's application of liberal individualism had the effect of delaying the establishment of trade unions in **France** until the 1880s.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### Charles X

*See* Artois, Charles Philippe de Bourbon, Comte d'

### Chase, Samuel (1741–1811)

Maryland signer of the **Declaration of Independence** Samuel Chase was born in Somerset County, Maryland, on April 17, 1741. By 1759, Chase had decided to become a lawyer, studying at the law offices of Hammond & Hall in Annapolis. Several years later, he began practicing law for the county courts. Chase was elected to the Maryland Assembly in 1764. He remained in this role for 20 years. He took part in the early opposition to **Britain's Stamp Act** and aligned himself against Maryland's royal governor.

Ten years after entering the Maryland Assembly, Chase was appointed to serve on the colony's Committee of Correspondence. The Assembly also chose him to represent the colony at the First **Continental Congress**. Chase was an early advocate of a complete trade embargo with Britain. In February 1776, Chase, Benjamin **Franklin**, and Charles **Carroll** were appointed to persuade **Canada** to forge an alliance with

the colonies. Though the visit to Canada proved fruitless, Chase returned to Maryland with a renewed vigor.

In June 1776, Chase succeeded in persuading Maryland delegates to vote for independence from Britain. He signed the famous document on August 2 of that year. After the **American Revolution**, Chase continued to be an active participant in public services. Having moved to Baltimore, he was appointed chief judge of the criminal court in 1788. Three years later he was elected chief judge of Maryland's General Court. Though Chase had been a staunch supporter of the colonies' independence, he later opposed the ratification of the **United States Constitution**.

President George **Washington** appointed Chase to the **Supreme Court** in January 1796, an appointment that proved to be controversial. In 1805, members of Congress put Chase on trial and attempted to impeach him. Ultimately, Chase was acquitted. He continued to serve on the Supreme Court until his death in 1811. *See also* Committees of Correspondence; Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

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NICOLE MITCHELL

### **Chatham, Pitt, William (the Elder), Earl of (1708–1778)**

William Pitt was born in Westminster and educated at Eton College and, for short periods, at Oxford and Utrecht before becoming a cornet of horse in 1731. A younger son, he often depended on the patronage of others to bring him into **Parliament** in 1735 and to keep him there for the next 30 years. Despite this, he always insisted on his independence, denounced faction, and claimed to support “measures, not men.” For a decade he was a bitter critic of the Walpole and then the Pelham ministries before being brought into office as paymaster general in 1746. He held this post for a decade, renouncing the financial perquisites from which other paymasters had made fortunes. He was never as much a patriot as his many admirers in the City of London, the merchant community, and the press expected, however, and he was at various times rightly accused of political inconsistency. In the Commons, Pitt won a formidable reputation as a powerful and effective, though sometimes overly histrionic, orator. His speeches were often bruising, and sometimes inspirational.

Early British disasters in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) undermined other leading politicians and did much to bring Pitt into high office at last, as secretary of state for the Southern Department. In this post Pitt was arrogant and domineering, but also determined and confident that he could serve his country better than anyone else. He won a unique reputation inside and outside Parliament as the architect of a string of victories against **France** across the world from 1758 to 1761. Although not solely responsible for the dramatic reversal of British fortunes, he deserved and received great credit for these many victories. The accession of **George III** in 1760 soon destabilized the Newcastle-Pitt administration, and politics in general, and Pitt resigned in October 1761 when the cabinet rejected his proposal for a preemptive strike against Spain. The rest of his career was anticlimactic and was frequently marked by prolonged periods of severe ill health (both mental and physical). Pitt could not work effectively with any other leading politician, could not command a

majority of backbenchers in the House of Commons, and would not lead reformers and radicals outside Parliament.

He accepted a peerage as Earl of Chatham in 1766 and nominally led a new administration from the Lords until 1768. He failed to direct policy as effectively as he had nearly a decade earlier, and he had no satisfactory solutions to domestic or overseas problems in these years or later. He criticized general warrants and government policy toward John **Wilkes** but was never himself a real reformer. He had bitterly attacked the **Stamp Act** on principle, refusing to support the **Declaratory Act** and any suggestion that Parliament had the right to impose internal taxes on the American colonies. But it was during his ministry that Charles Townshend imposed the external duties on American trade that exacerbated the American crisis. He always believed that the American colonies should be subordinate to British commercial and strategic interests. Bitterly alarmed by the outbreak of war, he had no solution to offer that would win support in Parliament and also conciliate the American colonies, and he would never accept complete American independence. He frequently attacked Lord **North**'s handling of the American crisis and the British war effort. He died in May 1778 shortly after his last major speech in the Lords defending his stance on America and lamenting the dismemberment of the British Empire. *See also* Pitt, William (the Younger); Townshend Acts.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Chaumette, Pierre Gaspard (1763–1794)**

Chaumette, a French revolutionary famous for his antireligious views, was born in Nevers and began his career as a cabin boy. By 1789, he had settled in Paris, where he chose to pursue a career in medicine. He welcomed the Revolution and proved to be an active participant, becoming one of the orators at the **Cordeliers Club**, helping to organize a mass demonstration on the Champ de Mars, and signing a petition demanding the abdication of **Louis XVI** in July 1791. An atheist, he shunned his Christian name and adopted the name of the Greek philosopher Anaxagoras to express his break with Christianity. He expressed his anti-Christian views in *Les Révolutions de Paris* (which he edited) and *Chronique de Paris*, which gradually gained in popularity.

Known for his democratic extremism, Chaumette was very popular among the *san-culottes* of Paris and was elected to the Commune of Paris in 1792, serving as its procurator general. In August 1792, he was a principle organizer of the Paris sections for the insurrection of August 10, which led to the overthrowing of the monarchy. Elected *procureur* of the Commune, he was one of the major political figures of the Revolution and played an important role in preparing an insurrection against the **Girondins** on June 2, 1793. Vehemently anti-Catholic, he launched a program of secularization that led to the closure of churches, the suppression of religious orders, attacks on religious property, and the removal of clerical control

over education and public welfare. He sought to introduce social reforms in the capital that forbid corporal punishment in schools, improved conditions in hospitals, set rules for the public burial of the poor, and prohibited prostitution and gambling. Despite his democratic beliefs, Chaumette opposed women's participation in politics, though he fought for the recognition of divorce. He created a *culte de la patrie*, which emphasized devotion to the nation and eventually led to the famous Cult of Reason, which he famously celebrated in the Festival of Reason in Notre Dame Cathedral, renamed the Temple of Reason, in November 1793. Similar festivals were later organized in provinces and led to attacks on the churches.

In late 1793, Chaumette was sent on a mission to the provinces, where he fostered dechristianization policies. By 1794, he was widely perceived as one of the leaders of the *sans-culottes* and, due to his extremism, as a potential threat to the Jacobin dictatorship of Maximilien **Robespierre**. In March 1794, as the **Jacobins** suppressed the supporters of Jacques-René **Hébert**, Robespierre denounced Chaumette (who was not a Hébertiste) for corrupting French morality through his atheistic policies. Chaumette was arrested, tried by the **revolutionary tribunals**, and executed on April 13, 1794. *See also* French Revolution.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Chénier, Marie-Joseph-Blaise (1764–1811)

Marie-Joseph-Blaise Chénier was a French poet, writer, and revolutionary. Chénier was born in Constantinople (Istanbul), where his father served as French consul, and was raised at Carcassonne in **France**. After graduating from the Collège de Navarre, he joined the army and served with the regiment of Montmorency for two years. In the mid-1780s, he produced his first literary works, including *Edgar*, which debuted at the Comédie-Française in 1785. A year later, he wrote *Azémire*, followed by *Charles IX ou la Saint-Barthélemy*, which was suppressed by royal censors in 1787. Over the next two years, Chénier wrote a series of pamphlets, including *Dénonciation des inquisiteurs de la pensée* and *De la liberté du théâtre en France*, which denounced censorship and called for freedom of expression. This also publicized his play, which was eventually staged to great success, with famous French actor François Joseph Talma playing the lead role. The play's criticism of monarchy resonated with the public and, in fact, caused a rift in the Comédie-Française. During the Revolution, Chénier followed it up with *Henri VIII* (1791), *Jean Calas* (1792), *Gaius Gracchus* (1792), *Fénelon* (1793), and *Timoléon* (1794). In his plays, Chénier used historical subjects to cast a critical eye on the current situation in France and promote his own political ideas. After he disapproved of the violence of the **Reign of Terror** in *Timoléon*, his works were censored by the revolutionary authorities.

Besides his literary career, Chénier was actively involved in the Revolution, serving as a member of the **Cordeliers Club** and the Paris Commune. He was elected to the **National Convention** from the Seine-et-Oise *département* and voted for the death of **Louis XVI**. Chénier also served on the Committee of General Security and the **Committee of Public Safety** and, among other things, prepared a draft plan respecting

primary schools in 1792, which was enacted three years later. Together with the painter Jacques-Louis **David** and composer François-Joseph Gossec, Chénier organized several revolutionary fêtes and wrote patriotic songs and hymns, including “Chant du départ” and “Hymne à la liberté.” Nevertheless, during the Terror, he was suspected of moderate sentiments, as was his elder brother, André Marie Chénier, a well-known poet who was accused of state treason and executed in July 1794, three days before the end of the Terror. In 1796, Chénier, responding to accusations that he conspired to bring about his brother’s death, wrote an eloquent *Epître sur la calomnie* to clear his name.

Under the **Directory**, Chénier served on the **Council of Five Hundred** in the late 1790s and later in the Tribune during the **Consulate**. However, he opposed **Napoleon’s** rule and was expelled from the Tribune in 1802. The following year, he joined the Académie Française in 1803 and was appointed inspector general of the Imperial University. Nevertheless, he never fully reconciled with the imperial government, writing *Cyrus* (1804), *Promenade* (1805), and *Epître à Voltaire* (1806), all works critical of the empire. In 1806, he was dismissed from his post as inspector general. Still, two years later, Napoleon commissioned him to write *Tableau historique de l’état et du progrès de la littérature française*, a critical history of French literature during the **French Revolution** and the empire. Chénier died on January 10, 1811. *See also* Jacobins.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### La Chouannerie (1793–1796)

This name was given to an inchoate guerrilla war in the west of **France** (especially in Brittany) that erupted during early 1793 and periodically thereafter as late as 1805, although most activity ceased after about 1796. The core of the *chouan* membership originated within the salt smugglers who operated in lower Brittany and Maine before the **French Revolution**, and their name may come from a signal they used to identify each other (the hooting of an owl). Their usual illegal activities were perceived as counterrevolutionary when their civil disobedience began to impede the enforcement of national legislation designed to improve the war effort. During the spring of 1793, the **National Convention** decreed a *levée en masse* of 300,000 men to fight the war with **Austria**, Prussia, **Britain**, and Holland. The response in many areas across the nation was a series of antidraft riots and demonstrations. Most, as in Brittany, were quickly quelled. In the area immediately to the southeast of Brittany known as the Vendée, these disturbances coalesced into an active and armed counterrevolutionary movement that, although mostly put down by the end of the year, lasted for several years in one form or another.

Once it was clear that this kind of open rebellion was impossible in Brittany, rebellion degenerated into furtive, secret attacks on the representatives and local institutions of the national government. One of the earliest leaders was a former salt smuggler named Jean Cottereau (known as Jean Chouan), whose small band robbed travelers, mugged republicans and supporters of the national and local



governments, and ambushed army patrols beginning in late 1792. His goals, it seems, were originally apolitical and centered essentially upon mere brigandage. His success encouraged emulation, and the spontaneous emergence of several additional bands followed the draft riots of March 1793. As these bands began conducting petty assaults upon the establishment, several nobles and royalists, both in Brittany and elsewhere in France, as well as abroad, perceived an opportunity to convert and mobilize apparent anti-revolutionaries in pursuit of their own goals. Men such as Joseph de Puisaye led persistent efforts to weld the many disparate bands into a coherent and unified army with identifiable goals (the restoration of priests, nobles, the king, and the **ancien régime** in general). This effort largely failed despite sporadic help from the British and exiled royalist leaders, and there were no pitched battles or epic marches to free villages and towns from the government as occurred in the Vendée.

The failure of unabashed royalists to form an active counterrevolutionary army out of the **chouans** can perhaps be traced to the origins of the movement itself. Chouannerie cannot be defined simply as a counterrevolutionary royalist conspiracy. It was rather the manifestation of serious divisions within many (but not all) Breton communities. Much of the problem centered on the distribution of land and access to adequate acreage for the creation of successful farms. Most farmers either rented much of their land or leased it for relatively short periods (5–9 year terms) from owners who, most often, lived in the towns or larger villages. This dependence of the farmers upon urbanites created divisions within Breton society, which tended to be reinforced by the proclivity of the revolutionary national government to locate its organs in towns. These divisions, which had social, economic, and political roots, were then exacerbated by the interference of town dwellers, who represented both the power of the national government and landlords, in rural disputes. The clash between the town dwellers, who largely supported (and benefited from) the Revolution, and rural notables (who rented much of their farms and had therefore profited little since 1789) was in essence a rural civil war that became a national problem when the national government tried to enforce the laws on recruitment.

The enforcement of various additional national legislation, especially the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** of 1791 (which required all priests to take an oath to the constitution), exacerbated tensions between these groups and drove large numbers of rural notables into political opposition to the local representatives of the government (who were also often their landlords). This dissatisfaction evolved into chouannerie when these rural notables, under continuing difficult economic and social pressures, gradually transferred their allegiance from the revolutionary government, which had offered and given them little, to protean royalism, which in theory promised a return to their previous prosperity. Chouannerie, in other words, was a protest movement against the encroaching power of urban property owners as they attempted to enforce the will of the national government upon a countryside unwilling to bear these burdens. *See also* Chouans; Vendéan Rebellion.

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## Chouans

A name applied to groups of rebels against the French revolutionary government, this word originally applied only to a guerrilla band organized by Jean Cottereau, a former smuggler in Brittany who adopted the alias Jean Chouan during 1792. The name may have originated with smugglers in Brittany who used the sound of the screech owl, or *chat-huant* in the local dialect, as a signal or password. As opposition to the central government in Brittany coalesced into counterrevolutionary activities when conscription was decreed during 1793, the name was applied generally to the many counterrevolutionary bands operating in Brittany. *See also* La Chouannerie; French Revolution.

FURTHER READING: Sutherland, Donald. *The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany, 1770–1796*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

LEE BAKER

## Church, Benjamin (1734–1776)

An influential patriot leader in Boston before the Revolution, Church was a talented, articulate, and forceful spokesman for independence who eventually betrayed that cause. A Harvard graduate and doctor, Church was a member of the **Sons of Liberty** and the **Massachusetts** Provincial Congress.

Well known for his pro-patriot writings, he was also writing anonymous articles supporting the British cause. Most seriously, he was a spy, passing information to the British governor, General Thomas **Gage**. In time, Church's actions aroused suspicions. Church's discovery and trial raised significant issues. Aside from the shock that his treason created, there were legal problems associated with his trial. He was convicted of communicating with the enemy and sentenced to prison because no specific offense then existed that merited the death penalty. The **Continental Congress's Committee of Secret Correspondence** eventually corrected that deficiency, but Church was not retroactively condemned to death. He was sentenced to life imprisonment but eventually paroled. Church left for the West Indies, but his ship was lost at sea. *See also* Committees of Correspondence; Loyalists.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Cisalpine Republic (1797–1802)

The Cisalpine Republic was a French client state created by **Napoleon** during the French invasion of Italy in 1796–1797. Located around the city of Milan, the Republic became one of the first of a series of revolutionary states.

This state was brought into existence through war, specifically **France's** invasion of Italy. To facilitate their advance French forces encouraged Italian **Jacobins** to rise up in revolt against their rulers. Though they would not be successful in helping the French to defeat the Austrians, they were encouraged by Napoleon to create their own governments modeled on that of France.

The result was the Cisalpine Republic, which was brought into existence on June 29, 1797. The constitution was written by Italian Jacobins, though Napoleon maintained ultimate control over the state through his ability to control all appointments. Initially confined to Lombardy, the Cisalpine Republic was later enhanced by the addition of the territories of Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna and part of the Venetian Republic. The state's existence was confirmed with the signing of the Treaty of Campo Formio on October 17, 1797. The Republic collapsed after France was defeated by the forces of the Second Coalition in August 1799 and was occupied by the Austrians until June 1800, when Napoleon defeated them at the Battle of Marengo. Reformed after the Treaty of Lunéville in February 1801, the Cisalpine Republic became the Italian Republic in January 1802, and the Kingdom of Italy in 1805. *See also* Austria; French Revolutionary Wars.

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ROY KOEPP

## Citizen

A citizen is any person who in principle has a contractual relationship with a state involving certain legal rights against the state as well as obligations to it. The origin of the concept is inseparable from the notion of membership in a political community developed in the Greek polis in the eighth century B.C. The Greek idea was that certain individuals voluntarily formed an association in which they shared authority in the creation and enforcement of public policy. With rare exceptions, the feature that distinguished the Greek polis from all previous political formations was the essentially republican ideal of freely associated citizens. *See also* American Revolution; French Revolution.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Citizenship

The modern understanding of citizenship is based not only on the Greek imperative of individual participation in public affairs but also the Roman practice of extending citizenship to plebeians and conquered peoples. An increasingly heterogeneous body of citizens regarded their Roman status as a right to equal protection under the law as much as a passport to active involvement in politics. This egalitarian strain was prominent in American and French revolutionary concepts of citizenship.

The **American Revolution** changed the status of the colonist fundamentally from that of a *subject*—derived from the Latin words *sub* and *jacio* and referring to the status of one who is under the power of another—to that of a *citizen*, who is an individual unit of a mass of free men who collectively hold the sovereignty that a monarch had hitherto possessed and personified. David Ramsey, a South Carolinian of the revolutionary generation, argued accordingly that “each citizen of a free state contains, within himself, by nature and the constitution as much of the common

sovereignty as another.” Both the contractual and the egalitarian features of republican citizenship found formal expression in both the American **Declaration of Independence** and the **United States Constitution** as well as the French **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**.

In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Edmund **Burke** protested that the relationship of citizenship to the state must surely be more than that of stockholders in a joint stock company. Until the trauma of the American Civil War established a popular sense of the republic’s nationhood, the operative American definition of citizenship was nonetheless comparatively arid and impersonal. However, for leaders of the **Third Estate** such as Maximilien **Robespierre**, Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**’s idea of a sublime reciprocity between the individual citizen and the General Will was sufficiently attractive, under the theatrical and histrionic conditions accompanying the **French Revolution**, to acquire sinister implications. In the newly egalitarian culture of Paris, citizens were driven from euphoria to vengeance against real and imagined enemies of the Revolution through the institution of the **Reign of Terror**.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Civic Oaths

Words were a very important part of the **French Revolution**, especially those uttered in public. The act of swearing allegiance to the state through a civic oath became the defining act of patriotism, the acknowledgment of one’s total fidelity to the people, the nation, and the government, and symbolized individual unity with the people. In an age when even apparently mundane words acquired new symbolic meanings, the act of publicly declaring fidelity erased the line between private thoughts and public actions; it made transparent the good intentions and patriotism of the oath taker and, by extension, made clear the malevolent intentions of the nonjuror.

National Guardsmen, newly elected mayors and city councils, and even average people swept up by waves of patriotism took oaths throughout the revolutionary period. The first, and probably the most important, was the **Tennis Court Oath**. On June 20, 1789, about 60 members of the **Third Estate** and a few individuals from the privileged orders found the meeting hall of the **Estates-General** locked. Fearing the dissolution of the Estates and their personal arrest, they swore, both orally and with their signatures, never to separate until they had drafted a constitution for **France**. This dramatic act of defiance against the king became, even at the time, one of the defining moments of the early Revolution. Not all oaths united the country, however. In November 1790, the government required all clerics to take an oath to the constitution to ensure their allegiance in the face of the vast reforms aimed at the church and the resultant conflicts with the **papacy**. The pope forbade the taking of this oath and thereby placed the clerics in the position of obeying the law and taking the oath, or obeying the pope and not taking the oath. Eventually nonjuring priests were decreed suspects and laws were enacted to expel them from the country. *See also* Civil Constitution of the Clergy; Constitutions, French Revolutionary; National Guard.

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LEE BAKER

## Civil Code

The French civil code was established under Emperor **Napoleon I** in 1804. The Civil Code, also known as the Code Napoléon (Napoleonic Code), is one of the most important and lasting achievements of its age. It provided a clear statement of citizens' rights and liberties and defined the legal bounds of family law and property ownership. Napoleon, looking back from his exile, claimed the Civil Code among his greatest achievements.

The French legal system under the Bourbon dynasty varied greatly depending on region. The southern provinces historically employed a version of Roman law, while those to the north followed laws of custom. Regional differences were particularly noteworthy in laws of inheritance. In the south, the law followed the principle of primogeniture and favored the eldest son at the expense of other children, while in the north, the legal tradition advocated equal treatment of the offspring. Such differences were not only important from a legal point of view but had profound socioeconomic effects on the population as well. The Revolution produced enormous changes in French society. The entire political and social order was dramatically altered and the feudal legal system was effectively abolished. In the midst of revolutionary strife and foreign threats, almost 15,000 pieces of legislation were adopted, and many of them were not always consistent with each other, a fact that complicated the uniform administration of justice throughout the country. To remedy this, the work on the Civil Code, which would codify and establish a unitary legal system, began during the Revolution when several attempts were made to codify the multitude of diverse legal traditions that existed in the French kingdom. Jean-Jacques-Régis de **Cambacérès** was among those who participated in this early work, and he supervised preparations of three successive drafts of the Civil Code in 1793–1796.

The change in government in November 1799, when Bonaparte overthrew the **Directory**, provided a new impetus to the process of codification. In August 1800, Napoleon assembled a commission of legal experts, which included such bright minds as Cambacérès, François-Denis Tronchet, Felix-Julian-Jean Bigot de Préameneu, Jacques de Malleville, and Jean-Etienne-Marie Portalis, to work on the monumental task of drafting and adopting the Civil Code. In January 1801, the commission submitted its preliminary report and the draft code was discussed at the Council of State, where Bonaparte himself attended many meetings and influenced the drafting of certain provisions, especially those concerning marriage and the legal rights of women. The first draft was completed in December 1801, but it faced resistance in the Tribunal, where some portions of the Code were found to be insufficiently revolutionary in spirit. In response, Bonaparte purged the Tribunal in 1802 and had the Civil Code promulgated on March 21, 1804. The Civil Code was followed by a Code of Civil Procedure in 1806, a Commercial Code in 1807, a Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure in 1808, and a Penal Code in 1810. A Rural Code was prepared, but never promulgated. The Code Napoléon,

renamed the Civil Code, was substantially retained after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815. Thus, the Napoleonic Code consisted of seven codes, with the Civil Code constituting the first and most important element.

The Civil Code was organized into a preliminary portion and three books that were divided into titles and chapters, each containing specific articles. The Code represented a mix of liberalism and conservatism. It defined provisions regulating the rule of law and guaranteed individual liberty, **equality** before the law and in taxation, freedom from arrest without due process, religious freedom, and the right to choose one's work. Laws could only be applied if they had been duly promulgated and if they had been published officially. The Code prohibited *ex post facto* laws that applied to events that occurred before the laws had been enacted. It prohibited judges from refusing justice on grounds of insufficiency of the law and encouraged the judicial interpretation of the law, but without general judgments of a legislative value.

Its provisions on property, family, and inheritance law consolidated the achievements of the Revolution and secured the gains enjoyed by the bourgeoisie. The Civil Code established the modern conception of property ownership. It argued that the individual had absolute rights of ownership and defined this as "the right to enjoy and to dispose of one's property in the most absolute fashion, provided that it is not used in a manner prohibited by law." The land was freed of feudal obligations and servitude, while the Code preached unregulated economic liberalism that clearly favored employers over their workers.

The Code proved to be more conservative in the field of family law, and Napoleon's own conservative views and his emphasis on the value of the family played an important role in this. Under the Code's provisions, the authority of fathers and husbands was strengthened. Fathers had the right to imprison their disobedient children for a month up to the age of 16, and for six months thereafter. A father could prevent his son's marriage until he was 26, and his daughter's until she reached 21. Elder children still needed the formal permission of their parents to marry. Matrimony was completely secularized, and the marriage service had to be performed as a civil ceremony in order to be legal. The issue of dowry, which was a prevalent tradition at the time, was resolved through an arrangement between the couple in their marriage contract. The Civil Code upheld the patriarchal authority and gave considerable authority to the husband over his wife. Individual children could not be disinherited, but illegitimate children could inherit only if they were legitimized. Unlike the revolutionary legislation that compelled the testator to give equal shares to every heir, the Civil Code allowed the testator to dispose of a quarter of the estate as he or she pleased. The right to divorce was preserved but was curtailed in order to keep the families together. This change was detrimental to women's status and was a step back from the revolutionary law that set simple and equal grounds for divorce for both genders. Thus, if a wife caught her husband *en flagrante delicto* and shot him, she was considered a murderer. Under reversed circumstances, the husband's actions would be considered justified and no charge could be brought against him. Furthermore, women's right to divorce was seriously curtailed by the provision that allowed husbands to keep a mistress outside the home to avoid a charge of adultery. Women's property remained under the management of the husband or a male relative, and women were treated as if they were minors in legal proceedings. These provisions had a lasting effect on the status of women in **France**. Some portions of the Code, such as those relating to legal equality and divorce, were not revised until the 1960s.

The Code became an instrument of French rule in Europe and was spread by the victorious Napoleonic armies to virtually every corner of the Continent. Its liberal and progressive provisions often helped Napoleon to win the support of the local middle class for French rule in the conquered territories. In short, the Code was essential in preserving and spreading the social gains of the Revolution outside France. By 1812, it had been either in whole or in parts introduced in **Belgium**, the **Netherlands**, the Germanic states of the Confederation of the Rhine, Bavaria, Switzerland, **Spain**, and the Italian states. It also influenced legislation in **Austria** and Prussia. In later decades, the Civil Code served as a model for the codes of law of more than 20 nations throughout the world, including various South American states, Japan, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Egypt; and the American state of Louisiana has preserved some provisions of the Napoleonic Code to the present day. In France, the Code underwent various changes over its first century and a half of life but continues to operate to the present day. Together with Napoleon's administrative and educational systems, it became a cornerstone of French national unity.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Civil Constitution of the Clergy

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which ended the dominant position of the Roman Catholic Church in revolutionary **France**, was passed on July 12, 1790, by the **National Assembly**. The **privileges** of the church had been targeted by the French revolutionaries, who wanted to streamline this institution. The privileges of the church were withdrawn; tithes were abolished, church property meant for church revenue was confiscated, and monastic vows were prohibited. The 30-member ecclesiastical committee of February 1790 prepared a constitution after much debate, and King **Louis XVI** accepted the constitution on December 26, 1790.

The church had to work like any other department of the nation with an oath of allegiance by the clergy to France. The number of bishops was reduced to 83 from 135, and they were to be elected and paid by the state. No foreign power was to exercise supremacy over the church or French bishops. The constitution categorically stated that bishops and parish priests were to be chosen by election only. Clergymen would be provided with a house, salary, and pension after retirement. In addition, salaries of the lower clergy were doubled.

The constitution was condemned by the pope. Only seven bishops and half the clergy took the oath of allegiance. They came to be known as patriotic priests, and the rest as nonjurors or refractory priests. Relations with the pope deteriorated, and the French ambassador to the Vatican was recalled in May 1791. Some refractory priests indulged in counterrevolutionary activities and were arrested. In time, the nation was split between the two factions of the clergy, bringing in its wake violence, civil war, and emigration. The schism thus created between the French church and the **papacy** finally ended with the **Concordat** of 1801, initiated by **Napoleon**. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; French Revolution; Religion.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### Club des Impartiaux

See Impartiaux, Club des

### Clubs

See Political Clubs (French)

### Cobbett, William (1763–1835)

William Cobbet was a British writer and radical politician known particularly for his support for the reform of **Parliament**. Cobbett started his working life as a ploughboy before joining the army in 1783, serving in Canada, and rising to the rank of sergeant-major. On leaving the army in 1791, he wrote *The Soldier's Friend* (1792), a passionate indictment of the harsh treatment and poor pay of the common soldier. Fearing retribution, he sailed for the United States, where he stayed until 1800. In the United States, he wrote various pamphlets and newspaper essays condemning Thomas **Paine** and the **French Revolution** under the name "Peter Porcupine." Facing a charge of libel, he returned to England. There he started a loyalist daily newspaper, *The Porcupine*, but soon gave up this venture. He turned instead to publishing a weekly, the *Political Register*, which he published from January 1802 until his death. In the leading article, a feature he introduced, he set forth his political and social views, and in its pages he serialized most of his 20 books. Between 1804 and 1812 he also collected and published the parliamentary debates since the origins of Parliament; and from 1809 to 1812 he published a collection of the state trials. The *Political Register* started as an anti-Jacobin publication, but by 1804, Cobbett was expressing his concern about the size of the national debt, the reliance on paper money, the award of unmerited sinecures, and the growth of executive power and corruption. By 1807 he was allied with John **Cartwright** and Francis Burdett in promoting parliamentary reform.

From 1810 to 1812, he was imprisoned in Newgate jail for criticizing in print the flogging of some militiamen. Many issues of the *Political Register* were devoted to explaining the economic hardship of farm workers. Following the disastrous harvest in 1816, Cobbett launched a mass-circulation broadsheet edition of the *Political Register*, priced at two pence. It sold 44,000 copies in its first month. Fearing prosecution after the passing of repressive legislation, Cobbett again sailed for America in 1817. While there, he published his *Grammar of the English Language*, which went through numerous editions over many years. He returned in October 1819, carrying with him the bones of Thomas Paine, but these subsequently went missing. He was soon bankrupt and at odds with other radicals such as Henry Hunt. His fortunes



revived in 1820 when the Queen Caroline affair, to which he devoted numerous issues of the *Political Register*, attracted much public attention.

Throughout the 1820s, Cobbett was preoccupied with the distressed state of English farming. He insisted the only solution was radical parliamentary reform. He embarked on his celebrated rural rides, mainly across the southern counties, between 1821 and 1826 and began writing about these in 1830. Cobbett also wrote several works on agricultural subjects. Many of his later publications, even his best-selling *History of the Protestant Reformation* (1824–1827), accused the state of dispossessing the English poor. From 1828 to 1830 he frequently warned of the dangers of an agricultural revolt. When such a revolt occurred in 1830–1831, the new Whig government suspected that he had helped to foment it. Charged with incitement, he defended himself and was acquitted. Cobbett then turned his attention to securing the passing of the Great Reform Bill of 1832, though the bill did not extend the franchise as much as he desired. In the following general election at the end of 1832, he was elected to the House of Commons for the new parliamentary borough of Oldham. In Parliament he supported the prosecuted Dorset agricultural laborers known as the Tolpuddle martyrs and unsuccessfully opposed the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Despite a life of heroic endeavor and the massive sales of his many publications, he died bankrupt.

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H. T. DICKINSON

## Cockades

Cockades were colored ribbons that were usually affixed to a hat and denoted the ideological and/or factional allegiance of the wearer. Their most famous use was in the **American Revolution** and the **French Revolution**. In the American Revolution, the color black denoted American patriotism. The French troops sent to America used the white cockade—the color of the monarchy. It became fashionable to wear black and white cockades intertwined, representing the Franco-American alliance.

Cockades took on great significance in the French Revolution. Black, white, green, and tricolor cockades appeared in the course of the conflict. Black represented the aristocracy and counterrevolution, and white—the color of the Bourbon dynasty—represented the royalist forces and army, while green (standing for hope) initially represented the revolutionary forces, later to be supplanted by the tricolor cockade, the symbol of the new republic.

Cockades were also employed in Haiti, where the red symbolized for pro-revolution and white represented those associated with the status quo. *See also* Symbols (American Revolutionary); Symbols (French Revolutionary).

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CHARLES ALLAN

## Code Napoléon

*See* Civil Code

### Coercive Acts (1774)

The Coercive Acts (also known in colonial America as the Intolerable Acts) were five pieces of legislation enacted by **Parliament** during the spring of 1774, prompted by the previous December's **Boston Tea Party**. Parliament designed the Coercive Acts not only to secure compensation for the British East India Company's financial loss, but also to tighten imperial administration of the openly rebellious colony of **Massachusetts**. The Coercive Acts included the **Administration of Justice Act** and the **Massachusetts Government Act** (both effective May 20, 1774), the **Boston Port Act** (effective June 1, 1774), the **Quartering Act** (effective June 2, 1774), and the **Quebec Act** (effective October 7, 1774). With the exception of the Massachusetts Government Act, all were intended to be temporary measures.

Parliament drafted the Boston Port Bill to coerce the town of Boston to compensate the British East India Company for the loss of its tea, then valued at £18,000. Contemporary **Whigs**—both provincial and British—regarded the Port Bill's closure of Boston Harbor to all ship traffic as an extreme measure. Boston's economy depended upon the carrying trade and its peripheral industries. When the Port Bill was implemented, it consequently induced an economic crisis as many Bostonians lost their livelihoods. Donations of food and money from throughout New England and as far away as Charlestown, South Carolina, were delivered via Boston Neck—the narrow strip of land that then connected the Boston peninsula to the mainland. Several affluent provincials (including Benjamin **Franklin**) offered to pay for the cost of the tea, but Boston's town meeting refused their offers.

The Massachusetts Government Act revoked the provisions of that colony's 1691 charter. Provisions from Massachusetts's 1629 and 1691 charters had granted greater authority for self-government than enjoyed by any other English colony. Generations of Massachusetts provincials had not only used that latitude to administer local affairs but in the preceding decade had also taken advantage of the chartered town meeting format to debate and adopt resolutions that rejected the premise that sovereignty rested in Parliament to legislate and tax **Britain's** American colonies. Parliament, however, regarded these activities as a gross abuse of chartered power. To reign in this trend toward popular control of provincial governance, Parliament therefore stipulated in the Government Act that town meetings could be scheduled only with the royal governor's consent and its agenda could consider local issues only. Massachusetts's towns circumvented these restrictions by recessing rather than adjourning, which allowed them to reconvene without calling a new meeting. Even without this parliamentary sleight of hand, the vast majority of towns lay beyond the reach of the British occupation force in Boston.

The Administration of Justice Act provided that British officials could not be tried in a local colonial court for capital crimes committed in the process of enforcing tax regulations or suppressing riots against those regulations. Instead, the trial would be moved to either another colony or Britain. The act provided that if the defendant was acquitted of the charge, the defendant could sue the original filing party to collect court costs as well as punitive damages. Parliament deemed this measure

necessary for British officials to enforce imperial laws (for example, the **Tea Act**) without threat of retribution or biased judgments from provincial judges and juries. Provincial Americans, however, believed that at best this act released royal officials from any obligation to act in accord with the interests of their provincial constituencies and at worst gave royal officials *carte blanche* to commit atrocities with impunity.

The Quartering Act of 1774 was actually the third revision to the Quartering Act first implemented in March of 1765. The original act was intended to ensure provincial Americans cooperated in constructing adequate housing and in making unoccupied buildings available to house British troops. The 1774 installment of the Quartering Act (drafted by Thomas **Gage** while temporarily in London) required provincial Americans to also make occupied buildings and private homes available to billet British soldiers and officers.

Parliament drafted the Quebec Act to better administer the territory Britain had won from **France** in the Seven Years' (French and Indian) War. Among other provisions, the Quebec Act stipulated that legislation of any significance written in Quebec must be submitted within six months to the British government in London for approval. Regarded in Britain as an innocuous and necessary measure to administer an expanded empire, the Quebec Act met with a variety of objections in the American colonies. Many American provincials objected that the act extended **Canada's** southern border to the Ohio River, creating conflict with land claims made by Massachusetts, **Connecticut**, and **Virginia** and obstructing these colonies from expanding westward to provide farmland for future generations. Veterans of the provincial militia units that had fought with the British in the four imperial wars with France also objected because the act ceded land to a former enemy. New Englanders took particular affront to the Quebec Act's provision that granted religious toleration to Quebec's 65,000 Catholics. New England's earliest Puritans had emigrated from England in the 1620s and 1630s in part because they felt Anglican leaders had not sufficiently purified vestiges of Catholicism from the Church of England. New Englanders therefore regarded the Quebec Act's endorsement of Catholicism as having sanctioned a religion they deemed heresy.

Taken together, the Coercive Acts appeared to provincials in Massachusetts and the other colonies as a plot organized by **George III's** ministers to usurp their economic livelihood and chartered authority for self-government. Rather than isolate provincials in Massachusetts as intended, the acts united provincial Americans and broadened support for the revolutionary movement both within Massachusetts and throughout the colonies. Before the Coercive Acts were imposed, many Massachusetts residents beyond the greater Boston area (particularly in the western counties of Berkshire and Hampshire) had largely ignored Parliament's taxation measures and had been disinterested in provincial Whigs' resistance efforts; their distance from the seaboard had largely insulated them from the effects of these measures. The resistance and rebellion pervasive in and around Boston for a decade had also appeared to provincials in other colonies as having constituted a local conflict. The Massachusetts Government Act and Boston Port Act, however, persuaded provincials throughout the American colonies that their continued control of provincial affairs and economic livelihoods were in jeopardy. Virginia's House of Burgesses proposed that the colonies should meet to formulate a coordinated response to Parliament's increasingly intrusive imperial policies. This suggestion led to the formation of the

First **Continental Congress**, which first convened in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. *See also* Committees of Correspondence.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

### Collot d'Herbois, Jean Marie (1749–1796)

Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois was a French revolutionary politician and member of the **Committee of Public Safety**. Born in Paris to a goldsmith, Collot left the capital at a young age to seek fame and fortune in the provinces and abroad. He tried to make a career acting, writing plays, and managing theaters throughout Europe. By the age of 20 in 1769, he was acting in plays in Toulouse and Bordeaux. His first authored play, *Lucie ou les Parents imprudents* was performed in several provincial theaters—Nancy, Toulouse, and Brussels—and a second edition appeared in 1774.

When the **French Revolution** broke out, Collot was in Paris, directing his plays. He began an almanac, *L'almanach du père Gérard*, which supported the constitutional monarchy and made him famous. He joined the Jacobin Club in 1791. As a member of the Paris Commune, he was involved in the planning of the insurrection of August 10, 1792, which ended the monarchy. Elected a deputy to the **National Convention**, representing Paris, Collot was elected to the Committee of Public Safety on September 6, 1793. He was a representative on mission to the Nièvre, the Loiret, the Oise, and the Aisne departments. With Joseph **Fouché**, Collot was responsible for the repression of royalist sympathizers in Lyon. He was one of the most ruthless terrorists and extremists of the Revolution.

As a supporter of the dechristianization campaign with Jacques **Hébert** and Fouché in late 1793, Collot came into conflict with Maximilien **Robespierre**. Rivalry at the Jacobin Club and Convention served to enhance their mutual animosity. Collot assisted in Robespierre's fall from power on 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794). It was not long, however, until he fell from power, and after the abortive uprising of 12 Germinal (April 1, 1795), he was deported to Guiana, where he died of yellow fever. *See also* Jacobins; Representatives on Mission; Thermidorian Reaction.

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LEIGH WHALEY

### Combination Acts (1799 and 1800)

The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800, passed by **Parliament** under the conservative leadership of prime minister William **Pitt** the Younger, forbade any form of organized activity for workers to win improvements in working conditions or wages. The acts were part of the reaction of the British government against the radicalism

associated with workers and the **French Revolution**, as well as an expression of the conflict between owners and workers in many industries. The British government was wary of domestic revolutionaries, **Jacobins**, sympathetic to the French Republic. There had been two serious mutinies in the navy in 1797, and the following year a French army had actually landed in Ireland to collaborate with Irish rebels. The government had been moving in the direction of greater repression from the beginning of the war with **France** in 1793.

The act of 1799 cancelled all previous agreements, written or unwritten, made between workers acting cooperatively and employers. It forbade workers from combining to press for any improvement in wages and working conditions on pain of two months' hard labor. Workers were also forbidden to encourage other workers to quit, or to object to working with anyone else. The act attacked workers' solidarity by making anyone contributing to the expenses of a person convicted under the acts subject to a £10 fine and by making it possible to force defendants to testify against each other.

Although there was little opposition to the act of 1799 in or out of Parliament, after its passage it faced organized working-class opposition. A coordinated campaign led to a flood of petitions to Parliament from workers in English cities demanding its repeal. The government decided to modify some of its more obnoxious features. The final version of the Combination Act in 1800 still prohibited workers from joining together to win increases in wages or decreases in hours but made it more difficult to convict violators. The 1800 act also set up an arbitration system, among the last appearances of the idea that local magistrates could have a role to play in setting wages and prices. However, this arbitration procedure was seldom used. The new Combination Act also went beyond the 1799 act to explicitly forbid employers' combinations, but these provisions were never enforced.

The Combination Acts were not the only legal weapon available to employers, and most prosecutions of workers' organizations in the ensuing years took place under other laws. Enforcement of the acts and other antiunion laws varied tremendously across regions and industries and were often particularly lax in areas where magistrates, frequently drawn from rural gentry or Church of England clergymen, had more paternalistic values than did business owners. Although the acts did not destroy workers' organizations, they contributed to government and employers' repression of trades unions. They were repealed in 1824.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

## Commission of Orange

*See* Orange, Commission of

## Committee of Public Safety (1793–1795)

The Committee of Public Safety was an attempt to solve the problem of creating an effective executive power to make critical decisions at a time when the government

was facing attacks from both within and without. The committee came into existence in 1793, lasting until October 1795. As a powerful executive, however, its role really came to an end in the wake of a coup staged on 9 Thermidor, Year II (July 27, 1794), of the **French Revolution**. Although described as a “slight commotion that would leave the Government intact,” the coup, known as the **Thermidorian Reaction**, effectively ended the primacy of the Committee of Public Safety.

Before the French Revolution, it had been understood that the executive, one with almost unimaginable power, was King **Louis XVI** of **France**. Since 1789, that power had been severely curtailed but even as he was imprisoned and tried, Louis was still France’s executive according to the constitution of 1791. He would remain so until his execution in January 1793. While Louis’s role was diminishing, the government itself was facing several crises that threatened its survival. In March, the revolutionary armies were suffering defeats at the hands of foreign armies. In the far west of France, the **Vendéan rebellion** created opposition that would eventually require serious military intervention on the part of the government as well as large-scale reprisals.

The need for some kind of executive committee, preferably based on the Committee of General Security that had existed before, was obvious. It is worth noting that this committee, while supplanted in importance, still existed. Throughout the life of the Committee of Public Safety, these two bodies would maintain a rivalry that would end only with the Thermidorian Reaction, in which some Committee of General Security members participated.

On April 6, 1793, the **National Convention** created a committee of nine members called the Committee of Public Safety. The committee would meet in secret, report to the **National Assembly** weekly, supervise the various ministries, and manage the national defense effort. Thus, a great deal of power was concentrated in a rather small group, with not a great deal of visibility into their deliberations, to see the nation through its time of danger.

In this light, it is not surprising that even when the Constitution of 1793 was adopted in June, its implementation was delayed. The constitutionally defined executive was to have been a select committee of 24 individuals selected by the Convention to serve for two years. Along with the rest of the constitution, that body was never established, its proposed role having been filled by the Committee of Public Safety. The delay, in implementing the constitution, which turned out to be permanent, was confirmed in October 1793. The Convention stated that the provisional government of France would be a revolutionary government “until the peace.”

The Committee of Public Safety had a wide range of powers, but it was subject to what in theory were stringent term limits. Each committee member served for a period of one month, which had to be renewed by the Convention. In real terms, within a very short time, this came to be a pro forma requirement. In the summer of 1793 the committee was expanded to 10 members, and in September of that year the composition of the committee was set at 12. This “Twelve Who Ruled,” sometimes referred to as the Great Committee, remained quite stable in terms of personnel until 9 Thermidor. The 12 were Maximilien **Robespierre** (who had replaced Georges **Danton** as a member of the committee), Bertrand **Barère de Vieuzac**, Jacques Nicolas **Billaud-Varenne**, Lazare **Carnot**, Jean Marie **Collot d’Herbois**, and Georges **Couthon**, Marie Jean **Hérault de Séchelles**, Robert-Thomas **Lindet**, Prieur de la Côte-D’Or (Claude-Antoine Prieur-Duvernois), Pierre-Louis Prieur (called **Prieur de la Marne**

to distinguish him from Prieur de la Côte-D'Or), **Jeanbon Saint-André**, and Louis Antoine **Saint-Just**.

They came from a variety of backgrounds. In temperament they ranged from practical men (Lindet, Saint-André, and Carnot) to the idealistic and impractical (Danton once said that Robespierre was incapable of even boiling an egg). Carnot was a military specialist, sometimes referred to as the Organizer of Victory, while Saint-André, a former ship captain, became involved in naval affairs while also helping to put down the rebellion in the Vendée. Prieur de la Côte-D'Or had also been an army officer. Several (Barère, Billaud-Varenne, Couthon, Lindet, Prieur de la Marne, Robespierre, and Saint-Just) were lawyers or at least had received legal training. One (Hérault de Séchelles) was a nobleman. One, Collot d'Herbois had acted in and written plays. Most of them had been born in the 1750s, which put the average age in the late thirties to early forties. Robert Lindet, born in 1743, was the oldest; Saint-Just, born in 1767, the youngest.

Each specialized in a particular area. Robespierre was the spokesman for the committee and, while he held the post unofficially, was recognized as the leader of the committee. Of all the committee members, Robespierre was the only one never to leave Paris to go on mission. **Representatives on mission** of the National Convention were often sent on assignments that combined fact finding with implementing solutions (often of a judicial nature). Because members of the Committee of Public Safety were often on these types of missions, they never met together as a group of 12. Some would be gone for months at a time. Robespierre's presence until June 1794, when he stopped attending to committee business, was a constant despite the shifts in who was present in Paris. The committee was supported by a large clerical staff as well as an extensive and efficient messenger system.

Military affairs were an important part of the committee's expanding responsibilities and had been a key element of its original charter. Carnot, both Prieurs, and Saint-Just all had military responsibilities, from planning to strategy to the conduct of armies in the field to supplying ordnance to the revolutionary armies. Lindet supported both the armies in the field as well as the cities by managing food supplies. Diplomacy was handled by Hérault de Séchelles and Barère. Correspondence with the various departments of France (these were geographical, not functional groupings) was handled by Billaud-Varenne and Collot d'Herbois, while Couthon specialized in police and security matters.

The members of the committee were, in the main, energetic, and some were very competent. That was fortunate, a great deal of direction was required on their part for the second half of 1793 and into 1794. Unfortunately, they were also mostly zealots as well, and in implementing government with an attitude informed by high revolutionary fervor, they established and maintained what became known as the **Reign of Terror**. While this was effective in eliminating a great deal of opposition, it also alienated supporters and in so doing eventually created the situation that would lead to the demise of the committee as a powerful influence in the nation's affairs.

The first priority for the committee was to win the war against the countries that sought to exterminate the Revolution. There had been defeats, and to send the message that victory must be won at all costs, the committee executed a host of generals thought to be incompetent or disloyal. After this, as 1793 wore on, France began to hold its own against foreign armies. Officers of merit with successful records were

promoted by the committee. One of these was **Napoleon** Bonaparte, who received a promotion to brigadier general at the end of 1793.

Economics were another matter of concern. The committee was responsible for establishing and maintaining price controls, especially for the price of bread. Encouraging the establishment of manufacturing and the effectiveness of farming were other interests, as was the acquisition of wealth by other means. In September 1793 the French armies on foreign soil were ordered to strip those areas of everything of value and send it back to France.

Revolutionary ideology was of concern to the committee, especially, it seemed, to Robespierre. The replacement of Christianity with an ideology of liberty was seen as an important task. When the first mass executions took place, crowds went to the cathedral of Notre Dame and cut off the heads of the statues of saints, in the belief they were statues of the kings of France. Not content with removing or destroying Christian icons, Robespierre and other members of the committee wished to replace the Christian Church with a new faith. The culmination of this effort to create a state religion came in June 1794, when all of Paris turned out to celebrate what was called the Feast of Reason. Robespierre presided over this in what would be his last major public appearance before his execution.

Governing was a balancing act for the committee. While they ruled France and ruled it in the name of the whole nation, the members of the committee were aware that there were regional differences. The Vendéan rebellion was of course politically motivated and an especially troublesome thorn in the side of the government. Other parts of the country, however, even those that generally favored the Revolution, did not have the same radical fervor as the Parisians. Combined with the ambivalence that the countryside often has for the city, there was tension that affected such practical and potentially dangerous areas such as those concerning food supplies. To keep their power, their position, and their heads, it was necessary for politicians in Paris to make concessions to the volatile and politically active Parisians.

All this occurred while the committee was consolidating and expanding its power. The committee received the authority to issue warrants in the summer of 1793. In the fall of that year, its power over the army and the navy, already substantial, increased dramatically. In what was known as the Law of 14 Frimaire (December 4, 1793), the committee's executive status was expanded to include direction over foreign policy and direct control over representatives on mission. Ministries no longer existed after the first half of 1794, and their tasks were also assumed by the committee. The provisions of this law would hold for the next eight months.

It was in the realm of security, however, in which the power of the committee would grow, stimulating its members to increase the use of terror and eventually undermine and destroy Robespierre and his closest adherents on the committee. Accusations of corruption were made against Danton, one of the original members of the committee. To push the point home as to why this trial and the desired outcome were so important, Robespierre made an impassioned speech. In it he equated corruption with materially aiding the enemies of France and the Revolution. Danton was convicted and executed, together with Hérault de Séchelles, against whom the charges were probably manufactured.

The **Law of 22 Prairial** (June 10, 1794) broadened the scope of what could be done to ensure security. It listed new crimes that could be punished, including saying



anything that could in any way be construed as being critical of the government. It simplified trials by allowing only two outcomes: guilt and execution, or acquittal. Further streamlining was achieved through the removal of the appeal process and the right to cross-examine witnesses. The **revolutionary tribunals**, which were empowered by this legislation, proceeded to accelerate their trials and subsequent executions. It was perhaps this reform of the judicial code, which was the work of Robespierre and Couthon, that helped to crystallize opposition to the committee, especially as it was now constituted and most especially as it was chaired by Robespierre.

It was in the National Convention that Robespierre was attacked by an alliance of members of the Committee of General Security, which had maintained a consistent rivalry with the Committee of Public Safety and various deputies. As a result of the attack and destruction of Robespierre's credibility, he and two other members of the committee (Saint-Just and Couthon) were arrested and on 10 Thermidor (July 28) were executed.

The effective end of the committee's power followed immediately, although the committee would function for another year. The powers of the committee, especially in security, military affairs, and foreign policy, were reduced, and the rule enforced that its members must be reconsidered each month. The personnel on the committee changed with greater frequency during its last year. Finally, with the constitution of 1795, the Committee of Public Safety was no more. In reviewing the significance of the committee and its ultimate value, historians must balance the good it did in imposing economic reforms and attempting to main price controls against its extensive use of terror. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Directory; Fête de l'Être Supreme; French Revolutionary Wars; Jacobins; *Patrie en Danger*; Revolutionary Committees of the French Revolution; Thermidorians.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Committee of Secret Correspondence (1775)

The **Second Continental Congress** established the Committee of Secret Correspondence on November 29, 1775, to initiate clandestine contacts with Europeans in order to determine which governments might be supportive of the American cause against **Britain**. The committee played a significant role in determining French sentiments and securing secret assistance from its government prior to the American **Declaration of Independence** and is credited as being the first American foreign intelligence-gathering organization.

Congress originally selected five individuals to form the committee: Benjamin **Franklin**, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas **Jefferson**, John **Jay**, and John **Dickinson**. James **Lovell** and Robert Morris served on the committee at later periods. The five original members of the Committee of Secret Correspondence were influential merchants and politicians with many contacts in Europe. The Committee of Secret Correspondence initiated secret contact with Europeans, supported and funded propaganda activities in foreign countries, and gathered intelligence related to the American cause.

The committee initiated correspondence with individuals in Britain and Ireland who professed sympathy toward the American cause. Through this correspondence, the committee members kept abreast of British sentiment toward the colonies and their political and economic demands. Arthur **Lee**, the lone American still serving as a colonial representative in London, assisted the committee by approaching his pro-colonial contacts in that city. The committee also worked closely with Charles Dumas, a Swiss intellectual who lived in The Hague, capital of the United Provinces of the **Netherlands**. Through Dumas, the Americans were able to gather information from many European diplomats who lived in the Dutch capital. Dumas ensured that European merchants knew that the American colonies were eager to purchase weapons and ammunition as well as to sell the colonial products normally traded with Britain.

The most important contacts of the committee were with **France**. Dumas, with the assistance of Lee, proved influential in the initial contacts with France. Although the French refused any direct involvement, Dumas reported that the French government would turn a blind eye toward exports of weapons and other goods to the American colonies. Congress dispatched Silas Deane in the spring of 1776 to assist in the negotiations with the French. Deane arrived in France claiming to be a merchant seeking to purchase military supplies on credit and met with French officials. The discussions resulted in the establishment of Hortalez et Cie, a fictitious private company, for the export of weapons to the American colonies in exchange for tobacco and other goods. The committee members and Dumas also found success in the Netherlands, although the country desired to maintain an outward appearance of neutrality. The Netherlands initiated limited trade with the American colonies and opened its ports in the West Indies to American ships. Spain also quietly moved toward clandestine support of the American cause. Congress renamed the body the Committee of Foreign Affairs on April 17, 1777, in recognition of the United States as an independent country. *See also* American Revolutionary War.

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TERRY M. MAYS

## Committees of Correspondence

The committees of correspondence were a communications network through which towns, counties, and colonies shared ideas, shaped public opinion, and coordinated opposition to **Parliament's** policies regarding **Britain's** North American colonies. They were formed in 1764 in response to the **Currency Act**, which prohibited

the colonies from printing their own paper money (specie was scarce in the colonies), and Parliament's more aggressive enforcement of customs regulations. The Boston Town Meeting formed a committee of correspondence to encourage the colonies to unite against these measures. The following year **New York** formed a committee of correspondence with the purpose of keeping the other colonies informed regarding its actions to resist the newly imposed **Stamp Act**. During that intercolonial correspondence, **Massachusetts** suggested that the colonies should meet to coordinate their responses to the Stamp Act. This led to the **Stamp Act Congress**, to which nine of the colonies sent delegates. In New York City, merchants banded together to form non-importation associations that pledged not to import manufactured British goods until the Stamp Act was repealed. (It is now believed that their patriotic gesture had pecuniary roots and that the New York merchants needed to sell excess inventory.) New York also used corresponding committees in 1769 to coordinate opposition to a rumor that the Church of England intended to establish an Anglican episcopate in America. Each of these corresponding committees, though, had been temporary.

The first use of permanent (standing) corresponding committees was initiated by the Boston Town Meeting in 1772. Parliament had just determined that the Crown (rather than Massachusetts's General Court) would pay the salaries of the governor and the colony's judges. Colonists in Massachusetts objected to this measure because it altered a provision of their 1691 charter, and because they believed these royally appointed officials would be less sympathetic to provincial interests. The Boston Town Meeting established the Boston Committee of Correspondence on November 2, 1772, to keep British "injustices" in the public eye whenever the General Court (Massachusetts's elected legislature) was recessed or if the royally appointed governor prorogued (dismissed) it. The corresponding committees would also actively work to shape public opinion against the British ministry's efforts to usurp legitimate constitutional government.

Massachusetts's 1772 incarnation of corresponding committees was instigated by Samuel **Adams** and Thomas **Young**, an Albany physician settled in Boston since 1766. Both men knew the difficulties that New York's committees of correspondence of 1769 had encountered and were determined to avoid those errors. They believed New York's network had been too expansive; it had included committees overseas in Britain that inevitably did not share the same intense fervor for their cause. Adams and Young therefore limited Massachusetts's 1772 network to towns within Massachusetts. More than half of the province's 260 towns (mostly in the eastern half) responded to letters from the Boston Committee of Correspondence. Adams and Young also rejected New York's earlier reliance upon volunteers for the time-consuming work of correspondence. Instead, they suggested each Massachusetts town meeting create a committee specifically for that task. In this manner the town meetings functioned as hubs within a province-wide communication network—an adaptation of existing structures to assume new responsibilities.

When Boston's Town Meeting created Massachusetts's network of corresponding committees, it established an extralegal political body beyond the reach of the Crown or Parliament. Unlike the General Court, the royal governor could not prorogue the corresponding committees. Establishment of the corresponding committees demonstrated provincials' emerging sense that sovereignty did not emanate from a divinely inspired Crown but rather rested within the people.

Four months after Boston established Massachusetts's network of corresponding committees, Dabney Carr proposed to Virginia's House of Burgesses that the colonies form a permanent intercolonial network of corresponding committees. Its objective would be to exchange ideas and coordinate a colonial response to imperial policies. Carr spoke on behalf of a group of somewhat younger burgesses from Virginia's western counties (Hanover, Louisa, Albemarle, and Richmond). These men (including Thomas **Jefferson**, Richard Henry **Lee**, and Charles Francis Lee) had less to lose financially than the more established members from the older tidewater counties and were therefore willing to respond more aggressively to Britain.

All the colonies accepted Virginia's invitation to form an intercolonial network of corresponding committees; **New Jersey** was the last to join, one year later. British reaction to this network revealed the disparate methods of British administration of the American colonies. **Virginia's** Governor John **Murray**, Earl of Dunmore, initially supported the committees of correspondence. Because Virginia had suffered a spate of counterfeit activity, Dunmore had encouraged the House of Burgesses to open and sustain communications with the other colonial legislatures in order to better learn from their experiences. However, when Massachusetts established its intra-colonial network, Parliament asserted that the colony's establishment of a new, permanent governmental body grossly abused the authority granted to it by its 1691 charter.

Despite Parliament's opposition, when Governor Thomas **Gage** prorogued Massachusetts's General Court and its members reconstituted themselves as the extralegal Provincial Congress in October 1774, that new legislature immediately appointed a clerk to interface with Massachusetts's network of corresponding committees to coordinate the province's political and militia activities. Rather than create its own corresponding committee, the Provincial Congress enlisted the already-experienced Boston Committee of Correspondence as the communications hub between provincial Massachusetts and **Canada**. Massachusetts provincials (and later the Continental Congress) used the corresponding committee network to entreat Canada to join New England in its opposition to Parliament's imperial policies.

The exchange of written information helped forge bonds between the colonies. When Massachusetts Whigs destroyed private property (tea) during the **Boston Tea Party**, it shocked Virginians. They believed in the sanctity of private property and that the New Englanders had acted too hastily, without having consulted them first. The established network of corresponding committees, though, enabled Massachusetts's Whigs to convey to Virginia's Whigs how the **Coercive Acts** (and the **Massachusetts Government Act** in particular) threatened the continued self-governance of all the colonies. Virginia's House of Burgesses responded on May 24, 1774, by adopting a resolution for a day of fasting as a sign of solidarity with its sister colony. It was scheduled to coincide with the date the **Boston Port Act** was to become effective—June 1, 1774. Two days later (May 26, 1774) Virginia's Governor Dunmore reacted by abruptly proroguing the House of Burgesses. Their legislature dissolved, 89 of the Burgesses met the next day in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg. Using the network of corresponding committees, they called for a "patriotick Assembly" of the colonies to be convened. Their appeal led directly to the formation of the First **Continental Congress**, which convened that September in Philadelphia. Even though each of Britain's American colonies was established at

different times and for different reasons (religious, commercial), the committees of correspondence acted as a conduit through which they identified mutual objectives and began to build a common American culture distinct from that of the mother country. *See also* Non-Importation Acts.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

### ***Common Sense* (Paine, 1776)**

Among the most important texts in Western politics, Thomas **Paine**'s pamphlet *Common Sense* played an influential role in mobilizing popular support for American independence from **Britain**, both in the colonies and among British sympathizers. Paine's text put forward the first popular appeal for immediate and complete independence of the colonies from Britain.

The text consisted of four primary sections. The first two focused on the origin and design of government, with special reference to the English constitution and the monarchy. The next two sections offered reflections on the present state of affairs in America, with a consideration of the promise that an independent America might hold for world peace and progress.

At the core of *Common Sense*, and the foundation upon which its powerful arguments rest, is a powerful libertarian vision of society freed from the shackles of government. Paine makes the point, forgotten even by some contemporary political commentators, that many political writers tend to confound government with society to such an extent that little distinction is left between them. On the contrary, argues Paine, society and government are not only different in character, but in that they originate from entirely different sources. Society, for Paine, emerges from people's wants and attempts to meet those wants. As such, it acts positively to promote human happiness by uniting people in their affections. Government, on the other hand, has its roots in wickedness. It represents a purely negative force operating on the basis of restraint. Where society encourages intercourse, government works to create divisions. In this highly sociological presentation of society and state relations, Paine prefigures the writings of anarchists, who, inspired by the **French Revolution**, would emerge in Europe almost a century after the publication of *Common Sense*. At the same time, Paine was no anarchist since he did argue for the limited necessity of a small, or "minarchist," state. In a famous formulation, Paine identifies society in every state as a blessing, while government, even in its best state, can be nothing more than a necessary evil.

Paine viewed the opportunities for political freedom within an independent America with almost utopian hopefulness. America provided nothing less than the possibility of beginning the world over again. Indeed, Paine suggests in *Common Sense* that America has a unique moral obligation to the rest of the world, which, in his view, is overrun in every corner by oppression and tyranny. This obligation would be met in the form of a sovereign people armed with a "noble and pure constitution" and the institution of checks and balances on the various branches

of government, a condition so woefully lacking within Britain's monarchy. Furthermore, American independence would encourage world peace and prosperity, as America could avoid the brutality of European wars and focus on developing ties of trade and commerce with all countries of the world.

The provocative pamphlet proved an immediate success, with three editions appearing between January 10 and February 14, 1776, and sales numbering between 150,000 to 600,000 during Paine's lifetime. It became a best seller both in the colonies and in Europe, bringing its author widespread notoriety. Originally published anonymously, Paine donated the work's copyright to the colonies rather than accept any personal profit from the text's relatively enormous sales.

A highly effective work of agitational literature, *Common Sense* is widely regarded as having contributed to the growth of the movements for independence. In addition, its ideas influenced such revolutionary documents as the **Declaration of Independence**.

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JEFF SHANTZ

### Compagnie de Jésus ou du Soleil

After the **Thermidorian Reaction** brought an end to the **Reign of Terror** in the summer of 1794, those areas of **France** that had suffered from long-term political divisions and violence witnessed yet more bloodshed. This was especially true of the region around Lyon, where the Companies of Jesus operated, and in Provence, which was terrorized by the so-called Companies of the Sun. These were royalist death squads, which wreaked a terrible vengeance on former **Jacobins** during the **White Terror** of 1795, after the mass release of suspects from prisons and the return of **émigrés** and deserters swelled the ranks of angry young men nursing a desire for revenge.

They were orchestrated to some extent by royalist agents, but local grudges and the settling of personal scores also played a part. They were certainly abetted by the Thermidorian **representatives on mission** and the local authorities, who, purged of Jacobins, turned a blind eye to the atrocities. These gangs were responsible for massacres in Lyon, Toulon, Marseille, and Tarascon, as well as for murders of individuals who, rightly or wrongly, were associated with the Jacobin regime. Order was restored when the Thermidorian-controlled **National Convention** in Paris asserted its power over the local authorities and recalled the wayward representatives on mission. Nevertheless, there was a further flare-up of violence in 1797, when royalists and constitutional monarchists made significant gains in the elections of that year.

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MICHAEL RAPPORT

## Concord, Battle of

See Lexington and Concord, Actions at

## Concordat (1801)

The Concordat was a treaty between **Napoleon** and Pope **Pius VII**, announced on Easter Sunday, 1802, that recognized Roman Catholicism as the **religion** of the majority of **France**'s population yet simultaneously guaranteed liberty of worship and established a new episcopate with bishops nominated by Napoleon, as head of state, and confirmed by Rome. Napoleon attended the Easter Mass at Notre Dame, during which a Te Deum was sung in celebration of the restoration of religious peace.

Between November 1800 and September 1801 the Concordat was subject to three phases of negotiation, in which Napoleon intervened personally on numerous occasions. In the final phase, the document drafted by the plenipotentiaries of France and the Holy See was thrown into the fire by Napoleon, who then upbraided Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, secretary of state to Pius VII, in a violent burst of anger, before a 12-hour conference produced an agreement Napoleon approved on July 15. Signatures were exchanged on September 10.

According to the Concordat's terms, the **papacy** resigned claims to church property seized during the **French Revolution**, including property as yet unsold. The church was henceforth to be closely regulated by the state, which in turn paid the stipends, roughly on par with those proposed by **Mirabeau** in 1789, of the bishops and curés. Next to the Napoleonic Code, the Concordat ranks as Napoleon's most durable civil achievement. Because it made Pius VII available both to sanction Napoleon's acceptance of the throne and to preside at his coronation, it was literally a crowning political and diplomatic triumph. By healing the schism with Rome, Napoleon turned the clergy into docile supporters who countenanced an imperial catechism instructing children that to honor the emperor and serve him was "was to honor and serve God himself."

The Concordat of 1801 lasted until 1905, when a new wave of **anti-clericalism** provoked by the Dreyfus Affair led to new state restrictions on church activity, and the Third Republic formally repudiated it, thereby separating church and state.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Condorcet, Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de (1743–1794)

The Marquis de Condorcet was a prophet of scientific politics. Having come from a poor noble French family, Condorcet was only a minor mathematician. His most interesting work applied mathematics to politics. His *Essay on the Application of the Analysis of Probability to Decisions Made on a Plurality of Votes* (1785), the first mathematical treatment of voting, is famous for the so-called Condorcet's paradox of how purely majoritarian voting fails to represent people's true choices. Condorcet

promoted liberal rather than authoritarian scientific politics. Informed by science, average citizens, including female citizens, could make correct decisions.

A supporter of the **French Revolution** in its early stages, Condorcet tried to secure a role for the scientific community in the new **France**. In October 1793, the victorious **Jacobins** issued a warrant for the arrest of the Girondin Condorcet. He spent several months in hiding, writing his most famous work, *Sketch for a History of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795), in which he stated his belief in science and scientific progress as driving human advancement. After his arrest and imprisonment, Condorcet killed himself to avoid execution. *See also* Girondins.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### Congress (United States)

The **United States Constitution** of 1787 established Congress as the legislative branch of the United States government. Since the outbreak of colonial opposition to British imperial policy in the 1760s, Americans had created intercolonial assemblies to coordinate their efforts and establish a political consensus that would serve the needs of all colonies. The outbreak of war with **Britain** further necessitated intercolonial communication and cooperation. Building on the foundations of the **Stamp Act Congress** and the First **Continental Congress**, the Second **Continental Congress** assumed responsibility for organizing American military operations and providing political leadership for the emerging nation. The Confederation Congress, established by the **Articles of Confederation** in 1781, became the first official national government for the United States.

In 1787, delegates from all but one of the 13 states gathered in Philadelphia to revise the Articles and establish a stronger national government. Delegates placed a great emphasis on the importance of the legislature, and debates in the **Constitutional Convention** over the structure and powers of Congress were often highly contentious. The Framers believed that the legislature should represent the varied interests of the American people, but they also feared that an excess of democracy in this branch would cripple the government and the nation at large, as they believed it had done in the states.

James **Madison's** Virginia Plan, the model for the final Constitution, provided for a legislature with two branches: the first would be elected by the American people; the second would be elected by the members of the first house. Representation in both houses would be determined by the free population of each state. Madison empowered the legislature with the authority to veto state laws, but it was to be checked by a Council of Revision composed of the executive and a representative from the judiciary. The Convention rejected the idea of a Council of Revision, and there was vociferous opposition to Madison's proposals for congressional representation. Both southern delegates and delegates from small states believed that they would be underrepresented and their interests would therefore be under threat. Southerners argued that their slaves should be counted for the purposes of determining representation, but northerners maintained that they should only be counted for the purposes of determining taxation. A compromise was eventually reached whereby



three-fifths of slaves would be counted for the purposes of representation and taxation. The division between the large states and the small states was more critical than the division between northern and southern states. In response to the Virginia Plan, William **Paterson** proposed the New Jersey Plan, a frame of government that more closely resembled the Articles of Confederation. Paterson's plan provided for a unicameral legislature with equal representation for each state, as there had been for the Stamp Act, Continental, and Confederation congresses. When the Convention rejected the plan, the Convention came close to dissolution. At this point the so-called Great Compromise was finally reached: each state would be represented proportionally in the **House of Representatives** and equally in the **Senate**.

The House represented the people and their interests. It was to be the democratic branch of government with representatives elected popularly every two years. By contrast, the Senate represented the states and their interests. It was designed to serve as a check against abuses of power by the House and the federal government in general. Unlike representatives, senators were to be elected by state legislatures and would serve a six-year term. The Framers hoped that this congressional system would balance the democratic demands of the American people with the political requirements of a stable national government. In addition to stability, Congress needed strength. Convention delegates were keen to award powers previously denied to other national legislatures in the hope that this authority would remedy the political and economic difficulties the United States currently faced. Amongst other powers, Congress was permitted to raise loans, coin money, tax, regulate interstate and international commerce, declare war, and raise an army and navy. It was also empowered to adopt any laws "necessary and proper" to achieve these ends.

The Framers believed that they had created a legislature, and a system of government, that was protected against the destructive forces of faction. However, partisanship began to emerge within a few years of the first federal Congress in 1789. Alexander **Hamilton's** proposals for the federal assumption of state debt, the creation of a national bank, and the promotion of manufacturing were criticized in Congress, in part because they appeared to overstep the bounds of federal authority. The opposition, led in Congress by Madison, argued that the Constitution did not provide the legislature with the authority to charter a bank. Madison and his supporters subscribed to a strict construction of the Constitution; in other words, the government could only assume powers that were explicitly outlined in the Constitution. Hamilton and his supporters advocated a broad construction of the Constitution; in other words, the "necessary and proper" clause permitted Congress to assume powers not expressly enumerated in the Constitution.

A difference of opinion over constitutional interpretation was only one source of division. The Federalists and the Republicans, as they came to be known, offered very different visions for the future direction of the government and the nation at large. Hamilton and his Federalist supporters wanted to centralize political power, at the expense of the states, by uniting the interests of commercial leaders with those of the federal government. Madison—and, to a larger extent, Thomas **Jefferson**—believed that agrarianism, rather than manufacturing, would make America both prosperous and virtuous. The Republicans argued that the government should not interfere with either the economy or the liberties of the people; in time they came to see Congress as a necessary popular check on the excesses of the Federalist administration.

The passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts by a Federalist Congress in 1798 further alienated Republicans. Ostensibly designed to protect the United States during its conflict with **France**, these acts limited freedom of the press and the liberty of aliens. Opponents argued that they were primarily designed to silence critics of the government. Madison and Jefferson responded to this legislation by drafting the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. In these, they argued that because the Constitution had been drafted as an agreement between the states, states maintained the authority to determine when Congress had exceeded its powers. The resolutions were an important contribution to the 1800 presidential campaign, the result of which eventually rested in the hands of Congress. Under the Constitution, the House of Representatives was charged with deciding who should occupy the presidency when the Electoral College was tied. After assurances were made that Jefferson would maintain Hamilton's fiscal system, the House elected the Virginian as the next president of the United States. John **Adams's** "midnight appointments" (judicial appointments made before he left office) prompted the case of *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803. The **Supreme Court** eventually ruled that it had the authority and responsibility to determine whether congressional legislation was constitutional. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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KIRSTEN E. PHIMISTER

## Congress of Vienna

*See* Vienna, Congress of

## Connecticut

Although a small colony, Connecticut was similar to larger colonies in that its borders contained marked regional differences. Its western and eastern regions had different economic concerns, population densities, and political views. Eastern Connecticut, more sparsely populated, was more aggressive in its reaction to the acts of the Crown in the 1760s and 1770s. The west, although not favoring these acts, was more passive. These were differences in degree; there was no major Patriot-Loyalist split in the colony. As time went on, however, the balance of power shifted from the west to the east.

In 1765, Connecticut sent representatives to the **Stamp Act Congress** and in the following years sent delegates to the Continental Congress, supported the **Declaration of Independence**, and adopted the **Articles of Confederation**.

At the conclusion of the war, some opposition to a centralized government surfaced, with objections based on the fear that disproportionate power might fall to larger states, such as **New York**. At the same time, there was a recognized need for something more effective than the Articles of Confederation. A convention meeting

in Middletown in 1783 approved the idea of a strong central government. The concerns of Connecticut and the need for balance and the protection of smaller states were articulated and defended by its premier delegate, Roger **Sherman**, at the **Constitutional Convention**. Despite opposition to the drafted **United States Constitution**, that historic document was ratified, making Connecticut the fifth state in the Union. The state had a strong Federalist base until 1811. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War; Constitutions, American State; Continental Association; Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; Loyalists; New England Restraining Act; Sons of Liberty; Trumbull, Jonathan; Tryon, William.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### **Connolly, John (1750–c. 1798)**

John Connolly, a doctor and a Loyalist, was born in 1750 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He rose to prominence at the time of **American Revolutionary War**. His patron was **Virginia** governor John **Murray** (Lord Dunmore, 1732–1809), who appointed him magistrate of West Augusta. During the so-called Dunmore's War, Connolly played a prominent part in a series of raids conducted against the Shawnee Indians in order to establish Virginia's position in the Ohio country. The Shawnee were defeated and obliged to give up hunting rights south of the Ohio River.

After the British closed Fort Pitt, near Pittsburgh, in order to dispatch the garrison to Massachusetts, Connolly and his Virginia militia occupied the fort and declared it a possession of Virginia. Claiming to be acting on behalf of Dunmore, he named the fort after the governor. The residents of Pittsburgh became angry, and local magistrate Arthur St. Clair, a future general in the **Continental Army**, jailed Connolly at Hannastown. In spite of St. Clair's appeals to **Pennsylvania** governor John Penn in June 1774 against Connolly's high-handed behavior toward the Indians, Connolly was released and returned to Fort Dunmore.

Connolly's position, however, was becoming increasingly dangerous amid the growing revolutionary atmosphere in Virginia and Pennsylvania. As such, Connolly fled, abandoning the fort to Pennsylvania control. Dunmore took refuge on a British warship in June 1775 and authorized Connolly to raise a regiment known as the Loyal Foresters. While en route to Detroit to raise recruits for his unit, Connolly was captured at Hagerstown, Maryland, and imprisoned until the end of war.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Conspiration de l'Étranger

*See* L'Étranger, Conspiration de

## Constituent Assembly

The complete title for this French governing body is the National Constituent Assembly. The members of the **National Assembly** voted to change their name on July 9, 1789. They took this action to reflect their decision to remain in session until they completed the task of writing a constitution for **France**. The governing body that resulted would effectively control France from July 1789 until September 1791. The Constituent Assembly thus led the country through a number of the tumultuous events of the early Revolution. Aside from writing a constitution, the body created and then implemented a number of administrative reforms within France, many of which are still in effect to the present day. Of less enduring significance, the Constituent Assembly enacted a number of economic policies friendly to the capitalists of the country. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly is often associated with what historians term the administrative or bourgeoisie phase of the Revolution. At the same time, the Assembly often had to contend with the growing involvement of the crowds of Paris as they sought to influence the direction of the Revolution. Finally, during the period the Assembly's tenure, the political parties that were to dominate during the radical phase of the Revolution were established. Likewise, many of the political leaders who would rise to fame and/or infamy had their first real experience in the national political scene.

As noted above, the Constituent Assembly came into existence on July 9, 1789. Late June and early July of 1789 witnessed a quickening in the pace of political events set in motion by the convocation of the **Estates-General** in May of that year. At the same time, the king worked to resist the changes being made in his realm. However, each step taken by **Louis XVI** to slow the progress of reform seemed to have the opposite effect. For example, his concentration of troops in the vicinity of Paris, very close to the meeting place of the Assembly at Versailles, spread the popular belief that the king sought to suppress the revolutionary movement by force. On the same day that it came into existence, the Constituent Assembly asked the king to disperse the troops, and he failed to reply. As news of these activities reached Paris, it galvanized the masses of the city sympathetic to the Revolution, who stormed the old royal fortress turned political prison, the **Bastille**. The people were in search of weapons with which to defend the Assembly. While they failed to find the sought-after military stores, the event is often seen as being a watershed in the history of France. The uprising in Paris that resulted in the fall of the Bastille on July 14 altered the political dynamics of the Revolution.

The fall of the ancient prison in Paris began the process of radicalizing the Revolution. In order to remain in step with popular sentiment, the representatives in the Assembly began to take more radical actions. Seizing on the popular sentiment that swept the countryside in the aftermath of the storming of the Bastille, events known as the Great Fear, the members of the Assembly voted to put an end to feudal dues on the night of August 10, 1789. In addition, as a part of their work on a constitution, the Assembly commissioned Thomas **Paine** to write its preamble. The resulting document, promulgated on August 26, 1789, was known as the **Declaration of the**

**Rights of Man and of the Citizen.** While it expressed the highest aspirations of the revolutionary movement, it likewise raised a number of profound questions as to the social limits of the Revolution. Many of these questions would return to haunt the leaders in the later phases of the Revolution.

In keeping with its rationalizing goals, the Assembly worked to unite the various internal regions of France to a greater degree. In December 1789, this effort bore fruit in the form of one of the Assembly's most enduring achievements, the removal of the old territorial divisions, which the lawmakers replaced with 88 departments. Each of the new departments was named for various local features, and they were all of roughly equal size. Thus, in one sweeping piece of legislation, the Assembly restructured the bureaucratic organization of France in a pragmatic sense, making the country much more governable, and did so in a manner in keeping with the rationalizing ideals of the **Enlightenment**. Furthermore, the creation of the departments served to break down local loyalties and as a consequence foment the spread of nationalism within France. In addition, the Assembly had already removed the internal tolls that had been charged between the different provinces. In so doing, they removed a barrier that had served to stifle trade within France. Even as it enacted such monumental reforms, the Assembly simultaneously had to respond to the demands of the Parisian people, who would take an increasingly active role in the course of events.

The harvest of 1789 was a good one, but years of lean harvests had taken their toll, resulting in a rise in the price of the chief staple of the cities—bread. When bread prices began to rise in Paris, the people once again took to the streets in the name of the Revolution. In this case, it was the women of Paris who began marching to Versailles on October 5, 1789, with the avowed goal of bringing the king and the royal family back to Paris. For their part, the people of the city felt that the government, especially Louis XVI, had lost touch with their needs by spending too much time away from the capital. The Marquis de **Lafayette** and the **National Guard** joined in the march so as to keep from losing what little control they held over the situation. When they reached Versailles, some violence occurred at the gates to the palace before the National Guard restored order. The next day, October 6, 1789, the people marched the king and the royal family back to Paris, where they would take up residence in the Tuileries. The members of the Constituent Assembly returned with the crowd as well, feeling that they could do little by remaining at Versailles. Likewise, many of the members of the Assembly felt intimidated by the mob. This sentiment perhaps influenced the decision of the Assembly to return to Paris as well. For the remainder of its existence, the Constituent Assembly would reside in Paris and therefore opened itself up to greater influence from the urban mobs. In addition, some of the most controversial policies of the Assembly were implemented while it resided in Paris.

Among the most drastic of the reforms enacted by the Constituent Assembly came in the form of the decision to seize and sell the lands of the Catholic Church in order to utilize the proceeds to pay down the national debt. Once seized and placed at the disposal of the nation on November 2, 1789, these lands were to be assessed for the purpose of future sale. To gain support for the measure in the interim, certificates were issued that were backed by the presumed value of the confiscated lands. These certificates were known as assignats. People soon began to use them as currency. The confiscation of church land led in the long run to a

much more divisive measure known as the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**, which was promulgated on July 12, 1790. In essence, this document made all members of the Catholic Church civil servants of the French nation. They were to be paid from public funds and were in turn required to swear an oath of allegiance to the revolutionary government, an act that many of the clergy refused to take. Thus the Civil Constitution split the church within France, simultaneously turning a great deal of popular support against the Revolution. Some of the problems resulting from the Civil Constitution derived from the refusal of many priests to swear the required oath to the constitution. Many ordinary people also opposed the measure, as those priests who refused to swear the oath were labeled as nonjuring and forbidden to perform the duties of their office. Especially in rural areas, the people exhibited a greater loyalty to their clergy than to the Revolution.

Even before enacting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the government took a drastic step in altering the social makeup of the country. On June 19, 1790, the Constituent Assembly formally abolished the **nobility** as a class, though many of the distinctions had already been erased in practice. This increased the pressure on many of the members of the nobility to emigrate and increased foreign criticism of the Revolution.

The Assembly was not quiet with regard to the economic life of the country either. On June 14, 1791, it passed **Chapelier's Law**, which banned workers' coalitions. While it was markedly against organized labor, the law was in keeping with revolutionary economic theories that supported a free market. Still, it was quite unpopular with the working classes. All these measures, especially those affecting the church and the nobility, forced the king to take action.

On June 20, 1791, Louis XVI and the royal family attempted to escape France and join the counterrevolutionary forces beginning to coalesce on its borders in order to work more effectively to suppress the Revolution. Initially, the plan seemed to succeed. Then, a combination of bad luck and the dawdling of the king led to the discovery and apprehension of the royal family in the town of **Varennes**. The royal family returned to Paris under guard. While the Constituent Assembly publicly described the flight as an attempted kidnapping, they became convinced that the king opposed the Revolution. Likewise, the flight to Varennes gave those who opposed the monarchy more ammunition with which to work for its removal. In the resultant debates in the Assembly, many moved for the absolution of the king if he swore an oath to the Revolution. The acceptance of this measure split the Assembly.

The acceptance of so lenient a stance against the king once again brought about popular pressure as well. On July 17, 1791, the radicals in the city of Paris took to the Champ de Mars to protest the actions of the Assembly, which in turn ordered their dispersal by force. The event came to be known as the massacre on the Champ de Mars and was among the first instances of the government using force to suppress the masses.

From August to September 1791, the Assembly worked to complete their labors on a new constitution. As the body promulgated the constitution of 1791, all prepared for a return to private life or to local politics. None would return to national government after the first election cycle. The members of the Constituent Assembly relinquished their power as the result of the self-denying ordinance added to the constitution at the behest of Maximilien **Robespierre**, which prevented any of them from running in the first series of elections under the new government.

Robespierre was one of the many who gained their first national political experience in the Assembly. Among the others who rose to prominence as political leaders while serving in the Constituent Assembly were Georges-Jacques **Danton**, the comte de **Mirabeau**, and the abbé **Sieyès**. The period during which the National Constituent Assembly governed France likewise witnessed the rise to political parties such as the **Feuillants**, **Girondins**, and **Jacobins**.

Finally, the Constituent Assembly wrote and enacted the constitution of 1791, with its landmark statement on human rights, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. In addition, it dismantled the feudal system in France and reformed the political and economic organization of the country along rational lines. All these reforms served to make the state much more governable. Economically, the revolutionaries were very much in favor of free enterprise and aided in the creation of a class of small-property owners, with the seizure and sale of church lands. By the same token, the efforts of the reformers to deal with the role of religion and the state created a great deal of tension and controversy. Much of the resulting tension would explode internally during the **Reign of Terror** and the dechristianizing that marked the more radical phase of the Revolution. *See also* October Days.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

### Constitutional Convention (United States, 1787)

In May 1787, 55 delegates from 12 of the states convened at the State House in Philadelphia to discuss revisions to the **Articles of Confederation**. In attendance were such luminaries of the revolutionary era as Benjamin **Franklin** and George **Washington**, whose presence lent an air of authority to the proceedings. Among those who did the most to shape the document and influence the debates were James **Madison**, Edmund **Randolph**, and George **Mason** of **Virginia**; **Pennsylvania's** Gouverneur **Morris** and James **Wilson**; Alexander **Hamilton** from **New York**; Elbridge Gerry and Rufus **King** from **Massachusetts**; William **Paterson** of **New Jersey**; and Charles **Pinckney** and Roger **Sherman** of **Connecticut**. The vast majority of the 55 delegates who participated in the Philadelphia Convention were elites or wealthy landowners. In total, the gathering consisted of 32 lawyers, 11 merchants, 4 politicians, 2 doctors, 2 educators, 2 career soldiers, an inventor, and a farmer. For almost four months during the long and hot Philadelphia summer of 1787 the Founding Fathers hammered out the key provisions of what eventually became the **United States Constitution**.

On May 25, 1787, the Constitutional Convention opened by creating a committee to draft rules for conducting business. Among the first and most significant of these was the rule of secrecy. Because deliberations throughout the summer took place secretly, virtually all of what is known about the debates that shaped the Constitution is drawn from copious notes taken unofficially by James Madison and

recorded each evening after the day's debates had ended. In keeping with the spirit of the original rules, Madison's notes on the proceedings were only published after his death in 1840.

It quickly became evident that what was called for was not an amendment of the Articles of Confederation, but an entirely new federal constitution. Setting the tone for the Convention's deliberations, on May 29, Edmund Randolph, on behalf of the Virginia delegation, introduced the 15 resolutions known collectively as the Virginia Plan. These were motivated by the conviction that state legislatures and factious local majorities were threats to liberty and peaceful union and that what was needed was a stronger centralized government that effectively stripped state governments of most of their significant powers. The Virginia Plan called for the establishment of a national legislature divided between a lower and upper chamber, the first branch of which would be elected by the people of each state, and the second branch elected by the first. This legislature would have power to legislate in all areas where the separate states were powerless, and a "negative" or veto right over state laws that contradicted national laws. The national legislature was also entrusted with the power to choose a single national executive and create a national judiciary. The Virginia Plan provided for proportional representation for each of the states in the national legislature on the basis of population, an arrangement that was vigorously opposed by representatives from smaller states, who feared that this would effectively dilute the equal power qua states they enjoyed under the Articles.

Rejecting a possible compromise over representation proposed by Roger Sherman, delegates from smaller states, led by New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, and **Maryland**, introduced what was known as the New Jersey Plan on June 15, 1787. Reported to the Convention by William Paterson of New Jersey, this plan reverted to the single-chamber model of the original Articles of Confederation, guaranteeing that each state would be represented equally regardless of its size. Powers of taxation and the regulation of interstate commerce were included to strengthen the original Articles. Defenders of the New Jersey Plan argued not only from their interests as small states, but on the more principled grounds that the Virginia Plan overstepped the limited mandate from the Continental Congress to amend the Articles. Proponents of the New Jersey Plan also contended that it would be more easily ratified by the electorate than the more radical Virginia Plan.

On June 18, Alexander Hamilton not only criticized the New Jersey Plan, which to his mind suffered from all the same defects as the original Articles, but also complained that the Virginia Plan did not go far enough. To his mind, even the Virginia Plan failed to adequately subsume the power of the state legislatures and to provide for a single, unified, and powerful national government. His own plan, outlined in a marathon speech, closely mirrored that of the British monarchy, with a president and **Senate** popularly elected but holding office for life, subject to good behavior. His plan so clearly hinted of monarchy that it was never seriously considered, and Hamilton left the Convention in frustration, only to return later and participate on the committee entrusted with shaping the Constitution's final language.

With the Convention on the verge of concluding in failure, delegates returned to the compromise between proportional and equal representation that had been proposed by Roger Sherman of Connecticut but rejected back on the eleventh of



June. On July 2, this compromise, proposed again by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, failed to pass on a tie vote in committee: 5-5-1 (five delegates for, five delegates against, one delegate abstaining). Confronted by a stalemate, a committee of more moderate delegates, led by Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, was formed to hammer out a compromise on the representation question. From July 5 to 7, the Gerry Committee debated the compromise of equal representation in the Senate and representation based on population in the **House of Representatives**. On July 16, the delegates finally agreed (5-4-1) to the Gerry Committee Report, better known as the “Connecticut Compromise” or “Great Compromise.” This agreement allocated seats proportionally in the lower House of Representatives based on the population of the states in question. Every state, regardless of its size, was guaranteed at least one representative. The upper legislature or Senate was composed equally of two senators from each state, regardless of its size. Although he was on the losing side of this issue, James Madison decided not to contest the compromise as it was eventually approved.

Another daunting controversy was the constitutional status of **slavery**. Southern states insisted on guarantees that northern states would not move to outlaw slavery or the slave trade once the Constitution was approved, resulting in the 1808 so-called sunset clause in Section 9 of Article 1. Further, the original compromise document tacitly condoned the existence of slavery by providing that individuals held in bondage would count for three-fifths of a white citizen for purposes of determining each state’s population and calculating representation in the House of Representatives, that slaves from one state could not be relieved of their servitude by the acts of any other state, and that persons who were held in bondage and escaped to another state must be returned to their rightful owners. In return for their agreement to these provisions, northern states secured the guarantee that Congress could prohibit slavery in the Territories. These compromises were eventually approved by a vote of 7–4. The four nays (New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia) opposed this compromise on the grounds that allowing the slave trade to continue until 1808 was unacceptable.

On Monday, September 17, 1787 the final draft of the Constitution was read aloud to the Philadelphia Convention. It was signed by all but 3 of the 42 delegates who remained, presented to the Constitutional Congress, and subsequently sent to the states for ratification. In the months that followed, supporters of the proposed Constitution, known as the Federalists, mounted a successful rhetorical campaign on behalf of the new system of government against its opponents, known as the Anti-Federalists. These debates produced some of the greatest political rhetoric in the American tradition, most notably the **Federalist Papers**, jointly authored by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. The Federalists recapitulated many arguments made during the Philadelphia Convention about the inadequacies of the Articles of Confederation and outlined the mechanics of the Constitution as understood by its own authors.

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RICHARD BOYD

## Constitutions, American State

In 1775 and 1776, the Americans rebelling against the British government took control of the governments in almost every colony. One of the first issues the rebels faced was how to organize the new government. The colonies all had written charters setting out, at least in outline form, the structure of government and the responsibilities of the various entities, such as the governor and the justices. This arrangement was in sharp contrast to political arrangements in **Britain**, which were a hodgepodge of precedents, common law, statutes, traditions, and habits.

Most of the colonies had been ruled by governors appointed by the king or the corporate entity in Britain that had established the colony. Most had legislatures consisting of a lower house elected by some portion of the (white male) population, usually restricted to those owning property worth more than a set amount, and an upper house that was usually appointed by the governor. The judicial system consisted of justices appointed by the governor. Most of the governors had the power to dissolve the legislature at will and rule directly, at least for a limited period of time. Some of the legislatures had sufficient control of the taxing power to exercise some indirect check on the governor—an arbitrary or otherwise unpopular governor might find it difficult to raise enough money to pay his own salary. By and large, however, the governors exercised a great deal of unchecked and, to the rebelling Americans, tyrannical power.

Even before it issued the **Declaration of Independence**, the Continental Congress directed the colonies to form new governments to replace the colonial governments. The colonies needed little prodding. Some had already done so, and by 1777, all had. The new states (with the Declaration of Independence, they had become independent states) unanimously rejected the British style of an informal, unwritten plan of government. Most Americans thought the arrangement had led to arbitrary rule.

Instead, they fashioned written constitutions that carefully limited the powers of government. Most also wrote the egalitarian natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence into bills of rights that protected carefully enumerated principles of popular sovereignty. **Virginia**, for example, included a declaration of principles, such as popular sovereignty, rotation in office, and freedom of elections, and an enumeration of fundamental liberties: moderate bail and humane punishment, speedy trial by jury, freedom of the press and of conscience, and the right of the majority to reform or alter the government.

Beyond the basic distrust of government voiced in the bills of rights, the constitutions varied widely in their distributions of power, though, interestingly, none went the route that the British were groping toward, an executive coming out of, and fully responsible to, the legislature on a day-to-day basis.

**Pennsylvania** produced the closest to what would now be called a parliamentary model. It was also the most radically egalitarian. Philadelphia artisans, Scots-Irish frontiersmen, and German-speaking farmers had taken control of the government from the conservative, largely Loyalist, Quakers. The Provincial Congress adopted a constitution that permitted every male taxpayer and his sons to vote, required rotation in office (no one could serve as a representative more than four years out of every seven) and set up a single-chamber legislature. It established a unicameral

(one-house) legislature that was chosen in annual secret-ballot elections by all male taxpayers. The executive was a 12-man committee without real power.

Nearly all the other states adopted constitutions with two-house legislatures, usually with longer terms and higher property qualifications for the upper house. They had elective governors who could veto legislation but lacked the arbitrary powers of the colonial governors. They could not dissolve the legislature, they could not corrupt the legislature by appointing its members to executive office, and the legislature could override their vetoes. Pennsylvania adopted the more recognizable elected executive form of government in its 1790 constitution.

The Continental Congress established a national government that was closer to the parliamentary style of future years than did any of the states. Under the **Articles of Confederation**, the legislative body elected a president who was little more than the presiding officer of the body; there were 10 presidents in the 11 years the Articles were in force. Most of the executive work was done by committees consisting of members of the Congress.

It was the state constitutions, not the Articles of Confederation, that became the model for the new federal constitution that was drafted in 1787. Like most of the state constitutions, the new federal constitution created a bicameral legislature and limited the powers of the executive.

Even after the adoption of the federal constitution, states were considered sovereign and were allowed to adopt their own constitutions with very little interference from the national government. Congress did, on occasion, influence the constitutions of newly applying states through the threat of not accepting the application. In the late 1850s, the first Kansas constitution, adopted by a pro-slavery group that had won an election through fraud and intimidation, was rejected by the northern congressmen of an increasingly fractured government on the eve of the Civil War. Utah was not accepted for statehood until it included a provision in its constitution outlawing polygamy.

It was not until 1964 that the U.S. **Supreme Court** overturned most state constitutions by requiring them to adopt “one man one vote” provisions for the elections of state legislators. Until then, most state constitutions established the legislative districts of one or both houses by county or another set geographic division. The result was that some areas—usually rural—were overrepresented at the expense of others.

As has been discussed, the state constitutions were the original bastions of the rights of the people against the federal government. At the time of the drafting of the **United States Constitution**, there was even some debate as to whether there should even be a national **bill of rights**, since that implied the federal government would have some sort of direct power over the population, and for fear that naming some rights might imply that others did not exist.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, the state constitutions are, for the most part, more important as blueprints for state governmental procedures than as protectors of the rights of citizens. The increasing focus of the political system on the national government, and the increasing willingness of the Supreme Court to intervene in state government actions, has made state constitutions secondary to the Bill of Rights as guardians of individual liberties. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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## Constitutions, French Revolutionary

According to classical Western historiography, modernity begins in 1789 with the advent of the **French Revolution**. This is, perhaps, not entirely due to the many social changes inspired by that upheaval, such as the abolition of feudalism, the liberation of the peasantry, and the secularization of church property. It is the political change, as evident most clearly in the several French constitutions, and the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, that constitutes the break between the **ancien régime** and modernity, for the French Revolution marks the beginning of modern political culture. Between 1791 and 1795, **France** adopted three constitutions. The first (1791) instituted a liberal constitutional monarchy; the second (1793), a democratic republic based on universal manhood suffrage; and the third (1795), a liberal republic. All three provided inspiration for constitutional monarchists, democrats (and even socialists), and liberals far beyond the borders of France. Indeed, the legacy of the 1791 constitution eventually forced most—if not all—ruling nineteenth-century monarchs to accept a constitution limiting their powers. And of the 29 constitutions adopted across Europe during 1791–1802 alone, 26 were the result of direct French influence.

### *The Constitution of 1791*

The deputies to the **Estates-General**, who gathered in Versailles in May 1789, arrived with the belief they would give France a written constitution. Its formal origin, however, is generally considered the **Tennis Court Oath** of June 22, 1789, when the **National Assembly**, presided over by Bailly, declared it would stay convened until a constitution was established. On July 6, the Committee of Thirty was formed, later supplemented by a Revision Committee (September 23, 1790), to draft the new constitution. On July 7, consequently, the deputies determined to call themselves the National **Constituent Assembly**. The main provisions regarding the executive, legislative, and electoral system were introduced gradually from 1789 on. Indeed, the broad lines of the constitution had been prefigured, with considerable unanimity, in the *cahiers de doléances*, or lists of grievances of the deputies to the Estates-General from their constituencies. These had been unanimous in their demands for a constitution limiting the powers of the monarch and establishing a national representative assembly empowered to make laws and vote taxes.

By August 26, the deputies had adopted the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, a basic bill of rights similar to the various bills of rights passed by the American states during the 1780s. It was initially meant to be a preliminary to a formal constitution, since domestic turmoil had prevented the deputies from completing their draft on schedule. A revised version of this document was incorporated into the preamble of the constitution of 1791. It is likely that the American **Declaration of Independence** influenced the declaration, since the Marquis de **Lafayette**, chair of the drafting committee, was an intimate friend of Thomas

**Jefferson**, whom he consulted while at work on the document. It was also clearly the product of the political theory and deist thought of **philosophes** such as Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, John **Locke**, **Montesquieu**, Bayle, and **Voltaire**. While a number of the rights it enshrined were later revoked by subsequent revolutionary governments, it remained a major manifesto of European liberalism, and revised versions were even incorporated into modern French constitutions, such as those of 1946 and 1958. In its preamble, the declaration made clear, on the authority of the nation—in which sovereignty resided—as represented in the National Assembly, that the rights it listed were natural, inalienable, and sacred. The declaration was intended as a yardstick for good government, and as the foundation upon which the people could, in future, base their legitimate grievances. Men, it stated, were free by birth and endowed with equal rights. Governments were instituted to protect the basic rights of liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. All citizens were equal before the law, and all had equal access to public office. Due process was guaranteed, as was reasonable punishment, and the accused were presumed innocent until proven guilty. No citizen could be persecuted for his opinion or religion. Freedom of the press was guaranteed—unless public order was threatened. Property was inviolable.

Two key issues divided the Constituent Assembly during the early constitutional debate. Moderate *monarchiens*—also known as the English party—such as Mounier and Lafayette, were inspired by Montesquieu and advanced a bicameral system, with an upper chamber either appointed for life (Mounier’s proposal) or elected for a six-year term, modeled on the U.S. **Senate** (Lafayette’s proposal). They also promoted a strong executive, endowed with an absolute veto, to balance the legislative. Their opponents, such as **Sièyes**, **Talleyrand**, and **Barnave**, were afraid of an overmighty executive and therefore favored a strengthening of the legislative. In the end, the *monarchiens* were defeated when the National Assembly voted, by an overwhelming majority, to adopt a unicameral legislature and a suspensive veto. The structure of government then, particularly in the relationship between the executive and legislative branches, was inspired by Montesquieu’s separation of powers theory, albeit in a limited fashion. The closing discussion took place in August 1791, and the final document was passed on September 3. On September 14, King **Louis XVI** swore his oath on the constitution and was cheered, along with the queen, by the people of Paris.

The constitution was composed of 208 articles, divided into seven sections, and preceded by a preamble and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The preamble and first section began by making clear that the social essence of the **ancien régime**—aristocratic and corporate privilege—was abolished forever. Forthwith, all Frenchmen were to be equal before the law, admissible to public functions without regard to lineage, and taxed fairly according to their means. Freedom of movement and of peaceful assembly were also guaranteed. The establishment of a system of public welfare was promised, as well as a system of free and universal primary education.

Politically, the constitution was founded on the liberal notions of liberty and **equality**. Liberty meant access to public office to all men of merit—but limited by property restrictions—and the freedom to engage without restriction in all forms of economic activity. Equality meant strictly civil equality, or the equality of all before the law. It was a *laissez-faire* constitution both in the economic and political sense of

the term. Marxist scholars, therefore, have long interpreted it as designed to guarantee the rule of the bourgeois class.

The constitution distinguished between “active” and “passive” citizens, providing suffrage only to the former, based on property requirements. Active citizens had to be male, at least 25 years of age, not in domestic service, and domiciled and had to pay a direct tax equal to three days’ wages of unskilled labor. Active citizens were qualified to vote in the primary assemblies, which, in turn, chose the electors. To be an elector, however, one had to have paid a direct tax equal to 10 days’ wages. Electors met in secondary assemblies to elect the actual deputies, who had to have paid a silver mark (52 livres) in direct taxes. This meant that, according to the estimate of the historian Robert Palmer, some 70 percent of citizens could vote at the primary level, 10 percent qualified as electors, and only 1 percent qualified as deputies. Suffrage qualifications were amended in July 1791. While the silver mark requirement for election as a deputy was abolished, qualifications for membership in the secondary assemblies were raised above the original threshold, depending on circumstances, to the ownership or tenancy of property valued at between 150 and 400 days’ labor, effectively concentrating the power to elect the **Legislative Assembly** in the hands of the richest landowners. The revised form was accepted formally by the king on September 13, 1791. Thus, of a total population of some 28 million, only some 60,000 qualified as electors. The electoral system, therefore, imposed severe restrictions. Placed in perspective, however, these were much less severe than those of the British parliament at the time.

The executive power resided quite naturally in the hands of a hereditary monarch, as any other form of executive was unimaginable for a European Great Power at the time. His power was curtailed so as to prevent any royal tyranny but left strong enough to protect against any political aspirations from the populace. The king was no longer above the law, and he was subject to the will of the nation, meaning the propertied class. His official title—“Louis, by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the State, King of the French”—clearly indicated a shift away from dynastic monarchy to a monarchy in which ultimate sovereignty resided in the people. He had become the “first civil servant,” in the Enlightened tradition of **Frederick II** of Prussia and **Joseph II** of **Austria**, salaried by the Assembly at the rate of 25 million livres per annum. His suspensive veto could delay legislation for up to four years (i.e., for a maximum of two consecutive Assemblies). The previous royal councilors were replaced by six ministers—heading the ministries of the Interior, Justice, War, Navy, Foreign Affairs, and Public Finance—who were responsible to the Assembly. The king depended on their counter-signature, and he could not choose them from within the Assembly. Empowered to appoint leading civil servants, ambassadors, and generals, he could not make war or peace without the consent of the legislature. As William Doyle has put it, “The essence of the constitution of 1791 . . . was to keep the executive weak.”

The unicameral Legislative Assembly, composed of 745 members elected for two years, formed the legislative branch. The 83 French departments—the old provinces having been abolished—were represented proportionally according to population, size, and wealth. The Assembly sat permanently and could not be dissolved by the king. It voted funds for the army and controlled foreign policy through committee. It had the legislative initiative and the power of the purse. The king’s suspensive veto aside, therefore, the legislative branch virtually dominated the government.

### *The Constitution of the Year I (1793)*

The fall of the monarchy on August 10, 1792, made a new constitution necessary, and so the **Convention** appointed a constitution committee on October 11. **Condorcet** presented its final report on February 15, 1793. The ascendant Montagnards considered the draft too moderate, however, and too closely associated with the **Girondins** and thus rejected it. A new ad hoc committee, chaired by **Hérault de Séchelles**, proceeded with a new report, and by June 10 a draft was ready. The constitution of the Year I (according to the new republican calendar) did away with the separation of powers and broad decentralization. But it did not incorporate the checks and balances and electoral limitations originally proposed by Condorcet. Ratified by the Convention on June 24, 1793, it was subsequently accepted by a referendum held in the primary assemblies.

The constitution of 1793, composed of 124 articles, again included the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen as a preamble to the actual text, but it had been revised to specify the rights to work, public assistance, education, and resistance to oppression. Indeed, insurrection against a government that violated the rights of the people was considered a “sacred duty.” The right to and definition of property were, however, maintained, and, contrary to the 1789 text, the right to economic freedom made explicit. Contrary to its predecessor, the 1793 constitution did away with property requirements, proclaiming universal manhood suffrage. The vote for deputies in the electoral assemblies, however, was by acclamation, not by ballot.

The institution of the monarchy having been abolished, the king was replaced by an executive council of 24 members chosen by the Legislative Assembly from among their members—thus rendering the ministers responsible to the representatives of the nation. The Legislative Assembly, for its part, was composed of 83 deputies elected directly, by a simple majority, one for each department, for a period of one year.

The constitution, however, was never implemented, for the decree of October 10, 1793, declared the government to be revolutionary until the peace. Maximilien **Robespierre** rationalized the suspension of the new constitution by arguing that a revolutionary government fighting to preserve the Republic from enemies within and outside France could not afford political structures fit for the calmer times of consolidation. Still, the violence of the regime during the **Reign of Terror** that brought forth the constitution of 1793 has long obscured the document’s real attainments, for it was truly revolutionary in its democratic character, instituting not only a republic founded on universal manhood suffrage, but also the right to resist oppression and the right to organization. As such it was a historical first. More than just the result of immediate circumstances, the larger significance of the constitution of 1793 resides in its inspirational quality as a point of reference for democrats and progressive republicans throughout the nineteenth century.

### *The Constitution of the Year III (1795)*

Robespierre and his colleagues on the **Committee of Public Safety** having been overthrown in the **Thermidorian Reaction**, a new constitution was again needed. Its drafting was entrusted to the Committee of Eleven elected by the Convention on April 18, 1795, and composed mainly of conservative republicans and constitutional monarchists. The principles underlying the constitution were enunciated by **Boissy d’Anglas** on June 23, 1795. These were stability, civil equality defined narrowly as

equality before the law, and government by “the best,” meaning educated property holders. All members of the drafting committee agreed wholeheartedly that the new constitution should not only return to the principles of 1789—interpreted strictly in bourgeois terms—but also provide solid guarantees against both dictatorship and popular democracy. The final text was approved by the Convention on August 22, 1795.

The constitution of the Year III (1795) was composed of 377 articles organized in 14 sections. Designed to protect against any Jacobin, *sans-culotte*, royalist, clerical, or foreign threat, it provided no protection against the as yet unforeseen menace of a Napoleonic military dictatorship. A modified version of the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man was again included as a preamble, the first article, stating, “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights,” having been deleted. The right to property, however, was reinforced—as in the 1793 version. This revised bill of rights and duties stressed that it was the citizens’ obligation to protect property and obey the law. The right to revolution (of the 1793 version) was deleted, as were the rights to work, public assistance, and education. The principle of equality was strictly limited to equality before the law.

The constitution of 1795 reverted to a system of suffrage with a narrow base defined by strict property requirements, thus vesting political power in the bourgeoisie, but less so than in 1791. To qualify as an active **citizen**, a Frenchman had to be over 21 and domiciled for at least a year and had to have paid a tax. Active citizens met in “primary assemblies” in the principal towns of each district, where they elected some 30,000 electors, who themselves elected, in the electoral assemblies, the actual deputies. Property qualifications for electors and deputies varied according to locale (urban and rural), whether one owned or rented the property one lived in, and the value of that property assessed according to prevailing rates of labor. Thus, at the high end of urban rates, one needed to own property assessed at an annual income equal to 200 days’ labor; at the low end of the rural rate, renting land for the equivalent of 150 days’ work sufficed. These requirements translated into about five million citizens/voters. Yet while **suffrage** was clearly restricted—and certainly reduced from the universal manhood suffrage of 1793—the constitution was still quite liberal for its day. Its franchise was, for example, wider than that of the United States. Nor was its indirect voting system especially conservative, for in the United States, again, indirect elections chose the president and the upper house of Congress, the **Senate**.

The legislature was now, following classic liberal principles, bicameral. The upper house, or Chamber of Ancients, numbered 250 members over 40 years of age, either married or widowers. The Ancients debated then accepted or rejected laws proposed by the lower house. The lower house, or **Council of Five Hundred**, had the exclusive right to initiate legislation and was composed of men over 30. To ensure continuity and political stability, one-third of each chamber was elected annually. Each chamber, finally, was provided a bodyguard of 1,500 men, and each member paid a salary in kind of 300 kilograms of wheat—a reflection of the experience of revolutionary violence from below and hyper-inflationary economic conditions.

Contrary to its predecessors, the 1795 constitution—in its revision of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen—stressed the separation of powers as the only true safeguard of the rights of individuals. The executive, therefore, was composed of a **Directory** of five members, chosen by the Ancients from a short list



of 10 submitted by the Five Hundred. Each director, who had to be over 30 years of age, was elected for five years but could not sit in either of the two houses of the legislative body. During the first five years, one director per year, drawn by lot, would retire—in the interest of continuity and stability. Each director drew a salary of 500 kilograms of wheat. The executive as a whole commanded a bodyguard of 220 men. A majority of three directors was needed to validate a decision of the executive. The powers of the Directory, however, were severely limited. They did not control the treasury, nor did they possess legislative initiative or exercise direct command of the armed forces. Control of government was largely indirect, through the appointment of six ministers, responsible to the Directory.

The constitution's several flaws, then, contributed to its fall under Napoleonic pressure. There were constant elections, which in the end provided instability, the lack of a means to resolve deadlocks between the executive and the legislative, no proper method to change the political composition of the Directory in view of a political shift in the legislature, a weak executive, and an inefficient method for constitutional amendment. These weaknesses resulted in a pattern of governmental coups d'état against election results deemed undesirable, because by returning either a radical Jacobin, or a royalist legislature, they threatened the moderate Republic that the founders and the bulk of the directors wanted to maintain. In 1799, **Napoleon** proved to be the "man on horseback" ready to break the pattern, restore order, and declare the revolution effectively over. *See also* Constitutions, American State; Jacobins.

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WILLIAM L. CHEW III

## Consulate (1799–1804)

The Consulate was the name of the French government between 1799 and 1804. In 1799, after returning from his campaign in the Middle East during the period of the **Directory**, General **Napoleon** Bonaparte overthrew the government in what became known as the coup d'état de **Brumaire** of November 9–10. The legislature was dissolved, and Napoleon became **First Consul** for 10 years in the newly established government. In January 1800, the Consulate established the Bank of France, while Napoleon pursued a military campaign against **Austria** in northern Italy before embarking on a series of reforms—support for which Napoleon hoped to receive as a result of his military campaign. With support from below would come the consolidation of authority from above.

In May 1800, Napoleon assembled his armies in Switzerland in preparation for crossing the St. Bernard Pass. Northern Italy fell under French control after Napoleon routed Austrian troops at the Battle of Marengo on June 14, while another Austrian army was defeated by another French commander at Hohenlinden on December 3. The Peace of Lunéville, concluded on February 9, 1801, secured for **France** the left bank of the Rhine and recognition by Austria of the **Cisalpine** (northern Italian), Batavian (Dutch), and Helvetian (Swiss) republics—all French

satellites. By the Treaty of Amiens with **Britain** in March 1802, France achieved predominance as a continental power, while Britain remained supreme at sea. The treaty, which was disadvantageous to Britain, resulted in the recognition of the French Republic and the restoration of the colonies of France and her allies, with the exception of Ceylon (a Dutch colony, now Sri Lanka) and Trinidad, a Spanish possession in the West Indies.

As First Consul, Napoleon wielded extensive power, while the other two other consuls, **Cambacérès** and **Lebrun**, performed merely advisory functions. The consuls were to nominate the members of the **Senate**, and legislative affairs were the responsibility of a nominated state council. **Religion** was among many subjects of interest to the Consulate, for France had been immersed in religious strife since the passing the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** in July 1790. Napoleon negotiated with the new pope, **Pius VII**, in 1800 and ended the schism between the French church and the **papacy** with the ecclesiastical settlement of July 1802. The **Concordat** restored Roman Catholicism as the religion of the majority of French citizens, established the supremacy of the state over the church with respect to the nomination of bishops, and granted religious liberty to other sects. During the Consulate, Napoleon greatly strengthened his political position and was made consul for life in August 1802 after a national referendum.

In 1803, the Consulate undertook various domestic reforms, some of which left a permanent legacy. The **Civil Code**, drafted by a committee of four lawyers headed by Cambacérès, was one of Napoleon's enduring achievements. Napoleon took part in the debates of the Council of State while finalizing the draft. The Civil Code was passed on March 21, 1804, the precursor of what a few years later became the Napoleonic Code (Code Napoléon), which replaced the hundreds of sets of laws of the **ancien régime**. The Code was divided into three main areas: laws relating to the individual, laws relating to property, and laws relating to the acquisition of property. The Code guaranteed individual liberty, **equality** before the law, and protection from arrest without due process of law. In addition, divorce became more difficult to acquire, the authority of the father was strengthened within the family, and property was to be divided equally among all legitimate heirs. The Civil Code was introduced elsewhere in Europe and remains the basis of the French legal system today.

Under the Consulate, prefects and mayors were appointed to serve the various departments and communes after the abolition of local self-governing bodies. A broad base was created as men of different political leanings took up positions in government. The highest French civilian award, the Legion of Honor, was also introduced under the Consulate, as was the metric system in March 1803. The government encouraged industrial ventures, and French industries enjoyed a growth rate of 25 percent; in 1803 the Bank of France was empowered to issue bank notes backed by gold and silver; and Napoleon introduced a policy of strict control of labor by banning trade unions. With respect to education, the First Consul believed that its purpose was to groom the young to become capable administrators as future servants of the state. Napoleon established 45 *lycées*, or high schools, with emphasis on patriotic indoctrination. The *lycées* provided the best schooling in Europe. Napoleon also set up schools of medicine and pharmacological studies in 1803.

The opportunity for reform during peacetime conditions was short lived. The Peace of Amiens lasted little more than a year, and hostilities with Britain were resumed in May 1803, with actions fought at sea and in the West Indies. Napoleon's

bid to rebuild the French New World Empire failed with the disastrous expedition to Saint-Domingue in 1802, and the following year, after he obtained Louisiana from Spain, he sold it to the United States when it became clear that France had no future in the region.

On May 18, 1804, Napoleon was given the title of emperor by the Consulate, which was ratified by a referendum. He crowned himself emperor at Notre Dame Cathedral on December 2 1804, and **Joséphine** became empress. In one of history's great ironies, the revolution that had established a republic ultimately ended in empire. Before it had done so, the Consulate had established order in France and had ended the political instability of the Revolution. Laws introduced during the earlier years of the Revolution had already introduced into French society the principles of equality, due process of law, religious toleration, and the sanctity of private property; the Consulate built upon these principles and reforms.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Continental Army

The commencement of hostilities between the North American colonies and **Britain** presented colonial leaders with several major challenges requiring prompt action. The most pressing was establishing an army with a coherent command structure to oppose British regulars, who were arriving in large numbers by 1775. Many colonial leaders resisted forming a standing army due to philosophical objections, concerns regarding funding and finance, and opposition from those who favored continued negotiations with the British. By June 1775, however, it was obvious that colonial militias had to be organized, deployed, and placed under a single command structure.

On June 7, 1775, the **Second Continental Congress** authorized the creation of a Continental Army for the purpose of defending the united colonies and responding to the mandates of the Congress. One week later the Continental Army was created, and George **Washington** was unanimously chosen as commander-in-chief.

During the **American Revolutionary War**, the army was dissolved and reconstituted on several occasions. These transitions are best viewed chronologically, starting with the isolated units in New England who engaged in guerrilla efforts in 1775 and concluding in 1784 when the United States Army was established. During the course of the war the army improved because it changed from a regional northeastern militia to a genuine continental army drawing conscripts from all colonies and other territories. Moreover, changes in conscription policies and the requirement

that each colony provide a specific number of soldiers improved the battle readiness of the Continental Army. By 1781–1782, the morale of the soldiers had reached its nadir because the Continental Congress was bankrupt, many colonists had grown weary, and many colonies were unable to meet their conscription quotas. During these years, when both British and colonial leaders were seeking a cessation of hostilities, George Washington's popularity and personal character maintained the cohesion of the Continental Army. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 prompted the quick dissolution of the Continental Army and the formation of a small professional army to protect national boundaries.

The Continental Army emerged as a competent fighting force that made an impressive showing in a number of pivotal battles of the **American Revolution**, including engagements in Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, Saratoga, and Yorktown. However, lack of adequate funding from the Continental Congress, internal dissension among the soldiers, and long periods of inactivity reduced the effectiveness of the army. In many respects Washington's character and commitment to the ideals of the Revolution helped maintain order and military discipline among the rank and file during the lowest points of the struggle.

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JAMES T. CARROLL

### **Continental Association (1774)**

The Continental Association, passed by the delegates to the First **Continental Congress** on October 20, 1774, formed a non-importation act or agreement between the 13 American colonies. With this document, the colonies presented a unified stance against British political and economic restrictions. The Continental Association also helped to place the colonies on a direct path to military confrontation with **Britain**. The agreement is one of the first examples of unified action by all 13 American colonies and helped lay the foundation for a confederal government unifying them under the common cause of political and economic freedom from Britain.

The British government grew weary of American colonial opposition to the various attempts to enact taxation legislation after the French and Indian War (1756–1763). American merchants developed **non-importation acts** following the passage of the **Stamp Act** of 1765 and the **Townshend Acts** of 1767. These agreements forced British merchants to petition their government for the repeal of the various taxation schemes. In 1773, the British passed the **Tea Act**, which actually lowered the tax on tea but diverted large shipments of the product from the financially strapped East India Company. The Tea Act threatened the profits of many American smugglers who happened to also be prominent merchants in the major ports. Opposition to the Tea Act led to the **Boston Tea Party**. In retaliation for the dumping of the tea by Boston merchants and the **Sons of Liberty**, the British enacted the **Coercive**

**Acts.** Anti-British sentiment spread across the American colonies, and other ports witnessed the dumping of tea by local merchants. Sympathy for the plight of Boston under the Coercive Acts helped persuade all the American colonies except **Georgia** to send delegates to what became known as the First Continental Congress.

Delegates to the First Continental Congress sought a unified stance for measures that could help persuade Britain to cease placing political and economic restrictions on the 13 colonies. After considerable debate, the delegates approved the Continental Association, also known as the Association, on October 20, 1774. This document became the most important agreement to emerge from the First Continental Congress. The document called for unified colonial action to oppose Britain. The agreement opened by pledging the loyalty of the delegates to King **George III** and then listed the basic grievances of the colonies, including parliamentary taxation schemes (the **Sugar Act**, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Acts), trials outside the 13 colonies for offenses alleged to have been committed within the colonies (imposition of the Admiralty Courts and the **Administration of Justice Act**), the extension of Quebec's borders below the Great Lakes (the **Quebec Act**), the British Coercive Acts aimed at **Massachusetts**, and in particular the city of Boston, and the prevention of colonial migration westward into areas designated by the British as Native American territory (the **Proclamation of 1763**).

The delegates who signed the Continental Association called for the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation of goods between the American colonies and Britain. The document announced that the boycott would become effective on December 1, 1774. The colonies pledged a unified position and refusal to import any goods from Britain or Ireland, including tea from the East India Company as well as molasses, syrup, panales (a Spanish delicacy made from honeycomb), coffee, and pimentos from the British West Indies; wine from Madeira; and any foreign indigo. The delegates also announced that they would not import any slaves after December 1, 1774, nor sell any ships or goods to merchants engaged in the lucrative slave trade.

Along the lines of non-consumption, Americans would also cease to purchase and utilize imported goods, including taxed tea, after December 1, 1774. The delegates declared that the colonies would not purchase or drink any tea after March 1, 1775. The agreement provided for one exception. Any previously ordered goods arriving in the American colonies between December 1, 1774, and March 1, 1775, could be returned to its origin or delivered to the local government committee for storage until the Association boycott was lifted, or it could be sold under the supervision of the committee. Profits from these sales would be utilized to reimburse the merchants who originally purchased them and also be forwarded to Boston to assist with the relief of the locals there living under the British Coercive Acts.

The non-exportation clauses stated that the American colonies would halt all exports to Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies after September 10, 1775. Rice exports to Europe remained the one exception. Delegates from **South Carolina** demanded that rice and indigo be excluded from the non-exportation clauses or the colony would not sign the agreement. Following considerable discussion, a compromise removed indigo from the demands of South Carolina and the delegates agreed to accept rice as the lone commodity that could be exported after September 10, 1775.

The delegates pledged their colonies to promote self-reliance and home industry. The document noted that sheep should be bred in greater numbers in order to increase the production of colonial wool for the manufacture of clothing. Matters of “extravagance” such as horse races, cock fights, plays, and other forms of entertainment were highly discouraged since they diverted resources that individuals might need to get through the period of self-reliance. Mourners at funerals were asked to wear small black ribbons rather than black outfits to conserve fabric.

The agreement required each local community in the 13 colonies to establish committees to oversee the obedience of merchants and citizens to the provisions of the document. In some areas, these committees grew in power to challenge the local elected governments. Although Georgia did not send delegates to the First Continental Congress, the colony agreed to abide by some of the provisions of the Continental Association after January 23, 1775. The boycott of trade was fairly successful and alarmed many British merchants, who petitioned their government to address the demands of the American colonies. The outbreak of fighting at **Lexington and Concord** essentially rendered the Continental Association null and void since a cessation of trading with Britain naturally accompanied open warfare. *See also* Committees of Correspondence; Non-Importation Agreements; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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TERRY M. MAYS

### **Continental Congress, First (1774)**

The First Continental Congress, a body consisting of representatives from 12 out of 13 of **Britain’s** colonies, met in Philadelphia in September and October 1774. The purpose was to discuss recent punitive legislation by **Parliament** and determine what they could do to restore what they believed were liberties they had lost.

The First Continental Congress was, in the history of the colonies, unique but not without some precedent. Twenty years before, in 1754, an attempt at unifying at least the northern colonies had been made in the **Albany Plan of Union**, drafted by Benjamin **Franklin**. The **Stamp Act Congress**, held in October 1765, had been a gathering of representatives from nine colonies protesting the imposition of tax stamps. For some delegates with a sense of history, there were even earlier precedents, such as the gathering of barons at Runnymede in 1215 that had led to the Magna Carta. A more recent precedent was the agreements of 1689 with William and Mary, who had deposed her father, James II, in the Glorious Revolution. In all cases, the precedents, while stating rights and obligations, at no time ever contested the sovereignty of the king.

Recently, in the minds of an increasing number of American colonists, the identification of rights lost and the attempt to regain them had taken on a new urgency. Taxes on tea passed in 1773 by Parliament had led to the boarding of ships and the destruction of tea in Boston Harbor in December of that year. News of this action,

referred to as the **Boston Tea Party**, reached London on January 27, 1774. The response was quick and harsh. A series of resolutions intended to punish Boston, known collectively as the **Coercive Acts** (or the Intolerable Acts,) were passed and sent on to Boston. Their intent was to inflict damage upon the city's economy and in so doing compel order there. In addition, they would serve as a lesson to other colonies.

The **committees of correspondence** in **Massachusetts** informed the committees in the other colonies about these developments. Soon, the events in Boston were widely reported and discussed all along the coast. It was from these communications that the idea of a congress and how to assemble it came into being. The general topic was not to be armed resistance or independence. The goal was, instead, to discuss how the erosion of rights could be stopped. The objective and tone of the planned Congress could be well described in the instructions given to the Massachusetts delegation. They were to meet with other colonials and "discuss wise and proper measures" to get back what were perceived to be liberties lost in the past 11 years.

The time and the place were set. It would convene in September in the city of Philadelphia. When the time came, there were, altogether, 55 delegates. Only **Georgia** had not sent any representatives. As might have been expected, they were all prominent within their own colonies although none at this time was really known outside the boundaries of his particular province. Many would, however, become well known in the coming years either militarily or politically.

Among the Massachusetts representatives were John **Adams**, Samuel **Adams**, and Robert Treat **Paine**. One delegate from **New Hampshire** was John Sullivan, who would command troops as a general in the coming war. Roger **Sherman** of **Connecticut** was there beginning a long term of service that would include participating in drafting the **Declaration of Independence** and working on the **United States Constitution** in 1789. Silas Deane, also of Connecticut, would serve as a diplomat for the colonies in **France**. John **Jay** and James **Duane** were part of the **New York** delegation. Two of **Pennsylvania's** representatives were Joseph **Galloway** and John **Dickinson**. **Virginia's** delegates included Patrick **Henry**, Richard Henry **Lee**, Peyton **Randolph**, and George **Washington**.

They represented a fairly wide spectrum of opinion as well as differing perspectives based on the knowledge each had of life in his individual colony. Massachusetts was considered to be the most radical colony, and for that reason, its delegates were advised to stay in the background, at least at first. For the most part, however, they were relatively moderate, at least in the sense that none of them was at this time advocating rebellion.

Although all the delegations had not yet arrived, the First Continental Congress convened on September 5. Offered the facility known as Carpenters Hall, they elected a president, Peyton Randolph of Virginia. There was a presentation of credentials from each delegation, and after their accreditation, they took their places. The next order of business was the proposal to draw up the general rules of order. These issues were not settled the first day, but within a few days, the working rules had been determined. Each colony would have one vote, regardless of its size or wealth. Larger colonies, such as Virginia, had wanted representation that would reflect the size of the populations. **South Carolina** argued that a combination of wealth and population should be the criterion for the size of a colony's delegation.

Once one of the representatives noted that there was not enough information to accurately determine size, wealth, or population, the issue was resolved. Having settled it for now, the issue of proportional representation would return and be finally settled in the constitutional debate in 1789.

Speeches were to be limited, with no representative speaking twice on the same subject unless he had been granted permission by the Congress. While minutes would be kept, there were to be no statements on the proceedings made by any member in public. All discussions and decisions were to be kept secret until the Congress as a whole decided to make them public.

Committees were then appointed. While there was to be a great deal of debate during the almost two months that the Continental Congress met, most of the work was done outside the main chamber. The minutes of the Continental Congress record decisions and some of the debate. They also indicate, however, that many times Congress convened in the morning for only a short while, then adjourned to allow delegates to discuss problems and work out solutions.

Defining the purpose of the Congress was essential. What had drawn them here, and what were they hoping to accomplish? It was clear from the start that they had no argument with **George III**. It was Parliament that they looked upon as the enemy. Their view may have been colored by the fact that a bald statement against the king would have been an act of treason. Alternatively, they may have believed the king would see their best interest in a way that Parliament would not. Further, they wished to closely define their grievances, finally agreeing on what they considered to have been the loss of their liberties since 1763 as the precise set of issues they hoped to resolve.

On September 16, Paul **Revere** brought from Boston a copy of the **Suffolk Resolves**, a formal statement drafted in Suffolk County, Massachusetts located. These resolves, which were to be widely interpreted in **Britain** as a statement of hostility, were presented by the Massachusetts delegation the next day. They were well received by the Congress, which then voted to adopt them as well as to send aid to Boston. The Congress then decided to send the resolves and their response to **newspapers** to publicize this issue.

Five days later, on September 22, the Congress began to discuss the Resolution Not to Import, which would become the core of the Continental Assembly. The terms were that after December 1, no imports would be accepted from Britain. Additionally, there would be no sales or usage of these items after December 1, even if they had been brought in before the cutoff date. While there was a good deal of agreement with this plan, it was not unanimous, as the alternative proposal by Joseph Galloway would show.

Galloway's proposal, as he defined it and defended it in Congress on September 28, was based on what he said were two positions being held in the Congress. The first was to go back to a relationship with Britain that would set the clock back to 1763; that is, no taxes would be paid by the colonies. The other was to use economic means: a boycott of British goods. Taking no goods in and sending none out would eliminate the taxes being paid and inflict hardship in Britain, resulting in the repeal of the taxes. In his view, both were wrong. Galloway's solution was a plan of union. If this were carried out, Parliament would no longer make laws for the colonies. The colonies themselves would create a parliament that would act directly with the king. The issue was hotly debated and finally defeated by a 6–5 vote.



On October 1, the Congress resolved unanimously that a Declaration of Rights and Grievances be sent to the king. This document was prepared by a committee that included John Adams, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee. On October 6, the Massachusetts delegation received another visit from Paul Revere; this time he gave an account of military action in and around Boston. Apparently fortifications were being built on several of the hills in the city. Further, there were plans to evacuate the civilian population and turn Boston into a sealed-off, armed camp. At the same time, there were reports in New England that Boston had been fired on by the British. The result was a large mobilization of militia from all over New England to help the citizens of Boston. This action, which was a foretaste of what would happen after **Lexington and Concord** the next year, turned out to have been a response to a false alarm. It was still a matter of concern, and the Congress responded to it by sending a letter to the commander of Boston and governor of Massachusetts, General **Gage**, asking that he stop his preparations to turn Boston into a fortress. That letter was sent on October 11. The next day, a committee was selected to plan how the non-importation and non-export agreements, the document that would become the Articles of Association, would be implemented. That document was finally signed on October 26.

In the Congress's final week, it drafted and sent to London an Address to the People of Great Britain. The delegates also sent invitations to the colonies of Quebec, St. John's Island (what is now Newfoundland), Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the formerly Spanish (now British) colonies of East and West Florida to join them for another Congress to be held the next year. The invitations sent out specified that the Congress would meet once again on May 10, 1775, once again in Philadelphia, and once again in Carpenters Hall. The Congress dissolved itself on October 26.

The First Continental Congress was an extremely important political event. The most obvious accomplishment was the Articles of Association, a 14-point document that set the terms for what would be done (boycott) and how it would be done. There was a good deal more, however, that was perhaps more important. The First Continental Congress had been a gathering of men with very local interests who were, after a great deal of debate, able to begin to articulate the beginnings of a national perspective. With no experience to guide them beyond what they had seen and done at home, they were able to gather, make rules, and then debate and state policy. What is more, they were able to devise the means (in this case the local committees) that would put the **Continental Association** into effect. They had recognized that the danger presented to one city could affect them all; this constituted the beginning of a national outlook. Finally, in deciding to meet again the following year, the representatives of the colony showed that they believed that the efforts they had made could be the start of a constructive mode of solving political problems. *See also* Administration of Justice Act; Boston Port Act; Canada; Chase, Samuel; Continental Congress, Second; Committee of Secret Correspondence; Dyer, Eliphalet; Hopkins, Stephen; Livingston, William; Massachusetts Government Act; Navigation Acts; New England Restraining Act; Non-Importation Agreements; Paca, William; Paine, Robert Treat; Quartering Act; Quebec Act; Rutledge, Edward; Rutledge, John; Tea Act.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### Continental Congress, Second (1775–1789)

Although it officially lasted until March 1789, the key phase of the Second Continental Congress stretched from 1775 to 1781 at sessions in Philadelphia and, due to the exigencies of wartime, in Lancaster and York, **Pennsylvania**, and Baltimore. While the powers of the Congress were limited (it could only issue nonbinding resolutions, which the states were free to accept or reject), and although its sessions were plagued by divisions and rivalries (notably between the southern states and the representatives from New England), important aspects of the American republic's legal and political groundwork were laid. It was distinguished from the First **Continental Congress** by the participation of a Georgian delegation (absent from the previous Congress) and by the arrival of a swathe of new members, Benjamin **Franklin** and Thomas **Jefferson** among them. After the withdrawal of Peyton **Randolph**, John **Hancock** served as the Congress's president.

When the congressional delegates convened in Philadelphia's State House (known latterly as Independence Hall) on May 10, 1775, their minds were fixed on the recent outbreak of hostilities with **Britain**. The actions at **Lexington and Concord** had taken place in the previous month (April 19). There was a pressing need to take charge of military affairs, and after the Congress assumed control of the armed forces, General George **Washington** was appointed commander-in-chief of the new **Continental Army** on June 16: he famously agreed to serve without salary. Measures were also immediately taken to raise much-needed funds, and on June 22, it was decided that \$2 million in bills of credit would be issued. However bold the move, the Congress would struggle financially throughout its tenure.

Organizing the war was only half the challenge, however. It also had to be justified. Many delegates maintained the notion that Congress remained loyal to **George III** and was merely dissatisfied with the policies and impositions of his ministers. The **Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms** encapsulated this idea. Such casuistry aside, there was an undeniable sense of growing radicalism within the Congress, epitomized by John and Samuel **Adams**.

The possibility of casting off British rule and establishing a republic—an idea much helped by the publication of Thomas **Paine's** *Common Sense* in January 1776—was

clearly gaining ground. Paine's book sold some 120,000 copies, and the radicalizing trend culminated with the appointment of a committee (including Franklin, John Adams, and, preeminently, Jefferson) charged with drafting a **declaration of independence**. On July 2, 1776, Congress voted for independence, and two days later, the declaration was signed. Along with the promulgation of **Articles of Confederation**—issued in November 1777, although not ratified by all the states until March 1781—and the establishment of the first official diplomatic contacts with various European states, this momentous declaration inaugurated the era of American self-rule.

Congress was undoubtedly governing, but it was doing so without a firm legal basis. The Articles of Confederation were intended to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and when they were finally and universally adopted in 1781, the history of the United States **Congress** entered a new phase. Indeed, the period between 1781 and the arrival of the **United States Constitution** is often referred to as the era of the Confederation Congress and is more usefully considered as a distinct phase in America's political evolution. Congress now officially adopted the **privileges** formerly enjoyed by the British Crown, including the right to elect officers of state, to conduct diplomatic relations, and to raise troops and funds.

Legal status did not always bring effective power, however, and throughout the 1780s the efforts of the various states to retain their influence and assert their rights routinely stymied Congress's efforts to govern efficiently. That said, the period did witness notable achievements, chief among them the ratification, in 1784, of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolutionary War, and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. *See also* American Revolution; The Northwest.

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JONATHAN WRIGHT

### **Corday d'Armont, Marie Anne Charlotte (1768–1793)**

Charlotte Corday was a French woman famous for murdering the French revolutionary leader Jean-Paul **Marat**. Born to a minor noble family at St. Saturnin, Normandy, Corday was related to the famous seventeenth-century dramatist Pierre Corneille on her mother's side. She was educated at the Abbaye aux Dames convent in Caen, which she left after it was closed in 1791. She initially sympathized with the ideas of the **French Revolution** and supported the Girondist faction but was horrified at the revolutionary excesses and opposed the radical **Jacobins**, especially following the **September Massacres** of 1792. In July 1793, she traveled to Paris with the purpose of assassinating Marat, who was elected president of the Jacobin Society in April, and whom she held responsible for the excesses of the Revolution. Before going through with her plan, she wrote her *Adresse aux français amis des lois et de la paix*, which explained the act she was about to commit.

On July 13, she went to see Marat before noon, offering to inform him about a planned Girondin uprising in Caen. She was first turned away, but on a second attempt that evening, Marat agreed to meet her. He conducted most of his affairs



The arrest of Marie Charlotte Corday d'Aumont following her murder of Jean Paul Marat in 1793.  
*Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

from a bathtub because of a rare skin condition, and while in his bath, he met Corday. He was writing down the names of supposed **Girondins** when she stabbed him with a knife. Corday was immediately apprehended and tried three days later. Claude François Chauveau-Lagarde, who previously had represented **Queen Marie Antoinette**, defended her eloquently, and Corday herself testified that she had carried out the assassination alone, saying, "I killed one man to save 100,000." On July 17, 1793, Corday was executed by **guillotine**.

The assassination of Marat proved to be a rallying cause for the Jacobins and turned Marat into a martyr. Jacobins used his state funeral, choreographed by Jacques-Louis **David**, to great advantage to make Marat into a cult figure. David also produced the famous painting of Marat stabbed in his bathtub. Similarly, Corday became a cult figure for anti-Jacobin forces. The assassination had important consequences, for it seemingly validated the Jacobins' claims about traitors within the very bosom of the nation who were far more insidious than the foreign foe. Corday's actions led to increased suspicion of women in the public sphere and to the closing of the female political clubs in October 1793.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Cordeliers Club

Founded in April 1790, the Cordeliers Club emerged, along with the **Jacobins**, as one of the two great political clubs in Paris. Officially known as the Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the club adopted the nickname of the suppressed Franciscan monastery where it first met. The club was founded by radical members of the Cordelier district in response to the municipal reorganization of Paris in 1790. Through 1789 and 1790, the Cordelier district had developed considerable popular participation, and they feared that the new section would not be able to support their democratic practice. In response, the Cordeliers Club was created.

Led by Georges-Jacques **Danton** and Camille **Desmoulins**, among others, the club became a base for the Parisian popular movement as a whole. While it drew most of its membership from the immediate neighborhood, like the Jacobins, the Cordeliers Club attracted members from all over Paris and engaged in correspondence with provincial popular societies. Unlike the Jacobins, the Cordeliers Club maintained a low monthly subscription of two sous, admitted passive citizens, and showed a greater willingness to support female participation. In doing so, the club became, together with the sectional assemblies and popular societies, the foundation of the radical *sans-culotte* movement. It was the members of Cordeliers Club who founded and led the creation of popular societies throughout the sections, and it was the Cordeliers Club that claimed leadership over the sectional movement.

The Cordeliers Club offered a distinctive vision of the **French Revolution** as republican and democratic. It was at the forefront of radical agitation and was the base for two important radical movements, the Enragés and the **Hébertistes**. The club played a central role in a number of pivotal events through which the Revolution was radicalized and a republic proclaimed. In July 1791, after the flight of King **Louis XVI**, the Cordeliers Club initiated the mass demonstration on the Champs de Mars that expressed a growing republican sentiment and ended in a violent confrontation with the **National Guard**. Along with the sectional popular societies, the club was instrumental in the agitation that led to the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792. After the foundation of the Republic, the club remained pivotal in the factional struggles of the **National Convention** and the struggle for control over the popular movement in Paris. Increasingly, the club came into conflict with the Jacobin-controlled Convention, and following the arrest and execution of Jacques René **Hébert**, the club lost its power and leadership over the popular movement, finally closing by April 1795. *See also* Political Clubs (French); Republicanism; *Sans-Culottes*.

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BRODIE RICHARDS

## Council of Five Hundred

As its title implies, this lower house of the legislature established by the constitution of the Year III (1795), which ushered in the much-maligned period of the

**Directory**, was a chamber comprising five hundred deputies. Besides helping to select the five executive directors, their task was to initiate bills that would then be passed to the upper house, the Council of Elders, before going into effect. These two legislative councils certainly succeeded in fostering some effective parliamentary procedures during their four-year existence. The bicameral arrangement produced a good deal of orderly debate, free of pressure from the public galleries and the crowds of petitioners who had inhibited discussion in the past. Members of both houses were similarly elected by the departmental assemblies, in other words at the second stage of the process, by electors chosen in the primary assemblies, who were perforce substantial property owners. Middle-class professional men who had served in the earlier national assemblies thus maintained their predominance in the Council of Five Hundred. Indeed, continuity was initially ensured by the infamous two-thirds decree of 1795, which stipulated that the majority of the first cohort of Council members must be chosen from among retiring deputies from the **Convention**.

This immediately highlighted difficulties in managing an electoral process that caused constant upheaval in the composition of both councils. Although the intention of the constitution makers was to reduce disruption by providing for partial elections each year, it had the opposite effect. Annual spring electoral campaigns in 1797, 1798, and 1799 were accompanied by considerable disorder and produced political landslides, first to the Right and then to the Left. A center party did not emerge, partly because of deeply entrenched divisions in the wake of the **Reign of Terror**, but also on account of cumbersome constitutional arrangements that failed to facilitate cooperation among the Directory, ministers, and councils, while directors could only intervene in council matters by resorting to illegality. The election of hostile parliamentary majorities prompted purges of both councils in the coups of Fructidor V (September 1797) and Floréal VI (May 1798).

A great deal of controversial legislation was passed on matters concerning the church and **émigrés**, though substantial progress was made in financial and administrative affairs, for although it was short lived, the Directory was not without its achievements. The fourth and final round of elections in 1799 was actually allowed to stand, but by then, the electoral principle had been thoroughly discredited, and moderate deputies were increasingly drawn to the idea of constitutional revision, which eventuated in the coup of 18 **Brumaire** (November 9–10, 1799). This was led by the recently elected director **Sieyès** but plotted in the Five Hundred by Lucien Bonaparte, who was serving as president when this final coup took place. Numerous deputies defied his brother **Napoleon** when he appeared before them to demand the nomination of a provisional government. Yet this abortive resistance ironically justified the use of troops to dissolve the councils and bring the directorial regime to an end. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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## Coup d'Etat de Brumaire

*See* Brumaire, Coup d' Etat

## Couthon, Georges Auguste (1755–1794)

Georges Auguste Couthon was a revolutionary politician, deputy to the **Legislative Assembly** and **National Convention**, and member of the **Committee of Public Safety**. The son of a notary, Couthon, who was born in the parish of Orcet in the Auvergne, studied law at Rheims. By 1783, he had qualified for the law and was practicing in Clermont-Ferrand. In addition, he served as a municipal officer and judge in Clermont-Ferrand. Although he was unsuccessful in his election to the **Estates-General**, he was chosen to be an elector.

Couthon was elected to the Legislative Assembly in September 1791 by the department of Puy-de-Dôme, where he supported Jean-Pierre **Brissot** in his advocacy for foreign war. He became president of the Jacobin Club in November 1791. Although he did not participate in the overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792, he supported it. Elected to the National Convention by the department of Puy-de-Dôme, he became a supporter of the **Mountain** faction after trying to reconcile the two major factions. During the king's trial, he voted for **Louis XVI's** death.

Although paralyzed by meningitis and confined to a wheelchair, Couthon was sent on mission three times during his career. First, in November 1792, he was sent to the Loir-et-Cher to deal with disorders resulting from food shortages. Secondly, in March 1793, he was sent to the principality of Salem to oversee its incorporation into the department of the Vosges. Thirdly, and most importantly, in August 1793, he was sent to the counterrevolutionary city of Lyon to bring its siege to a conclusion. He proved himself to be successful in mobilizing forces to defeat the enemies, both domestic and foreign.

A member of the Committee of Public Safety from May 1793, and a close colleague of Robespierre and Louis Antoine **Saint-Just**, Couthon was responsible for the 1794 law that decreed execution without trial. Couthon was executed on July 28, 1794, along with other Robespierristes. *See also* French Revolution; Jacobins; Reign of Terror; Representatives on Mission.

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LEIGH WHALEY

## Crèvecoeur, Michel-Guillaume Jean de (1735–1813)

Author of *Letters from an American Farmer*, which was published during the **American Revolution** and enabled Europeans to understand America and Americans, Crèvecoeur was born in Caen, Normandy, with claims to provincial **nobility**. The son of Guillaume-Augustin Jean de Crèvecoeur and Marie-Anne Thérèse Blouet, he grew up near Creully. In 1750 Crèvecoeur graduated from the Jesuit Collège Royal de Bourbon and joined the French army under General Montcalm, fighting,

surveying, and making maps in **Canada** during the French and Indian War (1756–1763). Wounded at Quebec, he decided to remain in America, settling in New York in 1759, and changed his name to J. Hector St. John. Determined to know America, he traveled from **New Hampshire** to **Virginia** and throughout the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley. He became an American citizen in 1765 and married Mehitable Tippet, settling in Orange County, New York, on a 120-acre estate. His farming experiences there became the basis for his later *Letters* and gave form to the American dream for Europeans to live under “new laws, new modes of living, a new social system” based on **equality** of condition.

Crèvecoeur tried to stay above the politics of the Revolution, and in 1778 he returned to **France** with his eldest son to preserve the hereditary rights of his children to family lands in Normandy. In Paris he met Benjamin **Franklin** and agreed to conduct several American seamen safely back to America. He published scientific treatises on American agriculture and was entertained in the salons frequented by **philosophes** of the **Enlightenment**. In 1782, Crèvecoeur published his semi-autobiographical social commentary, *Letters from an American Farmer*, which answered the question “What is an American, this new man?” to curious Europeans interested in the nature of their American ally. **Louis XVI** appointed Crèvecoeur French consul in America after 1783, and the author returned on the ship carrying the Treaty of Paris to find his wife deceased and his home destroyed, though he was reunited with his two other children. He worked diligently to expand trade between America and France and developed scientific and cultural exchanges. Crèvecoeur returned to France in 1785, and in 1790 founded the Société Gallo-Américaine, publishing in 1801 his *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New York*. He died in Sarcelles near Paris.

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### Currency Act (1764)

The Currency Act was passed on April 19, 1764, by **Parliament**, acting on the advice of Lord George Grenville, chancellor of the exchequer, who was seeking a variety of regulatory and revenue acts relating to the North American colonies in the period immediately following the close of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). This act was purely regulatory and was supported by merchants and monetary conservatives, who favored hard money policies. The North American colonies all resorted to printing their own specie because British mercantilism deprived them of the amounts of hard currency required for a circulating currency. As early as the late seventeenth century, several colonies were issuing bills of credit, which emerged as the primary medium of exchange by the 1760s. The weakness of this practice was a general lack of monetary regulation, a wide fluctuation in the value of money from colony to colony, and a consistent pattern of inflation in North America. Supporters of the act argued that short-term hardships would produce a stronger economy in the long term.

Specifically, the act disallowed the use of paper money as legal tender and prohibited the issuance of new paper money. Paper money in circulation would be withdrawn according to a specific timetable. This deflationary measure increased



the North American deficit, prompted a downturn in the colonial economy, and contributed to increasing tensions between Parliament and the colonies. By assuming control of colonial currency, Parliament satisfied powerful merchants but further alienated the cash-strapped colonists; this was one of a number of significant contributing factors that led to the **American Revolution**.

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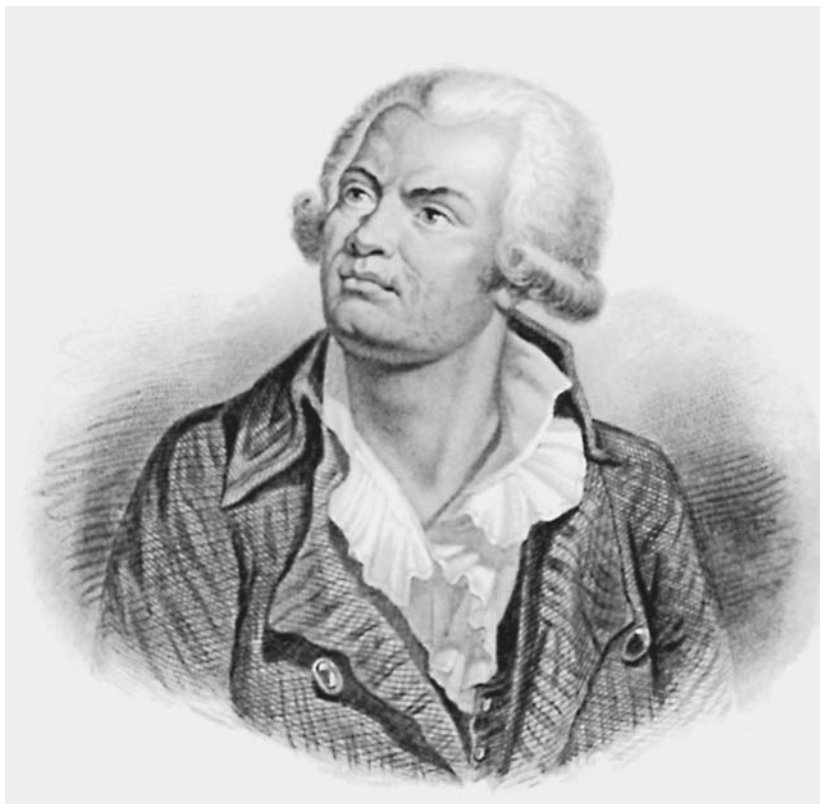


# D

## Danton, Georges-Jacques (1759–1794)

A French revolutionary leader and statesman who played an instrumental role in the establishment of the First Republic in **France**, Danton was born on October 29, 1759, at Arcis-sur-Aube (Champagne). His parents were Jacques Danton, a *procureur* (public prosecutor) in the bailiwick of Arcis, and his second wife, Marie-Madeleine Camus. His father died before Danton was three years old, leaving the family to scrape by. His uncle wanted him to become a priest and arranged for Danton to attend the Oratorian seminary at Troyes; in 1774, he supposedly ran away from the school to Rheims, some 70 miles away, to see the crowning of **Louis XVI**. Danton eventually chose to seek a career in law, and in 1780, he entered the office of a solicitor at Paris and apprenticed as a clerk while preparing for the bar. He studied the works of the **philosophes** and mastered foreign languages, among them English and Italian. In 1785, he was called to the bar at Rheims but later moved to Paris to practice. Young, energetic, and eloquent, Danton was able to save enough money within two years to buy the office of advocate in the Conseil du Roi in 1787. His marriage to Antoinette-Gabrielle Charpentier, daughter of the proprietor of the Café Procope in Paris, also provided him with much-needed funds. For the next two years, Danton won a number of cases and his legal reputation spread; among his clients were the minister of justice, de Barentin, and the comptroller general, de Brienne.

In 1789, amidst revolutionary agitation, Danton enlisted in the *garde bourgeoise* (civic guard) of the Cordeliers district of Paris and was elected president of the district in October. Although some accounts claim he participated in the attack on the **Bastille** and the women's march on Versailles, Danton, in fact, was not involved in either event. He was, however, one of the founders of the famous **Cordeliers Club**, which would play an important role in the early stages of the **French Revolution**. Danton's popularity increased after he defended his district's interests against the **Constituent Assembly** and resisted the Châtelet's agents sent to arrest Jean-Paul **Marat**. In January 1790, Danton was elected to the provisional Paris Commune but was later excluded from the final membership list. In January 1791, he was elected to the General Council of the *département* of Paris. He continued to be active in Parisian politics, but his fame was local in nature and he exercised little influence.



Georges-Jacques Danton. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

His reputation was firmly rooted in the Cordeliers Club and the Jacobin Club, where he made numerous speeches and gained supporters. In November 1790, following the suppression of the Nancy mutiny, Danton addressed the Constituent Assembly as a delegate from the Paris sections and demanded the dismissal of royal ministers, who eventually resigned. In the spring of 1791, he claimed a decisive role in preventing the king from moving to Saint-Cloud, but his role in this matter was, in fact, minor. In June 1791, following Louis XVI's failed attempt to flee from France, Danton accused Lafayette of complicity and treason and called for the abdication of the king. He supported the split in the Cordeliers Club and joined the **Jacobins**, becoming a member of the Jacobin committee, and drafting a petition in support of the king's replacement with a regency under the duc d'**Orléans** on July 16. On the day of the so-called Champ de Mars massacre (July 17, 1791), Danton acted less than heroically: forewarned of the danger, he left the capital to visit his native town of Arcis and later traveled to England.

During his absence, the Théâtre Français section of Paris chose him as one of its electors, and Danton returned to the capital, escaping prosecution for his role in the events of July. Danton was not, however, chosen to represent his section in the **Legislative Assembly**, and he pursued a new office. In December 1791, he was elected second assistant to the *procureur* of the Paris Commune, beating **Collot d'Herbois** by

1,162 votes to 654. Danton made a memorable inaugural address, claiming that an enlightened public had sought him out, as a man of purity, in the rural retreat to which he had retired. He referred to nature as having endowed him with an “athletic build and the fierce countenance of liberty” and offered his resolve to fight against counterrevolution.

Danton’s reputation grew rapidly in 1792 when he became one of the leaders of the Parisian *sans-culottes* and used his eloquence and talents to champion their demands. As a tribune of the people, he was very critical of the monarchy and worked hard to undermine it. Although details on his role in organizing the insurrection of August 10, 1792, remain obscure, he was largely credited with its success and undoubtedly played an instrumental role. He initiated the sectional movement for the king’s deposition and helped replace the regular Paris Commune with its insurrectional successor. After the coup, he secured the votes of 222 of the 284 deputies still in the Assembly to gain the post of minister of justice.

In this capacity, Danton emerged as a dominant member of the Executive Council and seemed to be alone among the ministers in his ability to rise to the demands of a desperate situation. A week after becoming minister, he dispatched to the courts of France a memo explaining the insurrection as the nation’s response to a counterrevolutionary plot in the Tuileries. He described the Revolution as the basis for the construction of a new society in accordance with the ideas of the **Enlightenment** philosophes. He became famous for rallying the populace to defend the fatherland, and he was not exaggerating when he claimed later that besides being minister of justice, he also acted as de facto deputy minister of war. After the Prussian capture of the strategic fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, some officials, including the minister of the interior, Jean-Marie Roland, suggested moving the government from Paris to Blois, but Danton objected to this in no uncertain terms, saying that he just brought his mother and children to Paris and would sooner see it burned down than have it fall to the Prussians.

As such, Danton advised the **Legislative Assembly** to order each municipality to arm all the men within its jurisdiction and dispatch them to the various French armies. Special commissioners were created to supervise such levies and establish order in the provinces. Danton prepared decrees that declared that relatives of **émigrés** were considered hostages, and nonjuring priests were arrested. On August 28, he secured authority for the authorities to search homes for weapons and to arrest any counterrevolutionary suspects, declaring: “If we have to place 30,000 traitors in the hands of the law, let us do it tomorrow.” His call to arms was repeated in the most famous of all his speeches, delivered on September 2, when he was informed of the fall of the Verdun fortress. With the full force of his formidable stature and eloquence, he thundered in the Assembly: “The tocsin that will ring is no signal of alarm; it is sounding the charge against the enemies of the nation. To conquer the enemies of the fatherland, we must dare, and dare again, and dare forever, and France will be saved!” His reputation was, however, badly damaged as a result of the **September Massacres**, when an incensed populace invaded prisons and massacred hundreds of prisoners. The moderate **Girondins** accused Danton of masterminding the massacres; although the degree of his involvement remains unclear, he probably agreed to the massacres without giving the order for them. Danton did intercede in some cases to save prisoners, but as a powerful minister of justice, he certainly could have done more—but chose not to.

Danton was elected to the **National Convention** as a deputy for Paris on September 6, 1792, receiving the highest number of votes among the Parisian deputies. He was elected to two important committees, the Diplomatic Committee and the Committee on the Constitution, where he used his oratorical talent and the sheer force of his character to become increasingly prominent, and dominant. Unlike other **Montagnards**, he chose to pursue a conciliatory policy, seeking reconciliation between the revolutionary factions. However, his efforts were thwarted by the Girondins, who accused him of misappropriating government funds when he could not justify 200,000 livres of secret expenditures incurred during his tenure as the minister of justice. Incensed by this attack, Danton moved further to the Left.

In late 1792, Danton was sent on a mission to **Belgium**. Returning to Paris, he participated in the concluding discussions of **Louis XVI's** trial in the Convention and voted for death without reprieve. He traveled to Belgium twice more in January and February 1793, and following the abortive insurrection against the Girondins in March, Danton played an important role in the creation of the **revolutionary tribunals**. Danton's reputation, weakened following the charges of misuse of government funds, was further damaged when General Dumouriez, whom Danton defended, defected to the Austrians following the French defeat at Neerwinden (March 18, 1793). The Girondins exploited this chance to further undermine Danton, accusing him of complicity in the general's treachery. Danton, in turn, charged the Girondin deputies of treason and was supported by the Montagnards.

On April 7, 1793, Danton was elected a member of the first **Committee of Public Safety**, which became the executive organ of the revolutionary government. He dominated this body for the next three months and, directing foreign and military affairs, he effectively served as the head of the government. He tried to compromise with foreign powers and hinted that he would be able to secure the release of Queen **Marie Antoinette** in return for a peace treaty. However, he failed to find common ground with Prussia and **Austria**, who seemed to be victorious by the spring of 1793. Danton's only diplomatic success was a treaty of friendship with Sweden, but even this was not ratified by the Swedish regent. On May 31, Danton helped suppress the Convention's Commission of Twelve, the committee of inquiry dominated by the Girondins, but he did not figure prominently in the Montagnard coup against the Girondins on June 2, 1793. The Girondin defeat weakened Danton as well, since his moderate policies now clashed with the more radical views of the Montagnards. Simultaneously, Danton, whose first wife died in February 1793, married 15-year-old Louise Gély, a friend of the family. Marriage distracted him from politics.

On July 10, 1793, when the Committee of Public Safety's term expired, the Convention elected a new committee in which Danton was not included, following the charges of poor attendance and moderation. Still, Danton had his moment that summer as he served as the president of the Convention between July 25 and August 8, 1793. In the face of raging federalist revolt in the provinces and the Austro-Prussian advance on the western French frontiers, Danton briefly embraced radical ideas, demanding death for anyone trying to negotiate with the rebels in Normandy, and punishment for administrators in the provinces who had declared for the Girondins. After news of Toulon's surrender to the British reached the capital, Danton endorsed the proposal for the creation of vastly enlarged revolutionary armies, calling for universal conscription, or *levée en masse*. He suggested proclaiming the Committee of Public Safety the provisional government, but his proposal was rejected.

In late September, Danton became ill and played no part in the increasingly bitter conflict between the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety led by Maximilian **Robespierre**. Danton left the capital for six weeks for the countryside near Arcis and returned to Paris on November 18. He emerged as the leader of the moderate opposition (les Indulgents) and sought to stabilize the revolutionary movement. He openly criticized the dechristianization policy of the **Hébertistes** and, with the help of Camille **Desmoulins'** *Le vieux Cordelier*, spoke against the use of terrorist repression. Yet Danton's position gradually weakened, and some of his supporters turned against him. On December 3, at a meeting at the Jacobin Club, he was accused of moderation and treason and, instead of challenging his accusers, struck only a feeble note of defense and required rescue by Robespierre. After this session, Danton spoke only briefly at the Assembly and at the Jacobin Club. Hereafter, his friends came increasingly under attack. In November 1793, François Chabot, Philippe François Nazaire Fabre d'Eglantine, and others were arrested on charges of corruption and embezzlement in connection with the liquidated Compagnie des Indes. Danton came to their defense but failed.

In March 1794, Danton welcomed the downfall of **Hébert's** ultra-Left faction, but this left him and his Indulgents alone in the face of the government's attack. Warned several times of the threat of arrest, Danton brushed it off. Yet on the night of March 29, 1794, he and his friends (Delacroix, Desmoulins, Phillippeaux, and others) were arrested. The following day, **Saint-Just** asked the Convention to bring Danton and others before the revolutionary tribunal on charges of conspiring to restore the monarchy. The frightened deputies voted in favor of the indictment without anyone challenging it.

The trial of Danton was a well-orchestrated farce, since its failure would have spelled the end of the government. The judges were threatened with arrest if they showed any leniency, and only seven jurors were found suitable enough to participate in the trial. In an attempt to discredit Danton, his case was tacked on to that of the Compagnie des Indes affair to suggest his connection with that case, while several foreigners were added to the proceedings in order to suggest Danton's involvement in a foreign plot. The trial began on April 2 and attracted such enormous crowds that the courtroom overflowed. Danton certainly had no doubt about the outcome of the trial since, in the opening recital of the names and addresses of the accused, he gave his address as "Soon in oblivion, but my name will be in history's Pantheon." He went on to use his oratorical talent to denounce the proceedings and the government in such a loud manner that, as Michelet asserted, his voice could be heard across the Seine.

Matters turned against the government's favor since its main witness, Pierre-Joseph **Cambon**, defended Danton against the charge of treasonable relations with Dumouriez. On April 3, Danton spoke for almost an entire day, and his speeches often caused the packed courtroom to break into applause. An experienced lawyer and one of the creators of the revolutionary tribunal, Danton knew enough about revolutionary justice to exploit it to the fullest extent. To silence him, the Committee of Public Safety cowed the Convention into decreeing that a suspect on trial who insulted national justice was to be excluded from the debate. "I will no longer defend myself," Danton cried. "Let me be led to death, I shall go to sleep in glory." On April 5, the jury withdrew to consider the verdict and was bullied by the men of the committees of General Security and Public Safety into pronouncing a guilty verdict

based on discreditable evidence and witnesses. As one juror declared, “This is not a trial but a political act. . . . We are not jurors but statesmen.” Danton was guillotined with his friends on the same day, April 5, 1794 (16 Germinal, Year II). Danton’s last words were directed to his executioner: “Do not forget to show my head to the people: it is worth the trouble.”

Danton is one of the most fascinating personalities of the French Revolution. His character and motives remain enigmatic. He was a political realist but often acted as an adventurer. He kept his options open and maintained connections with almost all factions, be it the constitutional monarchists or the radical Jacobins. A prodigious orator, he thrived on speeches and became intoxicated by the audience’s response and applause. Despite his occasional radicalism, he was a moderate and was willing to forget his enemies once they were defeated.

The main controversy lies in the question of Danton’s honesty and venality. Historians have both accused and cleared him of these charges, while Lamartine went as far as to claim that “he was bought every day and next morning was up for sale again.” Most of such claims have been made on the basis of discreditable rumors but, as some research has shown, credible questions had been raised over Danton’s finances; in the spring of 1791 alone, he acquired land to the value of over 56,000 livres and a house for another 25,000, making payments in cash in both cases. This naturally raised many questions, and Danton tried to placate his detractors by claiming that the money was derived from his salaried positions. His supporters argued that he was a successful lawyer, but the evidence suggests otherwise, since he was involved in only two dozen cases before his office was suppressed in 1791.

Contemporaries claimed that Danton gathered enormous wealth (Madame Roland referred to 1.5 million livres) through corruption. Danton’s enemies, **Brissot** and **Bertrand de Moleville**, accused him of receiving some 300,000 livres from the royal court in return for his political services. Lafayette, writing long after the Revolution, described seeing Danton receiving money on several occasions between 1789 and 1792. It is now generally accepted that Danton was an informer for the royal court in return for payments from the funds of the Civil List. It is nevertheless difficult to prove how such payments influenced his conduct, since his actions demonstrate that his devotion to the nation and the revolutionary cause was beyond doubt. The prominent historian J. M. Thompson probably summed him up best when he described Danton as “not a great man, not a good man, and certainly no hero; but a man with great, good and heroic moments.”

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### David, Jacques-Louis (1748–1825)

Jacques-Louis David was one of the greatest of the French neoclassical painters. Among his most famous works, the *Oath of the Horatii*, completed in 1784, idealized the classical virtues of stoicism and masculine patriotism and established a severe yet seductive aesthetic that David applied to his support for the **French Revolution**, most effectively in his *Death of Marat*, painted in 1793. A supporter of Maximilien **Robespierre**, who voted for the execution of **Louis XVI**, David was imprisoned by the **Directory** but saved through the intervention of his estranged wife. Less a committed revolutionary than an avid propagandist for the heroes of his age, David promptly transferred his loyalty to **Napoleon** after 1799 and produced, in works such as *Napoleon Crossing the Saint Bernard Pass* and the *Sacre de Joséphine*, the opulent and romantic image for which the first military genius and tyrant of modern times is remembered. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that the idealized legacy of Bonapartism in French politics was in part the work of David's brush.

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### Declaration of Independence (1776)

The Declaration of Independence was the first article of American nationhood, set forth with a “decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind” as an explanation for the actions of **Britain's** American colonies in withdrawing their obedience to the Crown and declaring themselves “Free and Independent States.” The Declaration was drafted by Thomas **Jefferson**, who alone among the founding generation possessed what John **Adams** called a “peculiar felicity of expression” enabling him to produce a document as succinct as it was compelling and eloquent. The Declaration was the product of the Second **Continental Congress**, which on June 7, 1776, accepted the Virginia Resolution demanding independence. On June 11 Congress appointed a committee consisting of Jefferson, Adams, Benjamin **Franklin**, Roger **Sherman**, and Robert Livingston to compose a document for plenary consideration. On July 4 Congress voted 12–0 in its favor.

At the time the military struggle for American independence was well under way but the rebel cause was in a phase of considerable doubt. British troops and American militia had clashed in minor skirmishes at **Lexington and Concord**, the first actions of the **American Revolution**, in which the rebels had given a good account of themselves. In June 1775, however, British forces prevailed in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and in August of the same year American forces under Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery began a campaign to invade **Canada** that was clearly beyond their reach. Congress initially called upon the Canadians as “fellow sufferers” to join the revolution. When the Canadians declined, Montgomery's forces marched on Montreal while Arnold's moved against Quebec City. Winter stopped both from accomplishing their objectives; Montgomery was killed, while Arnold subsequently took the combined forces of the two bedraggled armies in a futile assault on Quebec on New Year's Eve. On December 23, **George III** proclaimed that his American colonies were henceforth to be closed to all foreign commerce.

It was in this atmosphere that the Englishman Thomas **Paine**, newly arrived in America after having been fired from the British government, published the pamphlet *Common Sense* in January 1776. The impact of the pamphlet on the American cause was incendiary, not only because it expressed the conclusions that so many in Congress had come to independently but also because its forthright assertion of the imperative of independence challenged the reader to argue to the contrary only if he counted himself an idiot. Paine called George III an ass and argued that it would be absurd for a colony poised to conquer a continent to remain bound to a tiny island in the North Sea. He maintained further that a principal reason for American independence should be prosperity, because American agricultural goods in particular could find lucrative markets anywhere in Europe; preferential economic ties with Britain damaged American prosperity every time Britain engaged in war with another European power and Anglo-American shipping came under attack. It should be American policy, Paine concluded, to achieve independence from Britain and avoid alliances with any European state while pursuing peaceful commerce with all European states. Paine thus stated two themes that brought energetic nods of agreement from Congress and have ever since resonated in American history: the notion that the proper business of America is business itself and the warning that American engagement in great power conflict in Europe could never be in the national interest of an independent American nation. Over 500,000 copies of *Common Sense* were printed.

Its appearance throughout the colonies increased the clamor for an official declaration of American independence. John Adams was duly impressed with Paine's achievement in stating the "common faith" of the American cause with strength and brevity but thought its author more adept at pulling down than building up and considered some his peripheral remarks—such as the invention of monarchy being "one of the sins of the Jews"—to be inflammatory nonsense. He also thought that Paine had only a feeble grip on constitutional government and was concerned that an official declaration of independence should strike a balance between Paine's provocative call to action and a statement worthy as the cornerstone of a new political order. The sense of urgency meanwhile was enhanced when Richard Henry **Lee** of **Virginia** presented a resolution to Congress that the United Colonies "are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states." The resolution resulted in the creation of three committees: one for the independence declaration, a second to propose a treaty for a diplomatic commission to Europe, and a third to prepare a constitution for the governing of the United States.

The declaration committee assigned Jefferson the role of primary author in large part because Adams deemed it appropriate that a Virginian draft the rebels' declaration of war just as a Virginian, George **Washington**, was to command the rebel army. Jefferson drew extensively from his own previous writings as well as from those of his colleagues, in particular George **Mason** and James **Wilson**, and his initial draft was subject to a number of alterations by Adams and Franklin. He worked quickly and aimed not at originality but rather "to place before mankind the common sense of the subject." The result was a statement in three parts. The first and most quoted is a summary of natural law and social contract theory in its first two paragraphs, mostly drawn from the writings of John **Locke**, as the foundation for incontestable maxims upon which the case independence is erected: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, **Liberty**, and the Pursuit of Happiness.” Governments, it continues, “are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed” and when any form of government “becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it” and to establish in its place a new government “most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”

The second part of the Declaration then proceeds to an extensive case against the Crown by which America’s breach with Britain is justified. It casts aside any pretense that the government in London is being accused of incompetence or neglect rather than mendacity by indicting the king directly and in unequivocal terms: “The History of the present King of Great Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an Absolute Tyranny over these States.” This is followed by a series of charges ranging from refusal of royal “Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good to quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us; from cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World to imposing Taxes on us without our Consent; from suspending our own legislatures to transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy of the Head of a civilized Nation.” The strength of the rhetoric was debated, and certain passages struck, but the sense of multiple and irreconcilable grievances was retained in order to underscore the fact that the Declaration was intended as a revolutionary charter. To this end it noted that for these many grievances George III’s American subjects had previously sought redress but had been “answered only by repeated injury.” Having indicted the king, the Declaration then turns upon the British nation, “our British Brethren,” with the charge that “they too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and Consanguinity.”

The case against the Crown and nation of Great Britain thus established, the Declaration’s last paragraph asserts that as a consequence, “these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States.” The document swept past the matter of 600,000 slaves scattered through the colonies. In London, Samuel Johnson asked appropriately, “How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty from the drivers of Negroes?” Congress could appreciate the yawning moral gap between the case against a tyrant in Britain and the fact of a tyranny presided over by many of themselves, but its southern delegates, from South Carolina in particular, would not accept any explicit acknowledgement that slavery violated the principles of the Declaration. Not until the 1860s, in other words, would the full revolutionary implications of the Declaration be faced up to in the United States itself.

The Congress debated Jefferson’s draft for three days, not with regard to fundamental principles, but often over particularly emotional language that cited a sense of betrayal by the British, a people of “common blood,” and pledged that “we must endeavor to forget our former love for them.” These passages were struck, but the prevailing spirit of the document was retained in large part because Adams defended it so stoutly on the floor. After the July 4 vote, printed copies of the Declaration were sent out to the states and circulated to the army.

The point of no return having been passed in practical terms some months previously, this document now made it official. In the event that the rebels did not prevail militarily, the Declaration would be their collective suicide note. But on

December 26, 1776, Washington's troops crossed the icy Delaware River under cover of darkness and managed a surprise attack on British forces near Trenton, **New Jersey**, thus ending six months of defeat.

More than any other single document, the Declaration captures the ideals and principles of American **republicanism**, just as Lincoln's Gettysburg Address expresses the hopes of American democracy at the end of a civil war that redeemed what the Declaration began. The sense of that connection has been reinforced by the coincidences of history: both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died on July 4, 1826, while the Union victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg fell on Independence Day in 1863—six months before Abraham Lincoln announced the emancipation of slaves in the Confederacy to vindicate “the proposition that all men are created equal.” In its time each was in effect an article of war propaganda with no legal force; both have since become sacred texts, revered yet seldom consulted and often misunderstood. Set in marble, they are, in the words of Garry Wills, “bathed in a light that makes them easy to see but hard to read.”

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### **Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms (1775)**

The Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms was a declaration composed at the outset of the **American Revolutionary War** at the behest of the Second **Continental Congress** by a committee composed of Benjamin **Franklin**, John **Jay**, William **Livingston**, and Thomas **Jefferson**. Later, John **Dickinson** became one of the key contributors to the effort. Congress accepted the final version on July 6, 1775. The document both announced and explained the stance of the North American colonies with regard to **Britain**. The document forms part of a long tradition of British legislative writing.

Declarations were particularly strong statements that served a variety of purposes. These could pronounce a grievance. Likewise, a declaration could serve as an explanation for actions already taken. They did, on occasion, announce and—for all intents and purposes—enact a new policy. In accordance with the preceding aspects of the British legislative tradition, this declaration both explained the grievances of the colonists with regards to the British government and enunciated their decision to take up arms in defense of what they perceived to be their rights.

Several attempts were made at composing this explanation of and justification for the colonial stance. The Continental Congress rejected the first effort, composed by the team of Franklin, Jay, Livingston, and Jefferson, since that body perceived the language contained in the document to be far too conciliatory. Therefore, the Congress called for a second attempt; this time Thomas Jefferson worked only with John Dickinson. Aside from a few paragraphs by Jefferson, the bulk of the composition is Dickinson's work.

This second draft was much more assertive. It described the long series of events that brought about the deterioration in the relationship with Britain, tracing this disintegration back to the changes in government ministers that occurred at the end of the French and Indian War (1756–1763). According to the authors, this series of abuses continued down to the first clashes between British troops and colonists at **Lexington and Concord** and the actions of General Thomas **Gage** in imposing martial law on the city of Boston. In cataloging this long list of grievances, the document opened the possibility for a later declaration of independence on the part of the united colonies. At the same time, it assured the other subjects of the British Empire that this was not what the colonists wanted and held out the slight hope of reconciliation. The declaration, therefore, straddled a fine line between being a strong statement of colonial interests, a justification for their actions, and a sort of ultimatum aimed at the Crown authorities.

The document addressed several other audiences as well, among them the fledgling **Continental Army** under George **Washington**, assembled outside Boston, and King **George III**. It was accepted by the Congress on the same day as another composition by Dickinson, the **Olive Branch Petition**.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

## Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789)

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was a statement of individual freedoms during the **French Revolution** and served as the precursor to the first constitution of the country. The declaration was based on natural law and influenced by the American **Declaration of Independence**. The principles and values enumerated within the declaration continue to form the basis for civil liberties in **France**.

### *The French Revolution*

The debts accumulated by France during the **American Revolution** led **Louis XVI** to call a meeting of the **Estates-General** in 1788. The forum included representatives of the aristocracy (the **First Estate**), the clergy (the **Second Estate**), and the commoners (the **Third Estate**). Once convened, the Third Estate sought to expand the scope of the session and enact a new constitution. After the king tried to dismiss the Estates-General, the delegates of the Third Estate met at a nearby tennis court and took an oath to continue in session. They were joined by the other estates in a new body, the **Constituent Assembly**. The Constituent Assembly began work on a basic law for France that would limit the powers of the monarchy by instituting a representative government, as well as codifying the rights of individuals.

The Constituent Assembly was politically divided between radicals who sought to abolish the monarchy and establish a republic along the lines of the United States on one hand and moderates who favored limited reforms and the creation of a constitutional monarchy similar to that of **Britain**, on the other. This led to continuing disagreements over the specifics of a new constitution. One general agreement that

bound most deputies was that any constitution should be based on the principles of **liberty, equality, and fraternity**.

A committee was appointed to make recommendations on a constitution. On July 9, 1789, the committee issued a report that contended that a constitution could not be produced until the country created a document that detailed the basic rights of its citizens. Once a formal declaration of rights was promulgated, it would form the basis for the later constitution. As a first step, the delegates agreed to draft a document that delineated a series of basic rights for all citizens. As work progressed on the statement, events outside of the Assembly continued to propel the Revolution, including the July 14, 1789, storming of the **Bastille**.

Reflecting the differences within the Assembly, two figures came to dominate the effort to craft a declaration on individual rights. Joseph-Emmanuel **Sieyès** was a former clergyman who became known as a radical and was elected to the Estates-General as a member of the Third Estate. Also known as the abbé Sieyès, he was a strong advocate for a representative assembly and generally considered one of the more radical members of the subsequent Assembly. Joining Sieyès in crafting the declaration was Marie Joseph Paul, the Marquis de **Lafayette**. Lafayette had served as a general in the **Continental Army** during the **American Revolutionary War** and had interacted with the leading minds of the independence movement, including George **Washington** and Thomas **Jefferson**. Lafayette was a leader of a group of liberal **nobility** who sought to develop a constitutional monarchy. As he worked on the declaration, Lafayette consulted regularly with Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the rebels' envoy to France at the time. Lafayette introduced the original version of the declaration in early July 1789.

In a similar fashion to Jefferson and the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Sieyès was responsible for the majority of the content of the final declaration. He incorporated suggestions and revisions by Lafayette and other members of the committee. Lafayette led the subsequent ratification effort. There was considerable debate over the scope of the declaration. Many deputies wanted the declaration to consist of a brief and general statement of principles, while others sought a specific list of rights and a detailed explanation of each provision. Initially, there were 32 proposed articles (later expanded to 37 clauses). In the end, the deputies agreed on 17 brief articles that embodied the principles and spirit of revolutionary philosophy. Louis XVI initially refused to sign the declaration; however, after crowds attacked Versailles, the king reluctantly endorsed the measure on October 5, 1789.

### ***Revolutionary Influences***

Both the radicals and moderates of the Assembly were influenced by a range of philosophical movements of the period, as well as contemporary events. Of particular importance were trends in political philosophy from the **Enlightenment**. The drive for a declaration of rights and a written constitution reflected the concept of the social contract as developed by figures such as John **Locke** and his notions of natural law and limited government as expressed in his influential works *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). Other influences included Charles-Louis de Secondat, the Baron de **Montesquieu**, who popularized the concept of the separation of powers, and Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, whose 1762 work *The Social Contract* asserted that sovereignty should remain

the domain of the people and that government should embody the general will of the people as codified through a constitution.

The declaration drew heavily on the concept of natural law. This concept holds that there is a higher law that exists outside of any social or political systems developed by a country. In order for people to reach their full potential, governments must conform to the tenets of natural law, otherwise equality and justice cannot be achieved. Instead, citizens become marginalized and cannot participate fully in the economic, social, and political sectors. Natural law had its roots in Roman law and the writings of Christian philosophers such as St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). The Declaration of Rights also drew on the philosophy of natural rights developed by figures such as Locke. Natural rights is the doctrine that all people are entitled to certain rights and privileges and that governments cannot violate those rights without losing their legitimacy. Locke believed that foremost among these rights were life, liberty, and property. The English bill of rights (1689) and the U.S. Declaration of Independence embodied the notion of natural rights and served as the forerunners of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

### *The Declaration*

The preamble of the declaration tied the document to the principles of natural law and natural rights. The opening paragraph of the declaration stated that “ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunes and governmental corruption” and underscored the intent of the Assembly to adhere to the “natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man.” In doing so, the preamble also confirmed the aim of the framers that the declaration would serve as the first component of a social contract between the people and the government. As such, the declaration was designed to serve as a permanent reminder of the rights of citizens and the obligation of government to respect those rights.

Unlike the English bill of rights or the **Bill of Rights** in the **United States Constitution**, the Declaration of Rights concentrates on individual liberties. It does not endorse a right to assemble or free association. The declaration rejects special **privileges** for the nobility or clergy, but it does not address the issue of slavery. Nor does it mention women. A separate Declaration of the Rights of Women was written in response in 1791, but it never gained any official status (its author, Olympe de Gouges, was executed in 1793). The document also does not distribute power among regional or local governments. Indeed, other than an endorsement for a separation of powers, the declaration does not deal with the composition or structure of the national government.

After the preamble, the declaration presented 17 articles that elucidated what were described as the “rights of man and the citizen.” Article 1 declared that everyone was born with the same rights and the same degree of freedom. The next clause asserted that governments were formed only to protect the natural rights of citizens. The framers expanded Locke’s three basic rights so that Article 2 stated that everyone should enjoy the right to “liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.”

Article 3 further reinforced the importance of natural law by tying sovereignty directly to the people of France. This section rejected the notion that sovereignty could originate from any single person or group unless it was the will of the people. The article therefore rebuffed the notion of the divine right of kings and the legality

of an inherited monarchy. It also implicitly rejected the class system of the **ancien régime** and the privileges of the First and Second Estates. The clause also enshrined the notion of popular sovereignty, the idea that the people are the source of the legitimacy and authority of the government and the institutions of the state have to be responsive to the will of the people.

Article 4 argued that liberty was the freedom to do what one wanted as long as one's actions did not harm others. In addition, the only constraints on liberty could be imposed through duly enacted law. The fifth and sixth articles stated that the law should only forbid actions that would harm society (or individual systems) and that the legal code should reflect the general will of the people. The sixth article also complemented Article 3 by insisting that all citizens had an equal right to hold public office and factors such as family lineage or wealth should not elevate or disqualify an individual from service. The framers of the declaration envisioned the rise of a civil service based on merit and talent to replace the existing system of public office based on patronage and rank. Finally, Article 12 contended that all "public powers" exist for the benefit of every citizen, not just the elites and those who hold political office.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth clauses dealt with the rights of the accused and matters of criminal law. Arbitrary arrest was prohibited and those who engaged in unlawful detention or torture were to be punished. This part of the document was designed to end the common practice whereby torture was used to extract forced confessions. The declaration called upon all citizens to submit to legal arrest or be tainted by guilt due to resistance. Punishment could only be meted out in accordance with prescribed laws, and *ex post facto* measures were prohibited (people could not be punished for activities committed before such actions or behavior were declared illegal). Finally, anyone suspected of a crime was innocent until proven guilty.

Articles 10 and 11 recognized freedom of religion and freedom of speech. However, unlike the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which provided for the "free exercise" of **religion** and prohibited the establishment of a state religion, the declaration's endorsement of religious liberty was part of a broader statement that everyone had the right to their "opinions," including religion, as long as the "manifestation" of those ideals did not pose a threat to the broader public. Conversely, freedom of speech was more clearly defined. All citizens had the right to "speak, write, and print freely" and these freedoms were identified as among the most important rights in a free society.

The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth articles dealt with taxes and public administration. Many of the French believed that the endemic corruption and inefficiency of the Bourbon dynasty had squandered revenues and resources and created unnecessary taxes. The framers of the declaration sought to ensure transparency in revenue collection and expenditure by the government and to reassure the people of the appropriateness of taxation. In the document, taxes were identified as necessary for the common good, and the declaration endorsed a progressive tax system. It asserted that the burden of taxation should be divided among the population and based on people's ability to pay. This clause overturned the long-standing practice whereby members of the First and Second Estates were exempted from various forms of taxation because of their status or rank. Article 14 argued that taxes had to be implemented with the consent of the people and that the collection and expenditure of revenues had to be transparent. It also asserted that citizens had the ability to



supervise the “apportionment, assessment, and collection, and the duration” of taxes. Article 15 guaranteed that the citizenry had an inherent oversight right of public officials. The notion that public servants would be accountable to the people instead of to the government itself was an innovative concept designed to combat corruption and end bribery. This component of the declaration was implemented through the civil code through the imposition of harsh fines and punishments for illegal conduct in public office. Nonetheless, corruption proved difficult to control and continued to be widespread in France through the nineteenth century.

The sixteenth clause was inserted as a means to continue the drive for a more formal constitution and enshrine the principle of the separation of powers. After considerable wrangling, the deputies agreed to the article that declared any government that does not guarantee basic rights and function with a clear separation of powers “has no constitution.” The insertion of this language was designed to ensure that any future constitution, or any revisions to the declaration, could not strip away the basic rights enumerated in the document.

Article 17, the final clause, affirmed the right to property. Property was declared a “sacred right.” Property could only be confiscated under extreme circumstances when such an act would benefit the broader society. In addition, if property were taken by a legitimate governmental authority, citizens were to be given compensation for their losses. This clause, designed to protect property, would later be used to justify the confiscation of property from some of the aristocracy and the church through the rationale that such land redistribution benefited a greater number of citizens and provided for the common good. Usually compensation was not forthcoming, especially in the case of territory taken from nobles deemed enemies of the state.

### *Influence of the Declaration*

The Constitution of 1791 incorporated the main ideas and concepts of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The constitution created a limited constitutional monarchy and transferred most political and financial authority to the elected **National Assembly**. However, the new moderate government was short lived and was replaced in 1792 by the First Republic, which came to be dominated by the **Committee of Public Safety**. The ideals of the declaration were only partially implemented, although successive governments, including the empire under **Napoleon**, used the rhetoric of the document to claim political authority and legitimacy.

In the colonies, reactions to the declaration were mixed, and different groups developed different interpretations of the document. In Haiti, news of the declaration arrived in September 1789 and divided the colonists. The smaller planters and middle class supported the principles of the Revolution and the ideals of the declaration. The large planters, colonial officials, and wealthy merchants argued that the concept of the “general will” explicated in the declaration allowed the colony to chart its own course (one that would separate the colony from France). The result was civil war between the two groups. In addition, the planter class assumed the property protections in articles 2 and 17 reaffirmed the right to own slaves. Meanwhile, free blacks and slaves used the guarantee of equality and individual rights to justify the rebellion that began in 1791 and resulted in the end of French rule.

The rights and liberties of the declaration were not repudiated by the revolutionary government or the Napoleonic regime; however, these governments only

selectively implemented the principles of the document. Individual rights were often violated, and the democratic principles it championed were routinely ignored. Furthermore, Napoleon argued that he was the embodiment of the general will of the people and used rhetoric based on the declaration to justify his policies. For instance, when he declared himself emperor in 1804, Napoleon contended that his assumption of the title and office reflected the will of the majority. Nevertheless, the values of the Declaration of the Rights of Man were spread throughout Europe as French armies conquered the Continent. One result was increased nationalism throughout Europe, especially in the German states and Poland.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man influenced future French governments. Two other declarations of rights (in 1793 and 1795) supplemented the original document, but only the 1789 measure retained official status after 1815. It was recognized as one of France's founding documents by successive constitutions in 1852, 1946, and 1958. Under the 1958 constitution, which created the Fifth Republic, the constitutional council cited the declaration to annul laws that violated the spirit or intent of the document. The declaration also influenced revolutionary movements in other countries and served as the foundation for the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights, which all members of the European Union must sign before joining the organization. *See also* Amis de la Constitution, Société des; Constitutions, French Revolutionary; French Revolutionary Wars; Haitian Revolution; Philosophes; Republicanism; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Tennis Court Oath; Women (French).

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TOM LANSFORD

### Declaratory Act (1766)

The Declaratory Act clearly stated that **Parliament** has “full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.” Furthermore, the act asserted that “all resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings, in any of the said colonies or plantations, whereby the power and authority of the Parliament of Great Britain to make laws and statutes as aforesaid is denied, or drawn into question, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.” These two binding assertions were intended to quell unrest in the American colonies over the **Stamp Act** (1765) and to clearly state parliamentary prerogatives.

Moreover, the Declaratory Act was designed by Lord **Rockingham** and his advisers to garner support for repealing the Stamp Act. Parliamentary support for the Stamp Act rested on a belief that it was “a tax that would execute itself” and would engender little resistance in the American colonies. In fact, colonial resistance to the measure was both widespread and violent and led to renewed calls for deploying British troops to the North American colonies. Rockingham, who sympathized with colonial grievances, was unwilling to consider increasing troop strength in North America and quietly sought to overturn the contentious tax. The Declaratory Act was passed to satisfy British leaders who feared a diminution of British control in North America and those who opposed rewarding violent and unlawful acts. The Declaratory Act, passed on the same day that the Stamp Act was repealed, asserted British authority over the American colonies.

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JAMES T. CARROLL

### *Le Défenseur de la Constitution* (1792)

In April 1792, Maximilien **Robespierre** resigned his post as public prosecutor at the tribunal of Paris and started the newspaper *Le Défenseur de la Constitution*. The journal provided a forum for Robespierre to respond publicly to his opponents during the reactionary period of the **French Revolution**, a period during which he suffered great anxiety. Robespierre presented the newspaper as an attempt to enlighten the citizenry and rally them to the cause of the constitution and the general interest, to identify the country’s social ills and offer remedies, and to analyze the public conduct of prominent personalities. Within the journal’s pages, Robespierre, the self-styled “Defender of the Constitution” was, in fact, defending the Constitution of 1791, which had established a constitutional monarchy in which the king enjoyed a veto over decisions of the **Legislative Assembly**. Robespierre also used the newspaper in an unsuccessful attempt to win the dismissal or arrest of the Marquis de **Lafayette**, the commander of the army, whom Robespierre suspected of seeking a military dictatorship. *See also* Newspapers (French).

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JEFF SHANTZ

### **Desmoulins, Camille** (1760–1794)

Camille Desmoulins, a member of the **National Convention**, was a pamphleteer and journalist who published *Le Vieux Cordelier* during the **French Revolution**.



Camille Desmoulins. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

Desmoulins was born in Guise, in Picardy, the eldest son of an official of the local court. Encouraged by his father to study law, he won a scholarship to the prestigious Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris, where he met fellow student Maximilien **Robespierre**. After graduating in 1785, Desmoulins practiced law. During his studies he developed an appreciation for the classics and for the **philosophes**, especially **Voltaire** and Helvetius, and a hatred of Christianity. Because of a pronounced stammer, he never became a skilled orator. He possessed an infectious love of life and all the joys of life that he could not always afford.

During the Revolution he vaulted to prominence when he harangued the crowd, urging them to seize the **Bastille**, and when several of his pamphlets, which justified revolutionary violence and advocated popular participation in government, were published. He soon gravitated toward Georges-Jacques **Danton**, who shared his zeal for life, and published a newspaper, *Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant*. His increasing fame enabled him to marry Lucile Duplessis.

Desmoulins attacked the absolute veto power of the king and the creation of a bicameral legislature; participated in the demonstration at the Champ de Mars and the attack on the Tuileries August 10, 1792; denounced Jean-Pierre **Brissot** and his followers; and voted for the death of **Louis XVI**.

When he, along with Danton, urged a lessening of the **Reign of Terror**, Robespierre and others turned against him. At his trial he was allowed neither to defend

himself nor to be present when the death sentence was read. His beautiful wife was executed shortly thereafter.

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LINDA S. FREY AND MARSHA L. FREY

### Dickinson, John (1732–1808)

John Dickinson was born in **Maryland**, studied law in England, and served in both the **Pennsylvania** and Delaware legislatures before the **American Revolution**. He opposed what he considered the arbitrary practices of **Parliament** in relation to the American colonies and was selected as a Pennsylvania delegate to the **Stamp Act Congress** in 1765. His most important political contribution was his pamphlet *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, which began to appear in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, a Philadelphia newspaper, late in 1767. It was also carried by most of the other colonial newspapers and appeared in collected form the following March. Dickinson denounced specific British injustices, notably the suspension of the legislature of **New York** and the **Townsend Acts**, and encouraged colonial resistance without envisioning violence or separation from **Britain**. The *Letters* were read in Britain and **France** as well as in America. British officials sponsored the publication of a reply by the colonial administrator William Knox, *The Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies Reviewed* (1769).

Dickinson continued to oppose the actions of the British government and was a delegate to the first and second Continental Congresses. A moderate, he was reluctant to make a permanent break with Britain, voting against the **Declaration of Independence**. Despite this, he was appointed chair of the committee to draft the **Articles of Confederation**. Dickinson served briefly as an officer in the **Continental Army**, after which he resigned his commission and retiring to the country. In the later stages of the war and afterward, he served in the state governments of Delaware and Pennsylvania. Dickinson attended the **Constitutional Convention** of 1787 as a member of the Delaware delegation. He enthusiastically supported the new **United States Constitution**. Dickinson was also among the most zealous American supporters of the **French Revolution**. See also Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### Diderot, Denis (1713–1784)

The **Enlightenment** philosophe Denis Diderot, editor of the *Encyclopédie*, came to politics late in his career, and his political views and actions were inconsistent.

Diderot distrusted the authoritarian monarchies of eighteenth-century Europe. He had suffered imprisonment and police interference both for his own writings and for the *Encyclopédie* and supported intellectual freedom from political and

religious authority. Unlike other **philosophes** such as **Voltaire**, he never fell under the spell of **Frederick** the Great of Prussia. However, Diderot did flatter Madame de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV of France, early in his career, and **Catherine II** of Russia, whom he visited in St. Petersburg in 1773 and 1774, late in his career. At different times he supported and opposed the hereditary law courts of France, the parlements, identifying them as privileged reactionaries or as defenders of liberty. Diderot deplored European colonialism and collaborated with the abbé Raynal on *Philosophical and Political History of the Establishments and Trade of Europeans in the Two Indies* (1770), a passionate denunciation of the evils of imperialism.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### The Directory (1795–1799)

The Directory was the last and longest-lived government of the **French Revolution**. Traditionally dismissed as a corrupt parenthesis between Maximilien **Robespierre** and **Napoleon**, the regime has benefited from historical reinterpretation in the last half century. Its outright failings—political instability and extremes of wealth and poverty—are now understood to be partially a consequence of the preceding six years' political and social upheaval. Other domains of national life are characterized as experiencing both positive and negative developments. Debate continued over the role of Catholicism in public life, for example, but it was accompanied by efforts to develop religious practices that did not pit traditional belief against **republicanism**. And although France's wars with the crowned heads of Europe continued, they shifted from defensive to offensive. Finally, these years brought greater stability and even improvement to the economy, the world of ideas, and civil society.

Drafted in the wake of the **Prairial insurrection**, the last popular insurrection of the Revolution, the Constitution of 1795 constructed a newly conservative republic. Gone were universal male suffrage and the promises of a right to work and right to insurrection, which, hallmarks of the Constitution of 1793, once strengthened the political power of radical Paris artisans (*sans-culottes*). The new constitution crafted a complex electoral system that permitted a small, propertied elite to choose representatives for France's first bicameral legislature; legislative deputies, divided between the lower **Council of Five Hundred** and upper Council of Ancients, elected the five-man executive Directory from their ranks. Although more conservative, the government was not severed from its radical republican roots: two-thirds of the new legislature was drawn from the ranks of the outgoing **National Convention**, and all members of the executive Directory were regicides. More importantly, the new constitution affirmed rights won in 1789 by guaranteeing **equality** before the law, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly.

Although the constitution was designed to reconcile a bitterly divided population, the Directory and the electorate remained uncertain about what kind of republic France ought to have. Thus, government and voters alike veered between Left and Right to generate the famous “seesaw” politics of the period. First, voters shifted toward the Right in the wake of the radical and democratic Conspiracy of Equals (1796) to elect royalists and men without revolutionary experience in the

legislative elections of 1797. The Directory responded by staging the coup of Fructidor, Year V (September 4, 1797), using military force to annul elections, close royalist newspapers, and send right-wing opponents into exile. Encouraged by this turn of events, Jacobin Clubs revived themselves to organize for the legislative elections of the following year. When they won a majority of available seats, however, the Directory declared this a threat from the Left and staged another coup (Floreal, Year VI; May 11, 1798). Frustrated by such ongoing instability and facing a new threat of war, a few deputies staged the coup d'état of 18 **Brumaire**, Year VIII (November 9, 1799), to dismiss the legislature and replace the five directors with a stronger executive: the three-man **Consulate** headed by **Napoleon**.

The persistent political instability of these years was matched by convulsive social change. Thanks to the Revolution's disruption of old social hierarchies and its opening of careers to talent, new men accumulated fortunes by purchasing nationalized church property or speculating on military contracts. They advertised their new status and celebrated the end of the **Reign of Terror's** public austerity by spending lavishly, gambling, and patronizing the showy balls, restaurants, and theaters of the capital. At the other end of the social spectrum, revolutionaries' abolition of traditional charitable institutions and the suppression of price controls after the Terror decimated working people's meager resources. Struggling unsuccessfully against rampant inflation and the scarcity of bread, many succumbed to malnutrition and famine or turned to suicide when their penury became unbearable.

Religious life continued to suffer from revolutionary turmoil as well, but it was accompanied by concerted efforts to heal divisions that had emerged since 1789. The Directory initially allowed refractory priests (those who refused to accept the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**) to return to their parishes, but it resurrected more radical republican policies after the Fructidor coup of 1797, threatening these same men with deportation once more. Simultaneously, it renewed efforts to purge Catholicism from public life by banning processions and church bells, and attempting to replace Sundays with the revolutionary *décadi* (tenth day). More positively, a few philosophers and legislative deputies fostered the new cult of Theophilanthropy, which integrated belief in God with commitment to reason and natural law. This cult died out even before Napoleon came to power in 1799, but French villages witnessed popular and sustained efforts to integrate republicanism and Catholicism. As the citizens of rural France reconciled free and open worship with revolutionary principles of liberty and popular sovereignty, they created novel political and religious practices that endured into the nineteenth century.

Militarily, the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) allowed France to enjoy a brief but uncertain peace with **Austria** even as French armies continued to expand through the Italian peninsula and undertook an expedition to Egypt under Napoleon's leadership. The Egyptian campaign was a disaster, and French ambitions in Italy ensured that the nation soon found itself at war again with Austria. As this perpetual expansionist war wearied civilians at home, it created a newly professional army that survived on the fruits of conquest and isolated soldiers from the nation, fostering allegiance to commanding officers over commitment to the republic.

Finally, there were dimensions of directorial life that may be considered successful. These were years of important philosophical development as a group of thinkers who called themselves *idéologues* drew on new institutional support to develop the implications of their belief that all thought, even morality, originates in sensory

experience. The economy stabilized slowly, thanks to a series of good harvests and the often-controversial monetary policies of the Directory. Finally, the government imposed greater domestic order, using the army to dispel the banditry and counterrevolutionary activism that sowed uncertainty in the countryside. *See also* Boissy d'Anglas, François Antoine de, Comte; Cisalpine Republic; Constitutions, French Revolutionary; French Revolutionary Wars; Jacobins; Onze, Commission d'; Political Clubs (French).

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LAURA MASON

### **Drayton, William Henry (1742–1779)**

William Henry Drayton was a prosperous colonial **South Carolina** low country planter and an American patriot leader in the **American Revolutionary War** until his death at 37 years of age while a member (1778–1779) of the Second **Continental Congress** in Philadelphia.

Drayton was elected to the South Carolina Provincial Congress (1775) and on November 9, 1775, as the body's president, ordered Colonel William Moultrie, commander of the Second South Carolina Regiment of Foot, to fire on any British naval vessel passing Fort Johnson. Drayton would later command the South Carolina frigate of war *Prosper* in Charlestown Harbor between the first and second sessions of the Provincial Congress.

Drayton first called for independence from Britain in February 1776 and put those words into action by coauthoring and signing South Carolina's first independently adopted constitution on March 26, 1776, making the colony second only to New Hampshire in officially establishing an independent form of government. In July 1776, South Carolina's General Assembly created by that constitution asked Drayton and Arthur Middleton to design the great seal of the state.

Drayton was the only man of that era to be a member of all three branches of state government, having been appointed the first chief justice of the South Carolina courts and elected to the legislature (Saxe-Gotha district) and to the provincial consultative Privy Council of the congress's president. On April 23, 1776, while a member of the state's grand jury, he again urged independence from Britain. This statement was printed in newspapers in the colonies and in Britain and was read before the Continental Congress during the debate concerning the adoption of the Declaration of Independence (summer 1776).

Drayton joined the Continental Congress on March 30, 1778, and soon became aware of the deplorable conditions at the **Continental Army's** winter encampment at Valley Forge, **Pennsylvania**. Drayton's first assignment as a member of the congress was to resolve the food and clothing shortages that plagued General George **Washington's** force and in that regard helped the new commissary general, Jeremiah Wadsworth, develop new regulations and procedures. The committee determined that fraud and waste by some of the commissary department's own officers was the



chief cause of the problem. To help resolve the problem, Drayton was designated the congress's representative to Washington's headquarters. He dismissed the corrupt officials and put procedures in place to prevent further internal profiteering.

Drayton served on five of the eight standing congressional committees (Appeals, Indian Affairs, Marine, Commerce, and Foreign Affairs) in the 16 months before he died; this service exceeded the participation of all the members of the congress except John Baynard of Pennsylvania. William Henry Drayton died three months after his father, John Drayton, died fleeing the British advance on Charleston. *See also* American Revolutionary War.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Duane, James (1733–1797)

Born in 1733 in New York City to a prosperous merchant, James Duane became a successful lawyer and land speculator. After studying law under William Alexander, Duane began to practice on his own in 1754. At roughly the same time, Duane became very involved in land speculation in western **New York**. His business endeavors began just as the relationship between **Britain** and her North American colonies was on the brink of trouble.

He served in the first and second Continental Congresses and remained a strong voice for moderate action. Specifically, Duane initially sought a compromise with Britain and opposed the **Declaration of Independence**. Once acts such as this were passed, however, he would throw his full support behind them. He seemed to believe that once a decision was reached, unanimity and the legitimacy it brought outweighed public pronouncements of personal conviction.

Through the period of his involvement in the Continental Congress, Duane sat on a number of committees, often chairing them. Among the more important of these was the Treasury Committee, which Duane served on from its inception in 1776. Likewise, he served on the committee that helped to draft the **Articles of Confederation**.

In the years following the war, Duane continued his involvement in politics, becoming the first mayor of New York City following the British evacuation in 1784. As the decade continued, and the weaknesses inherent in the Articles of Confederation grew more apparent, Duane emerged as a strong Federalist. He worked diligently for the ratification of the **United States Constitution** of 1787 in New York. Due to failing health, he retired from public life in 1794, dying in 1797. *See also* Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

### Ducos, Pierre-Roger (1747–1816)

French revolutionary and statesman. Born at Montfort in Landes, Ducos practiced law at Dax before the **French Revolution**. He served as president of the criminal tribunal of Landes (1791–1792) and was elected to the **National Convention** as a representative of the *département* of Landes in 1792. He sided with the **Jacobins**, voting for the death sentence for **Louis XVI** and supporting the expulsion of the **Girondins**. In 1794, he was elected president of the Society of Jacobins. He survived the **Thermidorian Reaction** in 1794 and was elected to the Council of Ancients, where he served as a president in September and October 1796. In 1797, in the absence of the incumbent president, Ducos presided at the meeting of the Council of Ancients that approved the coup of 18 Fructidor (September 4, 1797). A year later, he was among the deputies whose election to the **Legislative Assembly** was annulled in the coup of 22 Floréal, Year VI (May 11, 1798). He returned to Landes, where he resumed his presidency over the local criminal tribunal.

After the coup of 30 Prairial (June 18, 1799), Ducos was named to the **Directory** due to the influence of Paul **Barras**. A shrewd man, Ducos supported **Napoleon's** coup d'état of 18 **Brumaire** in 1799 and was nominated one of the three consuls of the Republic, acting in this capacity between November 10 and December 25, 1799. He was then nominated to the **Sénat Conservateur**, where he served as a vice president. He remained loyal to Napoleon for the duration of his reign and was made a member (1803) and grand officer (1804) of the Legion of Honor. However, in 1814, Ducos withdrew his support for Napoleon and voted in favor of his deposition, which won favor from the Bourbons during the First Restoration. Nevertheless, he rallied to Napoleon in 1815 and was named a peer of France during the Hundred Days. During the Second Restoration, Ducos was proscribed as a regicide and was forced into exile in 1816. While traveling in Württemberg, he suffered serious injuries in a carriage accident near Ulm, fell into a coma, and died on March 17, 1816. *See also* Consulate.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Duer, William (1743–1799)

William Duer was a business and political leader during the **American Revolution**. Born in Devonshire, England, he emigrated to the West Indies after inheriting an estate from his father. In 1768, he again relocated to **New York**.

Duer settled in Fort Miller, New York, where his status as a gentleman brought him into the public sphere. In 1773, he was appointed the first judge of Charlotte County and four years later obtained an appointment as a common pleas judge. As the American Revolution approached, he aligned with the moderate Whigs and was elected to New York's Provincial Congress. In 1776, he helped draft the New York State Constitution and served on the state's Committee of Safety. As a delegate to the Second **Continental Congress** from 1777 to 1779, Duer had a hand in passing the **Articles of Confederation**, after which he married Catherine Alexander and returned to private life.

Drawing on political and family connections, he profited as a war contractor in the final years of the Revolution. Shortly thereafter, he helped found the Bank of New York. By 1786, he had resumed public service as a New York assemblyman. From 1789 to 1790, he served under Alexander **Hamilton** as an assistant secretary of the treasury department but was forced to resign after exploiting his position for personal gain.

Duer's life was marred by scandal and financial ruin in the 1790s. After his disgraced exit from public office, he organized the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures but destroyed the company's reputation by speculating with shareholder money. He also managed the Scioto Company's failed effort to purchase a huge tract of land in Ohio. In 1792, he caused a stock panic through an unsuccessful attempt to corner the government bond market. The incident led to reforms in the open bidding system and left Duer with debts that landed him in prison until a few months before his death. *See also* Constitutions, American State.

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ROBERT LEE

### Dulany, Daniel, Jr. (1722–1797)

A colonial statesman and lawyer, Daniel Dulany Jr. was born in Annapolis, Maryland to Daniel Dulany the Elder and Rebecca Smith. His father had immigrated from Ireland as a redemptioner and become a successful lawyer. Daniel Jr. attended Eton and Clare College, Cambridge; studied law at the Middle Temple; and passed the bar in 1746, becoming a barrister in Annapolis in 1747. He married Rebecca Tasker, sired three children, managed his landed properties, was elected to Maryland's colonial assembly in 1751, and was appointed to the colonial council in 1757. Conscious of his rising social station, Dulany secured admission to establishment circles of the colony's proprietor. Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, who appointed him provincial secretary in 1761. Dulany's reputation as a political moderate was based upon his ability to reconcile the interests of all classes.

Following a two-year sojourn in England (1761–1763), he returned to oppose the **Stamp Act** of 1765, anonymously drafting *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament*. Dulany stated the colonists were not *virtually* represented in **Parliament** and that while a tax imposed to regulate trade was legal, a direct internal tax like the stamp tax for the single purpose of raising revenue was illegal because it was imposed by Parliament on the colonists without their consent and thereby violated English common law. His pamphlet was quoted in Parliament to secure the act's repeal. During the **American Revolution**, Dulany remained neutral, refusing to swear loyalty to Maryland's revolutionary government, which displaced proprietors and dispossessed Dulany of half of his estate for his loyalties.

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BARBARA BENNETT PETERSON

### Dunmore, Earl of

*See* Murray, John, Earl of Dunmore

### Dunmore's War

*See* Murray, John, Earl of Dunmore

### Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel (1739–1817)

Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours was a French inspector general of commerce (1774–1776) and a Physiocratic economist who advocated low tariffs and free trade among nations and whose writings (e.g., *On the Export and Import of Grains*, 1764), though suppressed by Louis XV, influenced the capitalism of Scottish economist Adam **Smith**, the author of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776).

His assistance in the preparatory negotiations for the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended the **American Revolutionary War**, led to a lifelong friendship with Thomas **Jefferson**. He helped add a clause in the Treaty of Versailles (1783) calling for a trade treaty between France and Britain and later assisted in the establishment of one (1786). These activities led to his ennoblement, and he became secretary to the **Assembly of Notables** (1787). He was a constitutional monarchist who, as a member of the **Estates-General** (1789), promoted the **Tennis Court Oath**, which asserted the political rights of the people and their representatives over the monarchy—a central principle of the **French Revolution**. Though du Pont accepted the Revolution and was elected president of the **Constituent Assembly** (1790), he attempted to protect **Louis XVI** and **Marie Antoinette**. His opposition to the radical republicans led to his twice being imprisoned and appointed to execution.

After his home was ransacked, he and his family fled to America (1799–1800), where he speculated in land and collaborated with Thomas Jefferson in the promotion of national education and the creation of companies involved in Franco-American trade. His son Eleuthre Irénée began a gunpowder manufacturing enterprise that eventually evolved into DuPont chemicals. Pierre Samuel returned (1802) to France to promote the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and in time became the vice president of the Paris Chamber of Commerce. He later criticized **Napoleon's** policies, helped Prince **Talleyrand** restore the Bourbons (1814), became secretary-general of the provisional government, was made councilor of state by **Louis XVIII**, and fled again to America upon Napoleon's return to power during the Hundred Days (1815).

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Duport, Adrien (1759–1798)

Adrien Jean François Duport, a maverick French revolutionary politician, was born in Paris in 1759. A *noblesse de robe*, he came into prominence when **France** was facing a financial crisis. The Paris **Parlement**, a law court consisting of 144 members, had

been called. In the aristocratic revolt, Duport, a progressive magistrate, was aligned with a radical group of his colleagues, who were demanding major constitutional reforms; specifically, they were opposed to the “despotism” of finance ministers Charles Alexander de Calonne (1734–1802) and Etienne Charles de Brienne (1727–94). He was supported by Louis Philippe Joseph, the duc d’Orléans. The Parlement insisted on calling the **Estates-General**, which was ordered to convene in May 1789, with *parlementaires* like Duport supporting the demands of the **Third Estate**, though it was the **nobility** that had in fact elected Duport to the Estates-General in 1789. Louis XVI headed the liberal faction of the **Second Estate**, with Duport as his advisor. Forty-seven members defected to the Third Estate in June 1789, including Duport, who, it was believed, was supplying arms to the public on the eve of the **French Revolution**. The author of the Great Fear of July 22, 1789, and founder of various secret societies, Duport was becoming a cult figure to many who believed in change by violent means.

Duport made his mark in the **Constituent Assembly** as a brilliant orator and proposed reforms in various areas. He took part in important debates in the summer of 1789 and was instrumental in formulating the anti-feudal decrees of August 4 and the suspensive vote of September 10. From November 12 to December 24, 1789, Duport spelled out an agenda for the police and the judiciary system and called for various measures for the protection of natural rights, including his advocacy of the principle of trial by jury, which he proposed on March 29, 1790. Along with Antoine Pierre **Barnave** and Alexandre, the comte de **Lameth**, Duport was a leading member of the Jacobin Club and opposed **Mirabeau**. This trio, known as the triumvirate, became popular and influential.

Afterward, Duport and others formed a group known as the **Feuillants** (Leaves) in the wake of the flight of the French royal family to **Varennes** on June 20, 1791. A split soon developed among the **Jacobins**, with Duport supporting the notion of a constitutional monarchy and for the stabilization of the Revolution. On July 14, 1791, as a member of the commission established to question the king, Duport opposed the prevalent view that the king was to blame for all of the nation’s ills. A pamphlet two days later proclaimed the formation of the Feuillants, with 264 former Jacobins claimed as members. On September 27, 1791, Duport called for the granting of full **citizenship** to French Jews, and he served as president of the criminal tribunal after the closure of Constituent Assembly on September 29, 1791. Duport was arrested on August 10, 1792, but escaped to Switzerland. He returned to France but left again for exile in Switzerland and died six years later. *See also* Assembly of Notables.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Dutch Revolutions (1780–1848)

A series of revolutions in the **Netherlands** lasting from 1780 to 1848 produced radical changes in the social and political structures of the former Dutch republic,

officially known as the United Provinces of the Netherlands. In the late eighteenth century, with the support of the French, Dutch patriots overthrew the stagnant republican government and established the new but short-lived **Batavian Republic**. **Napoleon** briefly incorporated the Netherlands into his empire, after which the Dutch proposed to establish a constitutional monarchy. At the Congress of **Vienna**, the southern and northern provinces were combined as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Neither side was happy with the imposed arrangement, and in 1830, the southern provinces broke away and formed modern-day **Belgium**. As a whole, the Dutch Revolution drew some inspiration from revolutions and revolutionary ideologies elsewhere, but it also possessed many unique features, largely a product of the distinctive history of the area.

By 1780, the Dutch republic had been in existence for over 200 years, and many Dutch people were beginning to question its effectiveness. Though the republic had been a powerhouse in the seventeenth century, by the eighteenth century its influence had considerably waned because of a staggering public debt and a loss of commercial competitiveness, both the product of a series of wars fought in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By 1714, the Dutch could no longer afford to field a credible army or navy, the population suffered from heavy taxation, and much of its trade and industry had disappeared. A new social class appeared, called *renteniers*, who were not merchants or industrialists but rather investors who lived off interest from investments in the public debt and foreign governments. *Renteniers* were very wealthy but were not active participants in the economic life of the republic.

Under the republic, political control had vacillated between the regent party, generally protective of financial interests, and the supporters of the House of Orange, the leaders of the armed forces. Wealthy elites controlled most of the local and regional politics. By the eighteenth century, as there were no new businessmen making their fortunes in trade or industry, the elites who ruled the towns tended to become entrenched, and few new faces made their way into their ranks. Successive governments were becoming less democratic and more oligarchic and were ruled in the interest of the *renteniers*. There was a tendency toward stabilization, rather than dynamism, in most facets of Dutch life.

The Dutch Revolution involved the dismantling of this comfortable, if stagnant, society, which meant that it would be long process characterized by an often-desperate attempt to find the political will to peacefully reorganize. The process began when a long period of regent rule ended in 1747 and a new stadtholder was appointed from a secondary branch of the line of the House of Orange (the previous stadtholder, William III, left to become king of England and died with no heirs). The Dutch had chosen to return to Orangist leadership because of increasing military instability on the Continent and on the seas. The fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784), however, ended in an embarrassing Dutch defeat, which led many to begin questioning the leadership of the stadtholder. In 1776, with war looming over the **American Revolution**, William V advocated the creation of a Dutch army to contain the French threat, while the regents, on the other hand, wanted a stronger navy to protect trade and commerce, especially in the East Indies. Because of the deadlock between the two groups, the country found itself plunged into a war with neither a navy nor an army. Criticism of the office of stadtholder, and republican leadership more generally, mounted.

In this charged environment, a petty noble from the eastern provinces named Joan Derk van der Cappellen tot den Pol wrote a widely circulated pamphlet called “To the Netherlands People.” Influenced by the ideas of the French **Enlightenment**, it called for the Dutch to receive basic rights, including assembly and a free press. In the end, it summoned the Dutch people to rebellion and told them they would need to arm themselves for the coming days, closing with the statement, “The nation belongs to you, the descendants of the free Batavians.” The pamphlet inspired what became known as the Patriot movement (or Patriot Revolution), which urged democratic reforms in the Dutch polity. Lacking a central mechanism for dissemination, the Patriot movement spread from town to town and through print, with particular strength in the eastern provinces. Slowly but surely, patriots were elected to local offices and put pressure on the other regents by creating new citizen militia called the Free Corps.

While this grassroots movement was slowly working its way through Dutch society, the Free Corps in Utrecht briefly imprisoned the stadtholder William V’s wife, a Prussian princess. Though she was released unharmed, the event became a pretext for intervention, and the Prussian army invaded, occupied Amsterdam, and forcibly disbanded the Free Corps before returning to Prussia. The invasion marked the end of the Patriot Revolution, and its leaders and many supporters fled to **France**. William V’s attempts to restore order afterward were largely unsuccessful. In 1793, the French, with the support of many Patriot refugees, invaded and took over the southern (or Austrian) Netherlands and soon threatened to take over Holland as well. With a divided populace and no money to spend on defense, the republic collapsed without a fight.

Shortly afterward, the Dutch declared a new state, the Batavian Republic, with a constitution that reflected Patriot beliefs, particularly greater democratic representation. At first, the French granted the new state much independence because they wanted to be able to draw off the considerable financial power of the Dutch capital markets. However, the Patriots proved to be divided, and their members quickly dissolved into factions. Their in-fighting hampered the effectiveness of the new republic and in the first 10 years of its existence, little was done to address the most pressing problems of the state.

In 1805, Dutch politician Rutger Jan Schimmelpennick devised and implemented a new system of unified taxation and central administration (based on a division by departments) that seemed to be the answer to many of these problems. Napoleon, however, was impatient and fired Schimmelpennick in 1806, installing his brother Louis as the leader of the Dutch state. Napoleon also grew tired of Louis after he began to suspect him of aiding the Dutch in subverting Napoleon’s continental blockade. He dismissed Louis in 1810 and formally incorporated Holland into the French Empire. With incorporation, the French became responsible for the considerable Dutch debt, which they intended to repudiate, as they had the loans of the former French monarchy. The Dutch debt, however, was held largely by the Dutch people, many of whom depended on it for income, so a system was devised that allowed for partial repayment. Even so, the price of Dutch bonds fell dramatically, and the *renteniers* and charitable foundations who had been living on investment incomes found that much of their wealth evaporated. Dutch society would be very different after the French period.

Once Napoleon was defeated, the fate of the Dutch state was once again up in the air. After the turmoil and excesses of revolutionaries across Europe, all of Europe

entered a phase of deep conservatism, characterized by a desire to create a stable system that would deter any such revolutions from happening again. Bearing this in mind, leading Dutch politicians met and drafted a constitution nominating the Prince of Orange as a constitutional monarch in 1813. Under the proposed new constitution, the king would be the sovereign power over the Netherlands and its colonies. The only constitutional check on his power would come from appointed members of a unicameral legislature. William enthusiastically supported the measure and coined the slogan *Oranje boven* (loosely translated as “Up with Orange”) to support his bid for kingship. The constitution would not have time to take effect, however, before international events took matters out of the hands of the Dutch.

Dutch representatives attended the Congress of Vienna from 1814 to 1815 but were not invited to participate in the major proceedings. Without consulting the Dutch, the British argued for the creation of a United Kingdom of the Netherlands, which would include all 17 provinces that had last been together in the late medieval period under the Burgundians. William would become King William I. The new state, the British believed, would form a stronger barrier against future French aggression. The inhabitants of the Low Countries, long separated by politics and religion, were not so certain.

William had grand plans for his new kingdom and hoped to combine the industrial power of the south with the commercial expertise of the north to create a state that would rival **Britain**. What he did not anticipate was the animosity of the southern provinces toward his rule. The south had remained largely Catholic, and William was a Protestant monarch committed to a policy of freedom of conscience. Other cultural and economic divisions compounded bitter feelings on both sides. In 1830, the French had another revolution and replaced a king that they did not like (Charles X) with one of their own choosing (Louis Philippe). Inspired by this example, the citizens of the southern provinces decided to overthrow William, though they did not possess the strength to do this militarily. Instead, they entered into talks with Britain in which the British granted them independence in return for a guarantee of perpetual neutrality. The southerners decided to call themselves Belgium, after the Roman word for the Low Countries. William I was so disgusted with the Belgian Revolution that he abdicated the throne in 1840, leading to a period of deep pessimism in the Dutch body politic.

Frustrated with the inability to control their own affairs, and confronted by a new and quite aggressive neighbor in the east, Prussia, the Dutch began to come to terms with their new place in the world. In 1848, the Dutch passed a constitution that marked the end of the revolution and was, in many ways, a reflection of the Dutch resignation to their small-power status. It called for direct parliamentary elections (though property qualifications on voting remained relatively high until World War I) and equal legal status for all religious minorities and led to the creation of a statewide system of public education. The 1848 constitution gave the Dutch substantial individual freedom and established the basis of a liberal state that is still in place today.

The Dutch Revolution is not a well-known event outside the Netherlands. Many historians are inclined to dismiss it as largely derivative, a pale reflection of the **nobility** of purpose displayed in the **French Revolution**. This viewpoint does not take into account many of its unique attributes. First, it was a political process that began well before the French Revolution. While it expressed some of the same ideas



and drew on some similar sources, it had striking differences, many of which stem from the fact that the Dutch were getting rid of a republic, not an absolute monarchy. They had a 200-year-old tradition of republican government on which to draw, so their goals tended toward reinvigoration rather than revolution, and the ideology that drove it was unique in European intellectual traditions. Finally, it drew on a far broader base of support than most other revolutions. The inclusion of **religion** and religious language increased its support among many members of the urban middle classes, the grassroots efforts of the Patriots brought revolutionary ideology to a broad cross-section of the Dutch population, and the Constitution of 1848 legally recognized the contribution of religious groups. In short, the crisis in the Dutch state was not a derivative crisis, as its origins were in the uniquely Dutch domestic tradition, but it could not be played out independently because of repeated foreign intervention—Prussian, French, and British—which shaped and changed its direction.

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LAURA CRUZ

### Dyer, Eliphalet (1721–1807)

Eliphalet Dyer was a jurist, military officer, and colonial and revolutionary leader from Windham, **Connecticut**. He graduated from Yale College in 1740, after which he worked as a town clerk and received an appointment as a captain in the Connecticut militia. Following his admittance to the bar in 1746, he became a justice of the peace and was elected a deputy to the Connecticut General Assembly.

In 1754, Dyer led the organization of the Susquehanna Land Company, which attempted to colonize land in northeastern **Pennsylvania** for Connecticut's rapidly growing population. Using Connecticut's colonial charter to justify expansion, the company obtained a questionable Indian title to the Wyoming Valley at the Albany Congress. Connecticut and Pennsylvania wrangled over the claim for the next 30 years. When the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) prevented settlement of the Wyoming Valley, Dyer continued his military and political service. He was appointed a lieutenant colonel of a Connecticut regiment in 1755 and resumed work in the General Assembly, as a deputy from 1756 to 1762, and an assistant from 1762 to 1784.

An unsuccessful trip to Britain as an agent for the Susquehanna Company in 1763 marked the beginning of Dyer's waning allegiance to the British Empire. He registered his radical views as a delegate to the **Stamp Act Congress** in 1765. As the **American Revolution** neared, Connecticut's legislature appointed Dyer a delegate to the First **Continental Congress**, where he readily supported the movement toward

independence. During the war, he served on the Continental Congress and the Connecticut Committee of Safety.

In 1784, an agrarian reform movement pushed Dyer from his position on the Governor's Council. That same year, Pennsylvania was awarded the title to the Wyoming Valley. Dyer maintained his 1766 appointment to the Connecticut Superior Court, where he spent his final four years as chief justice, until 1793, after which he retired to his estate in Windham.

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ROBERT LEE

# E

## Eden, Sir Robert (1741–1784)

Sir Robert Eden, a member of a prominent Durham landed family, was the last colonial governor of **Maryland**. Commissioned in the British Army in 1757, he saw service with the Coldstream Guards in Germany during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). In 1765, he married Caroline Calvert, the sister of the lord proprietor of Maryland, Frederick Calvert, Baron Baltimore. In 1768 his dissolute brother-in-law appointed Eden governor of the province, and in June 1769 Eden and his family arrived in Annapolis.

Eden was appointed at a time when it was difficult to be an American colonial governor; the feudal character of Maryland's charter left little scope for local autonomy, and Baron Baltimore's character complicated disputes over the establishment of the Anglican Church and the assessment and payment of official fees together with the question of naturalization—the latter an important issue given Maryland's large German, non-Anglican population. Friction over imperial regulations only complicated matters, yet Eden, a diplomatic and affable man, remained popular and sympathized with colonial aspirations. His moderation led him to recommend the repeal of the **Tea Act** of 1773, and although absent from Maryland on family business in London during the final crisis of 1774, he later returned to Maryland. Faced with the Annapolis Convention, an ad hoc radical organization that had assumed power, Eden continued to act as though nothing had happened and remained governor, if in name only, until April 1776.

In April 1776 his letter to the government in London asking for the aid of a regular British regiment to help secure Crown authority was intercepted by the local revolutionary commander, General Charles Lee, and led to what was perhaps the most important episode during his governorship. When Lee ignored the proper local state channels and sent the letter to John **Hancock**, president of Congress, Hancock demanded Eden's arrest and sent troops to Annapolis to arrest Eden. Maryland's executive, the Council of Safety, refused to hand Eden over and had him escorted to HMS *Fowey*. Eden's departure on June 26, 1774, not only marked the end of proprietorial rule in Maryland but also signified the first expression of the states' rights position in the developing American federal union.

Created a baronet in October 1776, Eden and his wife were awarded compensation for the litigation over their proprietary rights in Maryland by a British parliamentary act of 1781. Eden returned to Maryland in 1783 to secure family rights to confiscated lands but died in Annapolis in September 1784. *See also* American Revolution; Carroll, Charles; Dulany, Daniel, Jr.; Paca, William.

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RORY T. CORNISH

### Edict of Versailles (1787)

King **Louis XVI** of **France** issued the Edict of Versailles, also known as the Edict of Tolerance, which granted French Jews and Protestants (Huguenots) civil status within Roman Catholic France and guaranteed them the freedom to practice their faiths. The Huguenots had originally been granted the same rights accruing to French Catholic subjects and the freedom to practice their faith when Henry IV (1586–1610) of France signed the Edict of Nantes (April 13, 1598), but that freedom was revoked by Louis XIV in his Edict of Fontainebleau (October 18, 1685), also known as the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The French revolutionary **National Assembly** restored the civil rights of the Huguenots in December 1789; however, it was not until the complete separation of the French government and the de facto state Roman Catholic Church in 1905 that there was complete religious freedom in France.

The Edict of Nantes granted the Huguenots the following freedoms: to worship in the Protestant manner in approximately 200 towns under the governance of Protestant lords; to practice their trades and participate in all political processes; and to bring disputes before special courts, called *Chambres de l'Edit*, composed of equal numbers of Catholic and Protestant judges. The edict also established 70 places where Protestants could seek refuge if they felt it necessary to flee. These freedoms allowed the party of French Protestants, also known as the *Cause*, to increase sufficiently in size, independence, and economic importance to give pause to Louis XIII (reigned 1610–1643) and his chief minister from 1624 to 1642, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642). Richelieu used the Protestant riots of 1621–1622 as an excuse to revoke the privileges granted to Protestant enclaves, except Montauban and La Rochelle, the latter of which was later laid siege to in 1628, and again in 1629, resulting in the Peace of Alais. Although he had promised continuing religious tolerance, Richelieu revoked the political privileges and power of the Huguenots.

The religious privileges granted by the Edict of Nantes slowly eroded under Louis XIV, and the conversion of Protestants to Catholicism was promoted. Louis XIV eventually revoked all freedoms given to the Protestants with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Fearing increased persecution, between 200,000 and one million French Protestants responded by fleeing France. Though Louis XV (1710–1774) continued to allow the persecution of Protestants—Protestant baptisms and marriages were, for example, declared null and void—anti-Protestant laws were rarely used after the Calas Case (1762–1664). No Protestant property was seized after this time, few Protestant clergy and no Protestant laity were hanged, and raids on

open-air religious meetings ceased. As toleration of challenges to French Catholicism by French intellectuals and **philosophes** such as **Voltaire** and **Diderot** in eighteenth-century Paris grew, the city became a refuge for the more vocal Protestants.

Louis XVI's Edit of Versailles (Tolerance) again allowed French Protestants to openly practice their religious faith and again recognized Protestant baptisms and marriages. Louis XVI had been encouraged in this action by French philosophical and literary personalities, the most persuasive of which was Anne-Robert-Jacques **Turgot**, and by Americans such as Benjamin **Franklin**. *See also* Religion.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Ellery, William (1727–1820)

William Ellery, one of the **Rhode Island** signers of the **Declaration of Independence**, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, in December 1727. After graduating from Harvard College when he was just 15 years old, Ellery first worked as a merchant and as a customs collector. He began practicing law at the age of 49.

An active member of the Rhode Island **Sons of Liberty**, Ellery was elected as a delegate to the **First Continental Congress** in May 1776. For the next two years, he served on 14 different congressional committees. During the **American Revolution**, the British burned Ellery's property in retaliation for his wartime activities. In 1779, members of Congress appointed him to serve on the Board of Admiralty. Much of Ellery's work in Congress dealt with commerce and naval affairs. When it came time for representatives to sign the Declaration of Independence, legend holds that Ellery seated himself beside the secretary so that he could easily see the expressions on their faces as they signed the document that could have turned out to be their death warrants.

Ellery was active in Congress until his retirement in 1786. That year he was appointed commissioner of Rhode Island's Continental Loan Office. He was also elected the chief justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court. Ellery had served in this position for four years when he was appointed by George **Washington** to be the customs collector for the Newport district. He remained in this post until his death 30 years later in February 1820.

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NICOLE MITCHELL

### Emigrés

Thousands of people from all socioeconomic backgrounds left **France** during the era of instability that followed the fall of the **Bastille** in 1789. However,

contemporaries and historians alike typically reserve the term “émigré” to describe those members of the **nobility** and elite classes who departed and settled in cities such as London, Hamburg, Vienna, and Coblenz. Revolutionaries had grounds to worry that exiles such as the Prince de Condé and the comte d’**Artois** (the future Charles X) would prompt European aristocrats and monarchs to take the field as a counterrevolutionary force. Demonized as traitors by the revolutionaries, the émigrés typically considered themselves more truly French and more genuinely patriotic than the revolutionaries themselves.

At least 150,000 nobles, clergymen, and commoners had emigrated from France by 1793. Approximately 30,000 people had left the country because of the **French Revolution** by early 1792. This exodus prompted the fear that counterrevolution was brewing along France’s borders and thus provoked a declaration of war from the French government. The war and the **Reign of Terror** encouraged many who had been hesitating or who had believed that the Revolution would be of short duration to leave. Although attention has focused on the first category of émigré, nobles comprised only about 17 percent of the total; among the nobility, 35 percent had served as officers in the French army. The clergy represented a further 25 percent of the émigrés, and the vast majority of those served as parish priests and in other positions low in the church hierarchy. Hence, over half of the émigrés were from the middle class, working class, or peasantry. Their experiences as émigrés would have been comparable to those of refugees in subsequent conflicts, as they typically lacked resources, personal connections, or warm receptions in their new countries. Even members of the nobility often found themselves impoverished after a few years in exile, and few intended to make their stays abroad permanent.

Following the fall of the Bastille, **Louis XVI** ordered his brothers into exile so that they could represent the monarchy at foreign courts and preserve the dynastic line in case of regicide. After a period in **Italy** and then **Belgium**, the comte d’Artois established a court in exile at Coblenz in imitation of Versailles. He also attempted to construct a counterrevolutionary army comprised of erstwhile members of the French army who had gone into exile because of their noble birth or political convictions. His supporters attempted to prepare cooperative actions with counterrevolutionaries within France, especially with the **Chouans**, and with those in the Vendée, Lyon, and Toulon. The soldiers fought courageously and, they believed, patriotically under the leadership of French officers or those from **Britain**, Prussia, **Austria**, and Russia.

Meanwhile, the Prince de Condé organized his own émigré army based in Worms. The Austrian and Prussian governments worried about the émigrés within their borders and the extent to which they would be implicated by their actions. After ignoring Condé’s army, they then placed it under the control of an Austrian general in 1793. The army spent several years posted along the Rhine River then passed under the successive control and financing of the British, Austrians, and Russians. The army was dissolved in 1801, at which time the Prince de Condé settled in London with his son, who had in turn organized an army and engaged in failed military operations, such as that of 1795 in the Vendée.

Louis Auguste le Tonnelier, the Baron de Breteuil, became prime minister in exile. After his departure from Paris, he briefly stayed at a spa town in Germany before settling in Switzerland, whence he negotiated with European monarchs to obtain their financial and military backing for a counterrevolution. Louis XVI’s

brothers both intensely disliked him, yet he enjoyed the support of the queen, and he organized the monarchs' failed escape from Paris in 1791.

The vast majority of émigrés never participated in military campaigns or lobbied foreign monarchs. Most simply attempted to reestablish their lives abroad, hoping to return home as soon as possible. Emigrés tended to concentrate in a few neighborhoods in a select number of European cities, such as Hamburg, Coblenz, Aix-la-Chapelle, and London. Hamburg lay between Russia and Britain; it also possessed urban attractions and an urbane culture that attracted 40,000 émigrés. London became home to about 25,000 émigrés. Provincial nobles from Brittany, Poitou, and Anjou congregated in the West End, where they attempted to re-create a semblance of the social life they had known. Salons sprung up almost as soon as an émigré community formed. Madame de Genlis in Hamburg and Madame de Polastron in London supervised such gatherings, at which fellow exiles could exchange news, participate in intellectual life, and form or reform friendships. As time passed and financial resources dwindled, the émigrés relied upon each other even more.

Journalism became an important means of establishing community and reaffirming an émigré's sense of French identity. Jean-Gabriel Peltier, the abbé de Calonne, Jacques Regnier, and several other editors published newspapers for the émigrés in London. The editorials stressed the patriotism and loyalty of the exiles. They also derided French cultural activity during the years of the Revolution and idealized a vague moment when French life had been characterized by good etiquette, gentility, honor, and general benevolence. The newspaper publishers also enabled fellow émigrés to obtain jobs and make connections. In the most notable case, the impoverished émigré François-René de Chateaubriand met his first publisher, obtained work as a translator and as a tutor, and secured sustenance from the Royal Literary Fund because of Peltier's efforts.

The vast majority of émigrés returned to France during the Restoration. **Napoleon** offered a partial amnesty in October 1800, but very few royalists followed the example of the Baron de Breteuil by accepting. All but 1,000 émigrés were allowed to return by April 1802. Those who had lost property during the Revolution and returned to France received compensation, totaling 1 billion francs, from **Louis XVIII**.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

### ***L'Encyclopédie* (Diderot and d'Alembert, 1751–1765)**

The *Encyclopédie* was an encyclopedia that appeared in **France** between 1751 and 1765 under the editorship of two of the most prominent **philosophes** of the French **Enlightenment**, Denis **Diderot** and Jean Le Rond **d'Alembert**. Originally planned as a French translation and expansion of Ephraim Chambers's 2-volume English *Cyclopedia* (1728), it ballooned to 35 volumes of text, plates, supplements, and index, and nearly 72,000 entries. It drew on the resources of well over a hundred contributors

(including **Voltaire** and Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**) in addition to plagiarizing articles from Chambers.

The editors had great difficulty getting the book out, due to both its size and troubles with the French government over its content. D'Alembert quit in 1759, the same year the French government formally banned the *Encyclopédie*, leaving Diderot to finish the work with the collusion of some government ministers. The work's political difficulties persisted long after its publication, as it had to be published outside France and smuggled in.

The editors and many of the contributors conceived of the *Encyclopédie* not as a mere reference book but as a contribution to the progress of human society. Although the principal audience of the *Encyclopédie* was French, its mission of enlightenment was universal. The contributors were of varying political and religious opinions—some were quite conservative—but the dominant voice of the *Encyclopédie* was opposed to the existing order of church and state. In religious terms, it was anti-clerical, strongly in favor of religious toleration, and in places anti-Christian, deistic, and even atheistic.

The general political attitude of the *Encyclopédie* emphasizes that governments and rulers should be evaluated according to the degree to which they provide a better life for the common people. Although some monarchs are praised, the important criteria by which they are judged is not glory in war or religious devotion, but justice and concern for their subjects. Aristocrats are frequently contrasted unfavorably with the common people, as in the article “People.” Well-being was defined largely in economic terms—in addition to its famous articles on the crafts practiced in the eighteenth century, the *Encyclopédie* contains a more extensive and systematic treatment of economics and finance than previous encyclopedias, with some articles that look forward to the doctrines of the **Physiocrats**. Cross-references were used to make political points—at the end of a short article on France that emphasized the country's flaws, readers were directed to articles on taxes and toleration, leading them to conclude that high taxes and lack of religious toleration were harming the country. Not only economic wealth contributed to human well-being, however; so did freedom. Some articles in the *Encyclopédie* denounced contemporary slavery, although others accepted it as a fact of life. *See also* Anti-Clericalism; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### **Enghien, Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon-Condé, Duc d' (1772–1804)**

Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon-Condé, the duc d'Enghien, the last member of the house of Condé, a distinguished cadet branch of the royal house of France, was executed after his implication in an assassination attempt on **Napoleon**.

The duc d'Enghien was the only son of Louis II, Prince de Condé, and the sister of the duc d'**Orléans** (Philippe Egalité). Shortly after the fall of the **Bastille** and the



outbreak of the **French Revolution**, d'Enghien emigrated from France. While in exile, he attempted to raise an army to restore the Bourbon monarchy and participated in an ill-fated invasion of France in 1792. The duc d'Enghien continued to serve in the Condé army under the command of his father and grandfather until the dissolution of that force following the peace of Lunéville in 1801. He married Princess Charlotte, niece of Cardinal de Rohan, and settled at Ettenheim in Baden.

In early 1804, French police investigations connected the duc d'Enghien to the Cadoudal-Pichegru conspiracy against then **First Consul** Napoleon. The evidence against d'Enghien was dubious, yet Napoleon ordered his arrest. French gendarmes secretly and illegally crossed the Rhine into Baden to seize Enghien, bringing him to Strasbourg in March 1804. He was then brought to the castle of Vincennes for a hasty military trial. Further investigations revealed Enghien's probable innocence in the conspiracy. He was nevertheless charged with bearing arms against France in the late war and for intending to join the new European coalition being formed against Napoleon. Enghien's execution vilified Napoleon in the eyes of the European aristocracy and counterrevolutionaries. One of Napoleon's ministers, Prince **Talleyrand**, later remarked that the execution "was worse than a crime; it was a mistake." See also Cadoudal, Georges; Emigrés.

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ERIC MARTONE

### **English Militia Act (1757)**

The English militia was initially formed during the reign of King Alfred of Wessex. The militia served as an auxiliary force whose activities were documented for the first time between 1558 and 1604. They subsequently operated in the periods from 1648 to 1735, 1757 to 1831, and 1852 to 1908.

Historically the militia was responsible to the high sheriff, but after some time they became answerable to the lord lieutenant. Because the militia was a local country-based group recruited for home defense, it usually consisted of local landowners, who could rise to officer status. It was primarily a voluntary force: ballots were used for recruitment purposes if the militia required supplementing. Clergy, soldiers, and some other sectors in English hierarchical society were exempt. The 1662 Militia Act was the basic foundation of the organization and was enforced until 1908. During the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, the militia showed themselves quite ineffective as a result of practices stemming from the Militia Act of 1662. George Townshend (1724–1807) and William Pitt the Elder, Earl of **Chatham** (1708–1778), thoroughly revised the militia.

The passage of the Militia Act of 1757 under William **Pitt** the Younger's coalition government resulted in riots when recruitment and quotas became the responsibility of the individual rather than of the country parishes. The act was land based, and males ages 18 to 45 were eligible for service. Anyone unable to serve was ordered to pay the princely sum £10, a huge amount by contemporary standards. The militia forces were trained on an annual basis, in case of a threat to the country. Despite the discontent of the populace, militia regiments based on selective recruitment appeared throughout England and Wales. While the provisions of the Militia Act dealt with matters of home

defense, provisions allowed for regular army troops, answerable to the king, to fight the nation's conflicts abroad. Thus, with **Britain** herself well protected throughout the eighteenth century, the army was well prepared when the Seven Years' War began in 1756. Conscription in the militia became mandatory in 1758.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Enlightenment

The Enlightenment was a European intellectual and cultural movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that instigated revolutionary developments in politics, culture, and philosophy. The term itself is relatively new, being first used in English to refer to a historical period in the late nineteenth century; thus it is a later construction projected back onto the eighteenth century.

Driven by **philosophes**, the Enlightenment tradition became associated with the use and the celebration of reason to understand the universe and to improve human lives. The term “Enlightenment,” however, is not limited to intellectual history alone but also includes various political and social reforms that it inspired. Its character and achievements are still debated. The movement produced many prominent thinkers, among them **Voltaire**, Denis **Diderot**, Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, the Marquis de **Condorcet**, and Charles de **Montesquieu** in **France**; Thomas Hobbes, John **Locke**, Edward Gibbon, and Jeremy Bentham in England; David **Hume** and Adam **Smith** in Scotland; Immanuel **Kant**, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, and Johann Wolfgang von **Goethe** in Germany; Cesare Beccaria in Italy; and Thomas **Jefferson** and Benjamin **Franklin** in America. Proponents of the Enlightenment agreed on many broad principles, but they disagreed and often clashed about how these concepts should be implemented.

The intellectual origins of the Enlightenment can be traced to the humanism of the Renaissance, which encouraged scholarly interest in classical texts and values and are intertwined with the ideals of the Age of Reason and the scientific revolution. The Enlightenment, although principally a French movement, was a European phenomenon, while some of its contributions came from across the Atlantic. The key factor to this intellectual movement was a change in how men thought about the world around them. The successes of the scientific revolution convinced educated Europeans of the power of human reason. Increasingly, they applied critical and constructive reason to examine available knowledge and search for ways to improve human society. Such new thinking was not limited to the realm of science alone but was applied to the arts, politics, literature, theology, and other fields. The philosophes believed in human progress (or the possibility of it) and in the ability of reason to promote such progress for the benefit of all humankind.

In this search for progress, the philosophes tended to become materialistic in outlook and empirical in approach. They distrusted dogmas, irrational doctrines, and traditional institutions. **Religion** was a prime target of this scholarly inquiry,

which led to the rise of deism, a rational religion that combined elements of classical theology with a new critical view. Deism suggested the existence of one God, an architect who created the universe but then refrained from interfering in its development. This was an important break from the prevailing theist belief in a God who actively intervenes in the affairs of men. Further inquiry into religious issues led to skepticism, atheism, and materialism. To the philosophes, what was natural was also good and reasonable, and many believed that reason could be applied to discover natural laws or laws that govern human nature—and society in general. Many thinkers admired the English political system (despite its many deficiencies) and envied the liberties that the English had won in the late seventeenth century. The English political system, thus, served as an inspiration to the philosophes on the Continent in their quest to reform governments and free society from restrictions.

The English were the early pioneers of the Enlightenment tradition, and their Protestant faith certainly facilitated this. The English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) had a profound effect on the intellectual movement as they set forth ideas on human nature and the role of government. In his famous *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes explored the founding principles of human societies and their governments. He argued that, in their natural condition, people were cruel, greedy, and selfish and humankind would find itself in a state of conflict for resources and power, which Hobbes famously summarized as *bellum omnium contra omnes* (war of all against all). To escape this “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” life, Hobbes suggested, people entered into a social contract by which they gave up their natural rights for an organized society. Thus, laws and government were necessary to control the selfish nature of man. Hobbes favored a strong authoritarian monarch who would impose order, represent the will of all, and act on behalf of all members of society. Hobbes had written his book amid the English Civil War, and this explains his argument in favor of a strong central authority to prevent civil strife and discord.

Locke developed an alternative to the Hobbesian view. In his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), he disagreed with Hobbes on human nature and argued that it was characterized by reason, morality, and tolerance. He argued that people had certain natural rights, that is, rights that belonged to all humans from birth. These included the right to life, liberty, and property. Locke suggested that a government could only be legitimate if it received the consent of the governed through a social contract and protected natural rights for the public good. If a ruler/government failed to secure this public good, then he/it forfeited this contract and could be removed through a rebellion. The idea of a people’s right to revolution was a radical one indeed, and it echoed across Europe over the next decades. Locke opposed authoritarianism and instead argued in favor of conditional power.

In the eighteenth century, France became the heart of the Enlightenment and produced many of the leading thinkers of this intellectual movement. Among the early thinkers was Charles de Secondat, the Baron de Montesquieu, who studied the governments of various European states and published a sharp criticism of absolute monarchy in his *The Spirit of the Laws* in 1748. Montesquieu wrote admiringly of **Britain’s** constitutional monarchy and disapproved of the authoritarian power of the French kings. He oversimplified the British political system and felt that it was possible to avoid absolutism by dividing the various functions and powers of government among three separate branches: the legislative, executive, and judicial.

Each of them would be able to serve as a check on the other two and, the whole system thus depended on a system of checks and balances.

Montesquieu's compatriot François-Marie Arouet took the name Voltaire and used his biting wit as a weapon to expose contemporary society and its abuses. His sharp tongue made him numerous enemies at court, and he was twice sent to prison and later exiled to England. Voltaire came to admire the relative laxity of the English system of government, and after returning to France, he ridiculed and criticized French laws and customs, government officials, and aristocrats and battled against inequality, injustice, religious prejudice, and superstition. In his novel *Candide*, Voltaire sent his hero traveling across Europe and the Americas in search of "the best of all possible worlds" and used his experience to expose the hypocrisy, abuses, and corruption of contemporary European society. In *Philosophical Letters*, Voltaire explored the benign effects of religious toleration, which he defended in practice in the court cases of Jean Calas (1762) and the Chevalier de la Barre (1766).

In 1747, Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert embarked on a monumental task of producing a quintessential summary of knowledge, which resulted in the 35 volumes of the famous *Encyclopédie*. Despite fierce opposition from the church and nobility, the first 28 volumes were published between 1751 and 1766, and an additional 7 volumes in 1777 and 1780. Many leading thinkers, among them Voltaire, Baron d'Holbach, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Montesquieu, Louis de Jaucourt, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, contributed to over 70,000 articles that eventually constituted this massive project. As Diderot wrote, "the purpose of an encyclopedia is to collect knowledge disseminated around the globe; to set forth its general system to the men with whom we live, and to transmit it those who will come after us." The *Encyclopédie*, however, did more than just compile information on human knowledge but rather analyzed it in a critical manner and served as a means of challenging existing traditions, views, and superstitions. In their essays, the philosophes criticized political and social arrangements of the day, condemned **slavery and the slave trade**, urged education, and called for freedom of expression. It naturally caused a strong reaction, and critics condemned it as an attack on public morals. However, the *Encyclopédie* enjoyed unprecedented popularity and played an important role in fermenting the intellectual debates leading up to the **French Revolution**. Translated into other languages, the *Encyclopédie* also facilitated the spread of Enlightenment ideas throughout Europe and across the Atlantic.

Probably the most controversial thinker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau came from a different background than most of the French philosophes. Born into a poor Swiss family, Rousseau felt detached from the glittering social world of the upper-class society that surrounded Voltaire and Montesquieu. He disagreed with their reliance on reason and suggested that people should instead rely more on their emotion and instinct. In 1760, Rousseau's *New Eloise* described the beauties of nature and the pleasures of simple country life. Two years later, his *Emile* used the novel form to discuss the importance of education in the development of human personality. Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755) and *The Social Contract* (1762) became two of the most important and influential works in Western political philosophy. In the *Discourse*, Rousseau, like Locke, contended that man was good natured in his natural state but was prone to be in competition with his fellow men. To protect themselves, men chose to adopt institutions of law and government or perish. Thus, they joined their forces in a social contract to form a civil society that would provide peace for

everyone and protect the right to property. However, the new society and its concept of private property corrupted men and benefited the wealthy at the expense of the disadvantaged. As a result, society compels its members to hate one another and leads to a conflict of interests.

The opening line of *The Social Contract* was sensational for its time, as its author declared that “man was born free but everywhere he is in chains.” Rousseau argued that the social contract described in his *Discourse* was fraudulent for benefiting only the few and must be replaced by a new, genuine contract that would benefit all members of society. Rousseau described this society as united by a general will (*volonté générale*) into a republic that would seek to further public good. Thus, Rousseau’s view differed greatly from Hobbes’s, whose social contract was an agreement between a society and its government. Rousseau instead argued that it was an agreement among free individuals to create a society and a government. Rousseau’s views find more affinity with Locke, but unlike him, Rousseau calls for a much broader democracy and champion individual freedoms.

He suggested that in return for surrendering their natural rights, the fulfillment of which depended on each individual’s will and strength, members of civil society would enjoy civil rights that would be protected and enforced by the entire community. Rousseau argued that sovereignty should be in the hands of the people, while the government would be responsible for implementing and enforcing the general will of the people. He was opposed to the idea that the people should exercise sovereignty through their representatives (deputies) in an assembly but rather advocated direct democracy that would allow the people, as a collective group, to express their sovereign will in the laws that these very same people would then obey as private individuals. To Rousseau, such laws would be inherently just since no society would make laws detrimental to itself. In this new society, Rousseau contended, Christianity would be unnecessary, since it was unable to teach citizens the true republican virtues of patriotism, courage, and virtue. Instead, he suggested a new civil religion that would instill citizens with republican virtues. Rousseau’s idea that man was good by nature conflicted with the Christian principle of original sin and led to the condemnation of his books.

Rousseau’s ideas had a profound influence on the French revolutionaries, especially the radical Jacobin faction that eventually succeeded in establishing a French republic in 1792. However, his views were also extorted and exploited to justify the excesses of the **Reign of Terror**, when thousands were executed and civil liberties were curtailed in the name of protecting the public good. Rousseau’s criticism of private property also makes him one of the forerunners of socialism.

The Italian Cesare Bonesana Beccaria (1738–1794) criticized the contemporary justice system and argued that laws existed not to avenge crimes but to preserve social order and seek the greatest good for the greatest number of people. In 1764, he published his book *On Crimes and Punishments*, which condemned common abuses of justice, including arbitrary and cruel punishments, lengthy and irregular trials, and the torturing of suspects and witnesses. Beccaria believed that the accused had the right to a speedy trial and that the degree of punishment should consistent with the seriousness of the crime. He wanted to prohibit torture and abolish capital punishment.

Some philosophers, known as **Physiocrats**, focused on economic reforms and sought to use natural laws to create a rational economic system. They argued against

mercantilism, which required government regulation of the economy and emphasized the importance of acquiring wealth in the form of gold and silver through trade. In contrast, the Physiocrats advocated the development of extractive industries (agriculture, mining) and the adoption of a laissez-faire policy in which the free market would be allowed to regulate business activity. The British economist Adam Smith, who described the free-trade theory in his influential work, *The Wealth of Nations*, in 1776, emerged as one of the most important Physiocrats. Smith tried to explain that the marketplace was better off without any government regulation and that trade, manufacturing, and economic growth were all linked to the market forces of supply and demand. When there is a demand for goods or services, Smith explained, supplies will seek to meet it in order to attain profits and other economic rewards. Government should avoid unnecessary involvement in the economy and instead concentrate on protecting society, administering justice, and providing public works. Smith's ideas had a profound influence as they shaped the productive economies of the European powers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

One of the greatest Enlightenment thinkers was Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who disagreed with many philosophes. He believed that reason could not answer the problems of metaphysics, that is, philosophical issues dealing with spirituality, God, human freedom, beauty, and immortality. He asserted that reality consisted of the physical and spiritual worlds, each requiring different methods for knowing. While reason and the senses could be used in the physical world, the spiritual world could be understood only through faith and intuition. Kant conceived his critical philosophy in direct reaction to the ideas of David Hume, a towering figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, who believed that man is more a creature of sensitive and practical sentiment than of reason and considered philosophy. Hume shaped several key economic concepts, arguing that wealth consisted of commodities, not money, and that the amount of money should be maintained in balance with the number of goods in the market. He opposed mercantilism and argued that no nation can survive on exports and bullion.

The Enlightenment thinkers were predominantly men and, despite their progressive views on many subjects, they often took a traditional view toward women. Rousseau, thus, argued in favor of limited education for girls, who had principally to be trained in how to be a good wife and mother. His famous novel *Emile* viewed women exclusively through the eyes of men and in relation to them. In 1772, Antoine-Léonard Thomas, in his *Essay on Women*, praised women but accused them of moral laxity and frivolity and brought about a new spirit in society. In response, Louise d'Epinay challenged Thomas's view of the difference between men and women and asserted that both genders are by nature the same. This issue was further explored by female writers who sought to improve the social status of their gender. In the 1690s, Mary Astell, in her *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, condemned the lack of educational opportunities for women as well as the prevailing inequalities within marriage between men and women. "If all men are born free, how is it that all women are born slaves?" she asked. In the 1790s, Mary **Wollstonecraft**, Germaine de **Staël**, and Catharine Macaulay disagreed with Rousseau's ideas and argued in favor of better education for women, social equality, and the right to participate in politics.

The Enlightenment was not, however, without its opponents. The Counter-Enlightenment movement attacked the Encyclopedists and fought to prevent the

dissemination of Enlightenment ideas. Many of them attacked the philosophes for undermining religion and (thereby, in their minds) social and political order. This later became a major theme of the conservative criticism of the Enlightenment after the French Revolution and its excesses appeared to vindicate the warnings of the anti-philosophes in the decades prior to 1789.

The Enlightenment had a profound effect on European society. Over a span of a few decades, the philosophes challenged long-held beliefs, principles, and traditions, including such political cornerstones as the divine right of kings and the role of the church in the state. They developed and popularized new social and political theories that shaped public opinion and encouraged reforms. The Enlightenment led to a more secular outlook within European society and facilitated the rise of individualism. Its ideas persuaded some monarchs, known as enlightened monarchs, to embrace new ideas and implement reforms that at least partially reflected the Enlightenment spirit. Thus, **Frederick II** of Prussia, **Joseph II** of Austria, and **Catherine II** of Russia introduced various reforms that granted limited freedoms, including religious tolerance and reduced censorship.

The Enlightenment facilitated the growth of public opinion, which was formulated in an informal network of groups. In Paris, this network was represented in salons, informal regular meetings for artists, writers, nobles and cultured individuals that became the discussion for a variety of ideas. Essays and various literary works presented there eventually appeared in the growing number of **newspapers** and journals that further disseminated information. The spread of the Masonic movement, which was introduced from England in the early eighteenth century, further stimulated discussions, since it advocated an ideology of equality and moral improvement regardless of social rank. The process of secularization accelerated after 1750 and affected both the elite and the lower classes. Cafés in Paris and other cities established reading rooms where patrons could peruse and discuss a wide range of literature, notably the works of the philosophes. The late eighteenth century also saw the rapid growth of pamphleteering, which was largely directed against the government.

The birth of the United States was a direct outcome of Enlightenment ideals. The Founding Fathers were inspired by the ideas of Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. It was these men who had, earlier in the century, explained government in terms of a social contract and provided for a representative government. The **Declaration of Independence** reflected such a philosophy as it incorporated the concepts of self-determination, natural law, and deism. The Declaration proclaimed “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”

The **United States Constitution** (1787) put in practice what Montesquieu and Locke advocated on paper. It created a federal republic with power divided between the federal government and states, each of them based on the principle of the separation of powers and check and balances.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Equality

The political philosophy of equality, also known as egalitarianism, has a long history in human societies. As long as societies have been divided into classes and castes, political and social movements have arisen to challenge the status quo and fight for a world in which human beings are treated equally under the law and have access to the same chance for material well-being. In Roman times, when a vast proportion of the population labored as slaves to support the empire, numerous slave revolts occurred that challenged the division of society into masters and slaves. Similarly, at the height of the feudal period in Europe, peasant revolts repeatedly challenged the division of society into lords, vassals, and serfs, often harkening back to the egalitarian lifestyles of the early Christian communes as the model of a just society.

Nevertheless, it would not be until the age of revolution, at the close of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, that political and social movements taking the philosophy of egalitarianism as their inspiration would come to fruition in the Atlantic world, striving to create nations in which the equality of all citizens would be the guiding principle of public life.

During this period, two revolutionary movements broke out, in the soon-to-be United States and in **France**, that challenged the old feudal political order with a philosophy of government based on equality before the law. However, these revolutionary movements, in large part due to their different circumstances and theoretical inspirations, brought forth different notions of equality and led to different social and governmental outcomes.

To understand these revolutionary movements, it is necessary to examine some of the main philosophical developments of the preceding century, which in many ways underpinned the notions of equality that came to fruition in the United States and France during the age of revolution.

When the revolutionary wave of the turn of the nineteenth century broke out in the Atlantic world, the old feudal order had already been in a steady, albeit slow, decline for several centuries throughout much of Europe. With the recovery of commerce following the Black Death of the fourteenth century and the discovery of the Americas at the close of the fifteenth century, Europe experienced a remarkable period of growth and development based largely on a growing trans-Atlantic mercantile trade.

This trade rested squarely on the urban commercial classes who ran the shipping companies and invested in the colonial corporations. Slowly, as this trade progressed,



the European urban commercial classes began to accumulate more wealth and take on a more important role in the social, economic, and political life of their societies than the old regulated hierarchies of the feudal order—which favored the landed aristocracy—could tolerate.

As the urban elite accumulated more and more wealth, many political philosophers of this period challenged the legal division of society into the old feudal classes with new ideas that emphasized the importance of one's good works in this world as the basis of social prestige rather than one's class of birth. During this period even European monarchs began to recognize the importance of the new urban bourgeoisie's wealth, and many borrowed from them to finance their wars and dynastic ambitions.

In England, the most important representative of this school of thought was **John Locke**. Locke's most influential work on political philosophy was his *Second Treatise of Government* (1689). Here Locke outlines a philosophy of government based on the consent of the governed. In Locke's view, no government that does not have the consent of the governed is legitimate. Locke believed that in the course of their affairs, people recognize the need to come together in a social contract to protect themselves from the burdens of enforcing law in a state of nature. According to Locke, the people give over their right to enforce the laws of nature in return for good governance and the guarantee that the right to their accumulated private property would be protected.

In stressing the importance of protecting the right to private property, Locke's ideas suited the need of the rising urban classes to protect their accumulated wealth from the arbitrary usurpation of the state. Central to Locke's ideas was the desire to make every man equal under the rule of the same set of laws. Locke's ideas were in large measure behind the political and social movements of the eighteenth centuries that took the cry of "Equality under the rule of law" as their motto. Commercial elites across the Atlantic world increasingly employed Locke's ideas in their struggle to limit the authority of the state to regulate their commerce and appropriate their wealth.

Locke's ideas would serve as an important inspiration for the political unrest that rocked **Britain** during this period, but his philosophy came to its ultimate fruition in Britain's North American colonies during the **American Revolutionary War**. Over the course of the eighteenth century, many in America began to grow impatient with the seemingly arbitrary power of the British government to intervene in American affairs, particularly in imposing duties and taxes on commerce. The political inequality of the American colonies within the British Empire was made all the more apparent by their lack of representation in **Parliament**. "No taxation without representation!" became an important rallying cry of Americans disgruntled by their second-class status within the Empire.

In 1775, war between the colonies and Britain broke out, and the following year, elites from the 13 colonies met in Philadelphia to decide whether to sever their political ties with the mother country. The resulting **Declaration of Independence**—written largely by Thomas **Jefferson**—proclaimed the creation of a new country and proudly proclaimed, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Nevertheless, the understanding of equality that the Founding Fathers of the United States possessed did not extend to every person in the new country. For the most part, they understood equality in a strictly political and legal sense and

extended it only to property-owning white males. Women, black slaves, indentured servants, and other workers without property were not included in the definition of the political community that the new principles of legal equality would cover. This reality would emerge more fully when the Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia once again in 1787 to draft the **United States Constitution**, the legal document setting out the structure and principles of the new government. In a heated debate about how the slave population of the southern states would be counted for the purposes of portioning out seats in **Congress**, the Founding Fathers decided that every five slaves would count for three men.

In the concrete result of the **American Revolution**, the limitations of the Lockean model of equality emerged in full view. In this conception, equality is limited only to a kind of “formal equality” in the public realm of political and legal affairs. Outside this purview, all other types of social inequality are ignored and even expressly permitted. In fact, Locke himself expressly sanctioned the existence of social inequality in the community, through his labor theory of value—which permitted employers to expropriate the products of their servant’s labor as his own.

The paradox in the form of equality expressed in the founding documents of the United States has been summarized in the idea that under this conception one is guaranteed “equality of opportunity,” but not “equality of result.” In this conception, while it is necessary for the state to guarantee that all citizens have a level playing field through the equal application of the law, it is left up to each individual to utilize his talents to achieve social and material success, things that are not the proper subject of political regulation.

Almost from its inception, the limitations of this model of equality would be called into question, as women, slaves, Native Americans, indentured servants, and others excluded from the original definition of “citizen” struggled to be seen as proper subjects of the law, but also to construct a different type society with a more thorough and social idea of equality.

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic in France, another revolutionary movement was brewing, albeit with a different philosophical inspiration giving rise to a more complex conception of equality and its role in public life. In 1789, the popular classes in Paris rose up in anger at King **Louis XVI** over their declining living conditions. Following the famous storming of the **Bastille** in July of that year, a nationwide revolutionary movement would develop that would eventually result in the overthrow and execution of the king along with Queen **Marie Antoinette** and the establishment of a republic in the place of the monarchy.

The **French Revolution** was different in many ways from the American Revolution; however, both were animated by the strivings of urban elites to challenge the arbitrary power of the monarchy and the political inequalities evident in their societies at the time.

However, while the main philosophical influence of the American Revolution was Locke, who emphasized the formal equality made possible by a limited government, the French revolutionaries were more inspired by the idea of Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, who championed a more robust notion of equality based on the participation of all citizens in the construction of an egalitarian community with a common social fabric and moral purpose.

In his *Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality among Men* (1755), Rousseau blamed modern civilization itself for inequality. He argued that the relatively

egalitarian, although spartan, existence of primitive societies was morally superior to the class divisions of modernity. While Rousseau recognized it was not practical for humanity to revert to primitive ways of life, he did think it was possible to construct a political community in which personal alienation could be overcome and real freedom and equality achieved for all.

In his *On the Social Contract, Principles of Political Right* (1762), Rousseau set down his blueprint for what such a community would look like. According to Rousseau, in order to promote the freedom of all, each member of the community would have to be driven by a common purpose and a common moral will. It would thus be necessary for each citizen to fully and equally participate in the political life of the community in order to shape this purpose and will and to ensure no citizen became estranged from the broader communal life of the polity.

Rousseau's thought contained many idiosyncrasies, and he was quick to suggest that his ideas would probably only work in a very small community. Nevertheless, his ideas were a clear inspiration for many of the main protagonists of the French Revolution. Moreover, the values of the new republic that emerged from the ashes of the old monarchy clearly bore the stamp of Rousseau's notion of the equality of all citizens. The French revolutionaries took the expression *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* (**Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity**) as their motto, symbolizing the more robust notion of political equality expressed in the French events of this period as opposed to the American Revolution.

During the French Revolution, the equality of citizens was given a dimension over and above the right to be free from the intrusions of the state. In the French context, equality and freedom also required a positive contribution from the citizenry to the public life of the state. In the context of the wars that broke out between revolutionary France and the other European powers at the time, this often meant that all citizens who were able had to contribute to the military defense of the Republic. However, it also meant that the Republic itself—the symbolization of the collective will of the French nation—had a duty to its citizens over and above that of simply leaving them alone to enjoy the fruits of their private labor.

In fact, as the French Revolution grew more radicalized, some movements developed that expressly sought to make all citizens of the Republic equal in both legal status and material circumstances. Movements such as the Conspiracy of Equals, led by **Babeuf**, displayed a proto-socialist character calling for the Republic to fulfill its promise of equality in both the social and economic spheres.

Nevertheless, the application of equality in the French Revolution—like its American counterpart—was far from complete. Babeuf's movement was defeated, and the status of slavery in France's colonial empire was far from clear. Moreover, as France experienced growing social and economic inequality with the spread of a more commercial economy, the Revolution's promise of equality retreated more and more to the political and cultural spheres. While the ideas of equality that came out of the French Revolution remained more robust than the formal legalistic ideas prevalent in the American Revolution, they too would come to lack substance beyond the political sphere. By the time **Napoleon Bonaparte** became emperor of France in 1804, the idea of equality had largely come to serve as part of the nationalistic propaganda of the French Empire, even if Napoleonic armies did help spread systems of formal legal equality under the law in the areas of Europe they would occupy.

The idea of equality played a very important role in the age of revolutions. Its different manifestations helped shape the structure and character of the revolutionary movements that developed in this period and in turn the nature of the political and governmental structures that developed in their wake. Nevertheless, notions of equality in this period tended to remain on the legal and political level, emphasizing the equality of all citizens under the law, even as they permitted tremendous inequalities in private life. While the French Revolution did produce a more robust notion of equality that emphasized the common will of the people, this too tended to ignore the very severe economic inequalities that were growing during this period. In the nineteenth century, the socialist and communist movements would criticize the incompleteness of the doctrines of equality that emerged in the age of revolution and expanded them to include notions of economic and social equality as well. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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## Estates-General

The Estates-General was the chief representational body of the **ancien régime** in France. Throughout its sporadic existence between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, it varied in its degree of actual representativeness and in the extent of its powers, at some points approaching a true legislative body, and at others a mere rubber stamp for taxation already decided by the crown. Several constants unify the history of the Estates-General, notably its composition of delegates of the three orders (or estates) of French society and its two primary functions of counsel and aid to the sovereign. In the actual composition and function of the institution, each session differed in many respects, from means of elections and the procedures for separate or joint meetings between the three orders to the ultimate success or failure of the session's goals. At the end of the **ancien régime**, it was the Estates-General that played a most crucial role in determining the course of French political culture in refusing to simply sanction a bankrupt government's tax proposals and instead demanding a more representational form of government. It was this demand, in May and June of 1789—not the more symbolic violence that followed at the **Bastille** on July 14—that was the real kernel of the **French Revolution**.

### *Formation and Function*

Across western Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were various moves to expand the prince's personal council into a larger body to represent the wider interests of the medieval state. Many of these drew their inspiration from earlier general popular assemblies that had been quashed by the advent of feudalism and personal allegiances to a ruling prince. But these newer assemblies were mainly constituted as a means for the prince to ascertain the mood of his subjects, to gain their moral support for his endeavors, and to raise funds for his wars and the defense of

the kingdom. In time these developed into organizations by various names: the Cortes in Spain, the Landtag or diet in Germany, and **Parliament** in England. In 1302, King Philippe IV of **France** called together a meeting of prominent clergymen and nobles, plus representatives of the most important towns and cities, in order to obtain support in a dispute with the pope. He then recalled this same body in order to raise funds for his campaigns. It was this last function that remained the primary reason for being of the Estates-General. Other similar bodies, notably the English parliament, developed into legislative bodies almost independent of their monarch. In the Low Countries, the Estates did in fact ultimately do away with the power of the prince in the late sixteenth century. The French Estates-General did not develop to this extent.

The name “Estates-General” can be most easily understood in two ways. Estates were legally recognized component parts of society, sometimes known as orders, that differ from class in that they are based on legal and social status, not wealth. Most European states were divided into three orders, clergy, nobles, and commoners, though these were sometimes further subdivided in some parts of Europe. “General” differentiates this meeting from the local assemblies held in France’s regions, known as the provincial estates (or specific estates). The history of provincial estates is incredibly diverse. Most ceased to meet entirely by the sixteenth century, but some (in provinces known as the *pays d’états*) continued with varying degrees of actual authority until the end of the ancien régime. These ranged from the very large in Languedoc and Burgundy to the very small in some districts in the Pyrenees and along France’s eastern borders. An Estates-General was, therefore, ideally a calling together of these various bodies to meet with the king, present grievances, and help him collect funds for the common security of all parts of the kingdom.

The Estates-General was never a true legislative body. Its members were asked to gather together and submit local concerns to the king, which he and his chief ministers would then consider, after which they would issue new laws based on the advice given or ignore it completely. Still, this system did comprise an effective means for the crown to communicate with its subjects and secure their support, particularly through the difficult century of Anglo-French conflict. By the end of this period, the middle of the fifteenth century, the Estates-General was being consulted fairly regularly and had agreed to ever-increasing royal subsidies to pay for the war. Communication worked the other way as well, and the king’s policies were best transmitted to every corner of the kingdom by the return of the Estates’ deputies to their homes. When the system was working well, as in the fifteenth century, the Estates-General and its provincial counterparts also developed some administrative functions, centered not only on the collection of the agreed taxes, but also on their uses and distribution. Not all taxes went to pay for royal military expenditure—some also were used to build bridges and roads and to pay for local justice. Thus the Estates-General in the fifteenth century was a two-way conduit of royal and regional partnership. As the most prestigious countrywide government body in the kingdom besides the monarchy itself, the Estates-General also served as a guarantor of the fundamental laws of the kingdom. These were never defined but included the laws of succession should the ruling dynasty become extinct and permanent reforms of royal powers concerning taxation.

### ***Taxation without Representation***

As it was taxation that increasingly occupied the chief function of the Estates-General, the focus shifted increasingly toward representing the voices for whom

taxation mattered the most, the **Third Estate**. Since the first two estates, the clergy and the nobles, were for the most part exempt from taxation, it fell to the Third Estate to bear the financial burden. But the chief representatives of the early Estates-General came from the privileged cities of France, most of which controlled their own tax contributions, or from royal officials and magistrates, who were generally exempt, leaving the rest to the people of the countryside. Thus the fashion by which deputies to the Estates-General were selected became a matter of importance, and there several solutions were tried over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mostly coming to compromise between town and country. Yet the problem remained that the three estates each counted as one unified body at the Estates-General, and the Third Estate could always be voted down by the other two.

Disunity between the orders, and the increasing strength of the crown after the end of the Hundred Years' War, led to the crown's usurpation of the rights of the Estates-General to approve of taxation. Initially forced upon France's law courts, taxes like the *taille* (personal tax) and the *gabelle* (salt tax) became permanent by the end of the fifteenth century. The Estates-General summoned in 1484 demanded that the *taille* continue for only two years, and that within that time span the king would call another Estates-General. The crown agreed, but another session was not held until 1560. In that year, religious and fiscal crises forced the monarchy to convene the larger body to raise funds and to regain the popular confidence of its subjects, but the Estates-General was ineffective at curtailing the growing absolutism of the French monarchy. Thus, when a meeting was held in Paris in 1593 by the Catholic League in order to elect a new king in opposition to the heretic Henry IV, it never gained popular support. Continued bickering among the three orders marked the session of 1614, and the proposal put forward by the **First Estate** calling for a permanent position within the government and a unified system of presenting grievances was rejected by the Third Estate. Aside from two planned sessions in the times of crisis known as the Frondes (1649 and 1651), which never met, the Estates-General was not called again. Taxation ordered by a nearly absolute monarchy was to be registered in the **parlements** of France, or the *cours des aides* (the courts of taxation) for the next century and a half.

### *The Crisis of the 1780s*

In 1787, however, the Parlement of Paris rejected this role and declared itself unfit to approve or disapprove of royal taxation. This was the job, they said, of the Estates-General, and pressure was put on the royal government to convene one for the first time since 1614. **Louis XVI** reacted by creating a Plenary Court, the function of which was simply to register new legislation for the short term, until a wider Estates-General could be called. The parlements across France were sent on vacation, and they protested to the extent of inciting popular unrest. The judiciary across France was nearly paralyzed. Assemblies of the clergy and of the nobles were held to try to diffuse the immediate crisis, but they too called for a reconvening of the Estates-General. The royal government made vague promises, but no immediate plans, until the fiscal crisis of August 1788 forced them to concede, to suppress the Plenary Court, and to send out the call for an Estates-General in May 1789. Nevertheless, the royal government under Brienne fell, and a new government, under Necker, pushed for the meeting of the Estates-General even sooner.

But the question of representation remained. The Parlement of Paris took the lead and demanded the three estates be composed as before (1614), with equal weight

for each, but that the body as a whole become a far wider-reaching legislative body (thus committing its own political suicide as claimant to any legislative authority). The Parlement called for an **Assembly of Notables** to decide the question. This was agreed, and it met in November and agreed that the traditional forms for the session were best. In late December the government agreed to a doubling of the size of the Third Estate but maintained the old practice of separate deliberations of the three orders, and even the restriction of one vote for each order, thus negating the gains made by doubling the Third Estate.

The Estates-General of 1789 finally convened on May 5 in various locations around Paris and Versailles. There were 326 clergymen, 330 nobles, and 661 members of the Third Estate. A significant difference from the composition of the estates of 1614 was that the clergy were overwhelmingly ordinary curés (parish priests), not senior churchmen, and their sympathies were much closer to those of the Third Estate. Similarly, the **nobility (Second Estate)** was represented more by the rank-and-file nobles, not the great aristocrats of the royal court. The goal of the members of the Third Estate was to deliberate as one united body, and to transform it into a genuine representative organ of government. This was aided by the slowness of the royal authorities to come up with a location for their separate deliberations. This chance was seized upon, and the reformers in the Third Estate began to call the main chamber simply the National Hall and invited the other two orders to join them in it. A reforming clergyman, the abbé de **Sieyès**, moved on May 28 that the Third Estate proceed with the verification of its powers without coming to the conclusion of the disagreement over equal versus proportionate voting by the three estates. This was followed by a proclamation of a **National Assembly** on June 17; again the other two orders were invited to join, but there would be no waiting if they refused. The king responded by shutting down the hall in which the Assembly met, so they moved their deliberations to a nearby tennis court, where they proceeded to swear the **Tennis Court Oath** (June 20, 1789), under which they agreed not to separate until they had given France a constitution. After a visit by the king himself on June 23, members of the other two orders did join the Assembly (a majority of the clergy and 47 of the nobles). On July 9, the body renamed itself the **Constituent Assembly**, and the Estates-General ceased to exist.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

### **Etranger, Conspiracy de l' (1793–1794)**

During the **Reign of Terror** of 1793–1794 in the **French Revolution**, the *Conspiration de l'Etranger* was an alleged foreign plot that helped discredit both the extreme Left, or Hébertiste, and the moderate or Indulgent opposition to the revolutionary government. The accusations of conspiracy were based on some real evidence of parliamentary corruption involving the East India Company and a few very ambiguous

clues of the involvement of shady foreigners. The threads of the plot began to be woven together when, independently of each other, two members of the **National Convention**, Fabre d'Eglantine and François Chabot, warned the government of some sleazy dealings among their fellow revolutionaries. Fabre's denunciation came in October 1793, Chabot's in November. Fabre and Chabot both implicated the **Hébertistes**. Fabre claimed that some of these extremists were being paid by Austrian agents to push the Revolution to ever-greater extremes and so discredit it. Fabre further accused three deputies to the Convention, including Chabot, of having taken bribes to protect these foreigners. Chabot, on the other hand, claimed that the affair was masterminded by the swashbuckling royalist, the Baron de Batz, who was using British money to bribe the deputies to secure favorable financial terms for the East India Company, which had been abolished.

There was certainly concrete evidence of financial corruption, but the government either genuinely believed or was willing to exploit for political purposes the suggestion of foreign and counterrevolutionary involvement. In the end, both Fabre and Chabot were arrested, as well as most of the people they had accused, such as the Belgian financier Pierre Proli and the Moravian brothers Frey. When the Hébertistes were tried and executed in March 1794, they were presented as the agents of foreign counterrevolution. When the Indulgents, including Georges-Jacques **Danton**, followed them to the guillotine in April, among them were Fabre, Chabot, and some of the very people whom they had implicated.

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MICHAEL RAPPORT



# F

## The Federalist Papers (Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, 1787–1788)

Originally published serially between October 1787 and May 1788, these 85 essays in support of the ratification of the **United States Constitution** were the collective work of Alexander **Hamilton**, James **Madison**, and John **Jay**, published under the signature of “Publius.” Their choice of a Roman pseudonym was intended not only to communicate their republican solicitude for the public good but as a reference to Publius Valerius, a Roman hero known from Plutarch as having established a stable republican government and acting as the Roman equivalent of the Greek lawgiver Solon. The first essay appeared in **New York’s** *Independent Journal* on October 27, 1787, and the letters continued to appear there and later in three other New York newspapers—the *New York Packet*, the *Daily Advertiser*, and the *New York Journal*—in defense of the proposed constitution. Sometimes referred to collectively as the “Federalist Papers,” the first 36 of these essays were published together in book form in March 1788 as *The Federalist*, and a second volume of the remaining essays followed a few months later in May 1788. They became an instant classic of American political thought and constitutional interpretation, offering the most profound and authoritative statement of the original intentions of the Founders and the design of the U.S. Constitution.

Scarcely weeks after the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia presented the U.S. Constitution to the states for ratification, it came under heavy attack in the New York press. Among the most influential of these attacks were Anti-Federalist letters published under the pseudonyms Federal Farmer (Melancton Smith), Cato (George Clinton), and Brutus (Robert Yates). Although Anti-Federalist critics were far from uniform in their beliefs and criticisms, they generally argued that the Constitution granted too much centralized power to the national or federal government, that its form of representation would unduly dilute the will of the people and threaten their liberties, that the Constitution was inflected with an aristocratic bias, and that it would be impossible to have one uniform and centralized legislation encompassing a territory as large and diverse as the United States. What was needed, according to these critics, was not an entirely new constitution that would fundamentally deprive the states of their sovereignty, but a looser confederation of

states that amended the defects of the **Articles of Confederation**, as the Constitutional Convention was originally charged to do.

In the face of these public criticisms, and earlier opposition to the Constitution at the Convention by New York's two other delegates—George Clinton and Abraham **Yates**—Alexander Hamilton took the lead in responding to these published attacks. With the cooperation of James Madison and John Jay, the three men penned the *Federalist* essays in order to explain to the public the working of the Constitution. Although the authorship has been disputed over the years, Hamilton is now credited with having written 51 of the essays (numbers 1, 6–9, 11–13, 15–17, 21–36, 59–61, and 65–85); Madison with 29 essays (numbers 10, 14, 18–20, 37–58, and 62–63); and Jay, who fell ill in the winter of 1788, with only 5 essays (numbers 2–5 and 64).

Roughly speaking, the essays are organized according to the following schema. The first 37 essays all detail the inadequacies of the Articles of Confederation and the principle of confederation more generally. In particular, numbers 2 through 5 deal with the threat of conflicts between independent states and foreign powers, numbers 6 through 8 with conflicts among and between the separate states, and numbers 9 and 10 with factional disorders within the states themselves. Running throughout these essays are realist assumptions about the constancy of conflict in political life and the need for properly designed institutions to counter the worst effects of these conflicts on the security and stability of nations. Numbers 38 through 51 detail the general principles of the Constitution and its superiority to the Articles. Numbers 52 through 61 examine the **House of Representatives**. Numbers 62 through 66 treat the **Senate**. Numbers 67 through 77 defend a strong and vigorous model of executive power. Numbers 78 through 83 outline the role of the federal courts. Finally, numbers 84 and 85 are concluding essays that round out the whole.

*The Federalist* essays have both an immediate historical as well as a broader practical and philosophical significance. As a matter of historical influence, the publication of these essays has been credited with shifting public opinion in the state of New York in support of the Constitution. Arguments drawn from these papers also set the tone for the ratification debates in other states, particularly in **Virginia** and New England, where some of the essays were reprinted. Having already been ratified by nine states, the Constitution was already technically in force by the time New York narrowly voted to accept it in the summer of 1788 by a margin of 30 to 27. So it is perhaps misleading to say that the *Federalist* authors were determinative in the Constitution's ultimate ratification. Even so, it is unlikely that without the eventual support of large and influential states like New York and Virginia the new union would have been successful, and the careful logic and powerful rhetoric of Publius did much to allay the fears of those suspicious of the new government.

Second, because the essays were intended to elucidate the workings of the Constitution, they also give us definitive insights into how the Framers themselves understood its design. *The Federalist* exerted then, and continues to exert even today, a major influence on how the American Constitution is interpreted. Contemporary jurists and legal scholars often appeal to *The Federalist* as evidence of the Constitution's original intent or for elucidation beyond the text of the document itself.

Finally, there is also considerable evidence that the authors intended their work as a timeless meditation on human nature, popular sovereignty, and the science of

government whose implications were larger than the ratification debates or even the American Constitution. The essays bear the influence of **Enlightenment** philosophers like **Montesquieu, Hume, Locke, and Blackstone**—and more debatably, that of Machiavelli and Hobbes. Given the acquaintance of the authors with these philosophical sources, it is clear that they intended their own work not just as an elaboration of arguments drawn from earlier sources, but as a more ambitious exercise in founding an entirely new science of politics.

Alexander Hamilton sets the philosophical tenor of the essays in the opening paper by pointing out that Americans are engaged in a great experiment to determine whether it is possible to acquire good government through “reflection and choice,” or whether one must always rely for one’s system of government upon “accident and force.” Contrary to the tradition of classical **republicanism**—which emphasizes the importance of an active life of political participation in local communities and lofty assumptions about virtuous human character—Hamilton makes it clear that the assumptions upon which *The Federalist* operates are fundamentally practical and realistic. Some who favor the Constitution have self-interested motives, while others oppose it for purely disinterested reasons. But rather than judging the Constitution against idealized views of human nature, or cynical allegations about the motivations of its sponsors, Hamilton invites the reader to judge the Constitution on its own merits.

Reminding the reader that a specious rhetoric on behalf of popular government and liberty has often been the source of oppression and conflict, Hamilton contends that a strong centralized state endowed with sufficient power to maintain peace and security is better positioned to safeguard the rights of individuals and minority groups than a plethora of weakly confederated states with neither the power nor the energy to act on the public behalf. Hamilton appeals not only to abstract arguments drawn from political philosophy, but the examples of classical history and the nation’s own recent experience with lawlessness and disorder under the Articles of Confederation, such as Shays’s Rebellion of 1787. It had become evident both to Federalists and Anti-Federalists alike that neither the states nor the national government had sufficient power to put an end to this uprising or the many other conflicts and disagreements that had arisen among the states under the Articles of Confederation.

Addressing this main shortcoming of the Articles, one of the key themes of the *Federalist* essays is the need for “energy” and “vigor” in government. This energy is to be supplied by the office of the presidency, which is defended by Hamilton, especially in *Federalist* nos. 69 and 70. On one hand, Hamilton is concerned with demonstrating how much more limited the power of the American presidency is in contrast to that of the British monarchy. Indeed the office of the president will more closely resemble that of the governor of the state of New York, upon which the American presidency was in some degree modeled. At the same time, however, Hamilton argues that the presidency must necessarily be unitary, independent to some degree of the legislature such that its power is not absorbed by the latter, and invested with the power of commander and chief of the military. Without these clearly delineated but unlimited powers, the executive will be unable to act swiftly and efficaciously in times of national crisis.

Such an energetic and powerful national government must nonetheless be balanced against a concern for the rights of individuals and minority groups. The

tendency of popular governments to trample on the rights of individuals motivates perhaps the single most famous and influential of the *Federalist* essays, James Madison's *Federalist* no. 10, which explores the dangers of faction and the possibility of majority rule. The problem of "faction," Madison notes, is one that has bedeviled popular government since its origins in classical Athens and Rome. The history of republicanism has to modern times been a "history of petty republics," with popular democracy quickly devolving after a generation or so into conflict and civil war. The accomplishments of classical republics have been every bit as brief as they have been glorious because of the tendency for a single majority interest to impose its will on the rights of minorities. Rather than combating the latent causes of faction, which, according to Madison, are sown in the very nature of human beings, and whose suppression would require the destruction of liberty itself, the Constitution operates by counteracting faction's most egregious effects.

The solution to the problem of faction lies in modern republican government. Republican government in this formulation refers to a popular government, rooted in the will of the people, but that has nonetheless been passed through the medium or filter of representation. This feature of representation, *The Federalist* argues, ensures that the quality of deliberation is likely to be more refined at the national level because it takes place among the most exceptional representatives of every state gathered together at some distance from the passions and conflicts that bestir smaller local communities. In this respect, the modern republicanism of *The Federalist* is incompatible with the classical republicanism of Greece or Rome, or the pure democracies envisioned by philosophers like Rousseau. In contrast to classical concerns about the character or virtue of the representatives, the key issue for modern representative government, according to Madison, is the purely technical problem of finding the proper balance or ratio of representation. Representatives must be sufficiently numerous that they have some acquaintance with the constituents whose will they are to represent. However, they cannot be so numerous that the national assembly becomes mob-like or anonymous. Ironically, erring on the side of having too many representatives, as the Anti-Federalists argue, risks making government more oligarchical, rather than less so, by making the national legislature susceptible to secret cabals of elites who will manipulate the assembly just as demagogues manipulated the mobs of the classical world.

In addition to the salutary effects of representation, which were not unknown to Montesquieu and earlier thinkers, the originality of the Constitution consists of the idea of an extended republic, widening the sphere of government across an entire continent and centralizing that power at a national level. Doing so effectively transforms local majorities into different and contending national minority interests. Unlike the parochial or simple majorities that form naturally in smaller communities, the compound majorities responsible for legislation in an extended republic are necessarily the product of compromise, moderation, and reasoned deliberation. Madison's argument in *Federalist* no. 10 transforms the Constitution's main weakness in the eyes of its critics—namely, its attempt to bring together into a single, powerful federal government a diversity of states, regions, and local communities—into its primary virtue. This idea of a pluralism of distinct and competing minority interests outlined by Madison has become a governing ideal for the kind of interest group that pluralism so often associated—for better or worse—with the practical workings of the American Constitution.

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RICHARD BOYD

### Fête de l'Être Suprême (1794)

The Fête de l'Être Supreme (Festival of the Supreme Being) took place in Paris on 20 Prairial, Year II (June 8, 1794). The festival was intended to celebrate the cult of the Supreme Being inaugurated by Maximilien **Robespierre**, and officially adopted by the **National Convention** as a state religion on 18 Floréal, Year II (May 7, 1794). This cult was a deliberate attempt to counter the unsuccessful efforts at dechristianization, and the atheistic Cult of Reason, which reached its high point in the winter of the previous year.

The Cult of the Supreme Being extolled the virtues of a nebulous creative force rooted in an ideologically motivated definition of Nature. Jacques-Louis **David**, the Jacobin history painter and member of the Convention, was charged with orchestrating the festival, which took the form of a complex procession culminating in a series of elaborate ceremonies staged on an artificial mountain in the center of the Champ de Mars, the ritual arena built for the 1790 Festival of Federation. David's stipulations for the ceremony were lengthy and precise and were loaded with complex allegory and symbolism. The festival was criticized for its lack of spontaneity and the forced character of crowd participation and has been viewed by many as the last vain act of a cold, repressive regime. During the festival ceremony, ephemeral sculptures representing Egoism, Atheism, and, improbably, Nothingness were symbolically burned, although, as unsympathetic commentators rejoiced in pointing out, the fire failed fully to consume these objects, leaving a charred, smoking, but still recognizable residue. Certainly, however, the festival was visually spectacular, its multiple locations and complicated scenography requiring the involvement of a large team of artists, carpenters, designers, and set builders.

Under a blazing sun, and against a backdrop of cannon salvos, tricolor flags, and flower garlands, the festival moved through the day from the Tuileries to the Champ de Mars, where a huge choir sang the patriotic hymns of Gossec to prearranged responses sung by the audience. In accordance with Jacobin strictures on the role of the family, mothers, fathers, and children were to march in the procession, robed in white and holding palms, their every movement strictly choreographed. It was even scripted when they should turn to smile at one another. At the Champ de Mars, a triumphal chariot drawn by oxen carried diverse symbols of productive labor and abundance. On the plaster-and-board mountain, beside a Doric column topped by a figure of Hercules, Robespierre, elected president of the Convention four days earlier, made a triumphal entrance to derision from those critical of his self-elevation and perceived megalomania. The festival was meant to inaugurate a

new calendar of revolutionary festivals announced on 18 Floréal, although it was ultimately the last major festival held under the Jacobin Republic, due to the fall of Robespierre, its main protagonist, the following month. *See also* Jacobins; Symbols (French Revolutionary).

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RICHARD TAWS

## Feuillants

A political faction in the **Constituent Assembly** during the liberal phase of the **French Revolution**, the Feuillants were a group of constitutional monarchists within the Jacobin Club who held meetings in a former monastery of the Feuillants on the Rue Saint-Honoré in Paris and came to be known as the Club des Feuillants. The emergence of the Feuillants in 1791 signified the fragmentation of the moderate political consensus that had carried through the Revolution of 1789. Although **republicanism** claimed few adherents in 1789, support for King **Louis XVI** collapsed after his flight to **Varennes** in June 1791. Fearful of growing opposition to the monarchy in the Paris sections after Varennes, as well as the slide toward republican radicalism, the Feuillants sought to stabilize the moderate revolution of 1789, strengthen the king, and combat extremism.

Led by **Antoine Barnave**, the Feuillants emerged after a split within the Jacobin Club between supporters of constitutional monarchy and those favoring the creation of a republic. After the Massacre of the Champs de Mars, the Feuillants pursued the enactment of the liberal Constitution of 1791 in a futile attempt to prevent the further radicalization of the Revolution. In March 1792, the Feuillants were outmaneuvered and expelled from the Constituent Assembly by **Brissot** and the **Girondins** in retaliation for their opposition to war with **Austria**. Denounced as counterrevolutionaries and traitors, they were persecuted after the fall of the monarchy. In August 1792, 841 members of the Feuillant faction were arrested and tried for treason. Barnave was guillotined on November 29, 1793. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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BRIAN W. REFFORD

## Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762–1814)

Born in Oberlausitz in Saxony to a family of weavers, Johann Gottlieb Fichte was a German philosopher and leading figure in the development of German nationalism. Fichte studied theology in Jena and worked for several years as an itinerant tutor in Leipzig and Zurich before he became interested in Kantian philosophy and traveled to Königsberg to study with the master himself. Kant eventually arranged

the publication of Fichte's *Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation* in 1792. As a professor of philosophy at Jena from 1794 to 1799, Fichte established a reputation as a major figure in the German philosophical tradition and produced a number of works, among them *The Science of Knowledge* and *The Vocation of Man*.

A republican attracted to the ideals of the **French Revolution**, Fichte was subsequently repelled by Napoleonic France and was fundamentally altered in his political outlook by Napoleon's humiliation of Prussia. During his Berlin period (1800–1814), he produced popular writings such as *The Characteristics of the Present Age* (1806) and the *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808). In the *Addresses*, 14 altogether, Fichte cited the intellectual and moral primacy of Germany and stressed its mission to humanity. The Germans, he argued were an *Urvolk*, an authentic people uncorrupted by Latin civilization and destined by their very nature to lead humankind to a new order, not least of all through the destruction of French power. To accomplish this mission, however, the Germans had first to become the great nation that their natural endowments merited through the vehicle of a strong state that would give the nation discipline and purpose. A German nation-state would, Fichte reasoned, be naturally expansive in its attempt to “assimilate the entire human race to itself.” Fichte was thus among the earliest and most effective propagandists of German nationalism—and an advocate of an expansive *Reich* whose academic vocation gave a moral sheen to totalitarian ambition.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Fiefs

A fief was the basic unit of the feudal system, as developed across most of Europe in the Middle Ages. It was the main form of property holding under the **ancien régime** and was inextricably tied into the old system of privilege and judiciary complexity that was one of the chief targets of reformers of the eighteenth century.

From the earliest days of medieval feudalism, the fief represented a piece of land, usually including arable and grazing land, a manor house, a church, a wine press, a mill, and so forth. These estates were held usually by nobles *in fee* from a greater nobleman, in exchange for an oath of fidelity and military service. The fief holder then served as protector of the people who lived and worked on the estate in return for a portion of their labor and produce. The fief could be inherited, but it remained the property of the lord. Over time, this developed into a more complex system through the division of the estate into its component parts, some purely fiscal: a fief could thus be the right to collect tolls on a road in the estate, or the monopoly to run the mill and charge for its use. Even justice could be separated from the fief, though this was usually restricted to nobles only. The ancient exchange of fief for military service was gradually replaced by fees and charges, in particular when a fief holder died and passed on the property to an heir. The fees derived from these sorts of transactions (feudal dues) sometimes comprised a very minor part of a landowner's income, but sometimes they could be quite substantial.

As pertains to the reforms of the eighteenth century, fiefs were viewed as an embodiment of the outmoded form of land-ownership that was restricting the development of modern agriculture, particularly in **France**. Specific grievances included personal servitude (wherein peasants were tied to properties on which they lived and worked), and of noble exemptions attached to feudal rights such as the *taille* (a tax attached to each individual, except in the south of France, where it was attached to property). One of the first actions of the newly created **National Assembly** was to abolish feudal rights on August 4, 1789. *See also* Physiocrats.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

## First Consul

**Napoleon** Bonaparte wanted the Consulate to be the "true representative of the nation" (Englund, p. 169). As First Consul, following the coup of 18 Brumaire (November 9–10, 1799), he was the most powerful partner in this executive triumvirate. The Consulate, which replaced the Directory, consisted of three magistrates, but both the second and third consuls were confined to merely consultative roles. Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos were the first provisional consuls. Cambacérès and Lebrun later became second and third consuls, while Bonaparte remained First Consul and was eventually consul for life before becoming emperor in 1804.

The term "consul" was borrowed from ancient Rome to lend authority to the new regime, which sought to bring order from the chaos of the **French Revolution** and the **Reign of Terror**. The First Consul had to steer between the dangers of a royalist restoration, on one hand, and a Jacobin social revolution on the other. The quest for stability resulted in a formidable centralization of power in Napoleon's hands. The First Consul set about constructing a constitution that would further strengthen the regime's claims to legitimacy. It formed two legislative bodies with insignificant power, as they could merely tinker with laws passed to them by the executive.

Napoleon effectively ruled supreme as First Consul, retaining most of the Republic's administrative, diplomatic, civil, and military powers. He relied on a Council of State, which advised him and consisted of some of **France's** finest minds. This hand-picked body was a further example of increasing centralization and could draft legislation for the First Consul's approval. The First Consul also appointed a prefect and a subprefect to represent central government in all of the Republic's departments, where these officials gathered information and ensured that the wishes of the central government were carried out.

The role of the First Consul can be viewed either as an innovation that restored cohesion and unity to a tormented country or a huge step on the road to dictatorship. Bonaparte's consulship certainly meant that France did not relapse into a regime prone to "immediate purges and prompt proscriptions" (Sydenham, p. 222). As First Consul, Bonaparte enjoyed one of his most administratively creative periods.



The range of reforms was massive and included the **Civil Code**, retitled the Code Napoléon in 1807, which remains the bedrock of the modern French state. Other measures covered everything from higher education, taxation, and banking to the road and sewer systems. A note signed by Bonaparte, Ducos, and Sièyes in 1799, and addressed to the people of France, perhaps summed it up best when it said of the new regime: “The powers it provides for are strong and stable as they should be to guarantee the rights of citizens and the interests of the State. Citizens, the Revolution is now anchored to the principles which gave it birth. The Revolution is finished.” *See also* Jacobins.

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STEPHEN STEWART

## First Continental Congress

*See* Continental Congress, First

## First Estate

The clergy, those who prayed and were thus closest to God, traditionally formed the First Estate of the realm in **France**. In 1789, members of the church were accordingly dismissed as a privileged order that enjoyed huge fiscal and social advantages, but in fact the clerical estate ranged from aristocratic archbishop to impoverished priest. Alongside 135 bishops in charge of dioceses that varied greatly in size, there were 60,000 parish clergy, more than one for each village in the country, and more than 20,000 canons and clerics who held no particular office. Not only were there nobles and commoners in the First Estate, but also females as well as males, with women’s congregations faring better than men’s houses, as monasticism lost its attraction in an age of secular utilitarianism. Yet the regular clergy, perhaps 80,000 strong, still performed vital tasks in education and welfare, while the general role of the church (and Catholicism was the religion of the overwhelming majority of French people, with a monopoly of public worship) was far wider than it is today. Besides offering spiritual resources, the curé was a community leader, who, in registering births, marriages, and deaths, attended to all his parishioners at key points in their lives. To conduct its mission to society, the French church had amassed vast amounts of property in the form of pious bequests, which covered over one-sixth of the cultivable surface of the kingdom. It received the tithe from all those who tilled the soil and was allowed to tax itself via the *don gratuit*, voted periodically by the assembly of the clergy in which its corporate status was embodied.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to exaggerate the internal divisions to which the church was prone. Most of the hierarchy had obtained their positions through connections at court, some, like **Talleyrand**, at a tender age. However, most administered their dioceses in a competent fashion. There was some tension with hardworking parish clergy, who were better educated in the eighteenth century and were often anxious for a greater say in running the institution, and sometimes angry

over their meager stipends. In certain areas, clergy faced the challenge of enlightened ideas and new forms of sociability, which influenced members of the male laity. There were demands for ecclesiastical reform in the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789, yet few saw an ax about to fall. It was, significantly, the solitary Protestant in the king's government, the controller general Jacques **Necker**, who threw a veritable spanner into the works. By giving parish priests a vote equal to that of bishops in elections to the **Estates-General**, which were, of course, conducted by order, with the clergy occupying a separate chamber, he created a clerical democracy. Lower clergy thus outnumbered upper clergy when the Estates-General met at Versailles, and it was many of the former who joined the **Third Estate** at the invitation of **Sieyès**, himself a renegade priest. Yet few of these patriotic curés had any inkling that by rallying to the newly formed **National Assembly**, they were effectively abolishing the clergy as a distinct order in French society. This misunderstanding sowed the seeds of a schism between church and Revolution that created an enduring division in modern France. **See also** Second Estate.

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MALCOLM CROOK

### **Fitzgerald, Lord Edward (1763–1798)**

Edward Fitzgerald, the twelfth child of the first duke of Leinster, the premier peer in **Ireland**, and the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, was born in London. He was a cousin of Charles James **Fox** and was well connected with liberal **Whigs** in both England and Ireland. He was educated in Ireland by William Ogilvie, who became his mother's lover, and then briefly at a military academy in Paris before being commissioned in a British infantry regiment in 1778. He served in America in 1781 and was badly wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs during the **American Revolutionary War**. He was carried from the battlefield by a former black slave, who thereafter became his loyal servant. He served briefly in the Irish parliament in the early 1780s, associating himself with the Patriot opposition, before serving in **Canada** in 1788. Elected again to the Irish parliament in 1790 for County Kildare, where his family possessed considerable influence, he became increasingly associated with radical reformers. He was influenced by the ideas of Thomas **Paine** and even lodged with Paine when he visited Paris in October 1792. In November 1792, he renounced his title and became increasingly influenced by French revolutionary principles. This led to his being cashiered from the British Army. While in **France**, he married Pamela, the daughter of the educationist Madame de Genlis and (reportedly) the Duke of Orleans, on December 27, 1792. The young couple had three children in quick succession.

Fitzgerald returned to Ireland in January 1793, advocated reform in the Irish parliament, and associated with both Catholic Defenders and United Irishmen in County Kildare. In 1796, he visited Hamburg with Arthur O'Connor, a leading United Irishman seeking to enlist French support for a rising in Ireland. He committed himself to the United Irishmen, decided not to seek reelection to Parliament

in 1797, and offered his military expertise to the United Irishmen, who were planning a rebellion in 1798. He evaded capture when almost the entire Leinster Directory of the United Irishmen was arrested on March 12, 1798. He went into hiding in Dublin but was betrayed by a government informer and was arrested by troops on May 19, 1798. In the ensuing struggle, he mortally wounded one of the soldiers trying to arrest him, and he himself was shot in the shoulder. His influential relatives hoped to save him from serious punishment, but his wounds became infected and he died in his cell on June 4, 1798, in the middle of the Irish rebellion. An act of attainder deprived his immediate family of his estate, but it was purchased by William Ogilvie, the long-time lover of his mother, and passed on to his heir. *See also* Society of United Irishmen.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Flood, Henry (1732–1791)**

The illegitimate son of an eminent state lawyer, Flood was born in County Dublin. Despite his illegitimacy, he never lacked for money. He was educated at Trinity College Dublin; Christ Church, Oxford; and the Inner Temple in London. He first entered the Irish House of Commons in November 1759, and he married a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone in April 1762. In **Parliament**, Flood rapidly gained a reputation as an able orator, a formidable debater, and an expert in parliamentary procedure. Although he soon joined the Patriot opposition in the House of Commons, he was always ambitious for office and was ready to support a reform-minded Irish administration. Unfortunately for him, few attempts were made to create such an administration, though he was able to support the government's Octennial Act of 1768, which limited the duration of the Irish parliament to a maximum term of eight years. Whenever he could achieve little in Parliament, he resorted to publishing anonymous essays critical of the Irish government in the Dublin press. His career was only temporarily stalled when he killed an electoral rival in a duel in 1769.

In late 1775, he finally reached an accommodation with the Irish administration when he was appointed the vice-treasurer of **Ireland** and to the Irish and British privy councils. He was soon dissatisfied, however, when the promise of a major office was not forthcoming, and he failed to give the Irish government as much political support as it had expected. His failure to support all of the administration's policies led to his dismissal from his position as vice-treasurer, and the British Privy Council in late 1781. He promptly allied himself with the Irish Volunteers outside Parliament and with Henry **Grattan** and the Patriot opposition inside the Irish House of Commons. He helped to secure the political reforms of 1782 that secured greater legislative independence for the Irish parliament. Not satisfied, as Grattan was, with the 1782 repeal of the Irish Declaratory Act of 1720, which had claimed the right of the Westminster parliament to legislate for Ireland, he successfully pressed for the Renunciation Act of 1783, which forced the British parliament to renounce this claim explicitly. He and Grattan soon fell out, and Grattan set about denigrating

Flood's character and his checkered support for the Patriot cause. A duel between the two was narrowly averted by the authorities.

Flood was prepared to support the campaign of the Ulster Volunteers for a measure of parliamentary reform, but he still wished to exclude Catholics from the political process. He made repeated efforts to secure a reform bill in the Irish parliament between 1783 and 1785, and he was also active in the 1785 campaign to defeat William **Pitt's** plan for a commercial union between **Britain** and Ireland. Meanwhile, Flood, supported by the patronage of the Duke of Chandos, had also been elected to the Westminster parliament in 1783 for the borough of Winchester. This had long been an ambition of his, but he did not adapt well to the growing party disputes at Westminster. A dispute with Chandos meant that he lost his seat at the general election of 1784, but he eventually secured election for another borough in 1786. He spent his last politically active years in the Westminster parliament rather than in the Irish parliament, but he was not very successful in what he sought to achieve. In 1787 he unsuccessfully opposed Pitt's commercial treaty with **France**, and in March 1790, he failed in his efforts to introduce a moderate parliamentary reform bill in the House of Commons. He hoped reform might avert revolution.

Flood did not seek reelection to the Westminster or the Irish parliament in 1790. He retired to his estate in County Kilkenny, where he died on December 2, 1791. He and his wife were childless.

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H.T. DICKINSON

### **Fouché, Joseph (1763–1820)**

Joseph Fouché was a cunning statesman who served in every French government from 1789 to 1815. Born near Nantes, Fouché was a tutor at several colleges, including Arras, where he had dealings with Maximilien **Robespierre** at the **French Revolution's** outbreak. In 1790, Fouché transferred to Nantes, where he became a member of the local **Jacobins**. In 1792, Fouché became deputy to the **National Convention**. He gained a reputation by zealously combating uprisings against the revolutionary government. Fouché's disagreement with Robespierre over his **Fête de l'Être Suprême** resulted in his expulsion from the Jacobins. In 1794, Fouché conspired against Robespierre in the **Thermidorian Reaction**.

During the **Directory**, Fouché allegedly betrayed to director **Barras** information about **Babeuf's** conspiracy. In the coup d'état of Fructidor, Fouché assisted Barras, who appointed him ambassador to the **Cisalpine Republic**. Fouché became minister of police in 1799. Charged with suppressing Jacobins, Fouché arrested producers of material subversive to the government.

He supported the coup d'état de **Brumaire**, gaining **Napoleon's** favor. Wary of Fouché's intrigue, Napoleon deprived him of his post in 1802. Fouché continued to intrigue and provide intelligence services for Napoleon. In 1804, Napoleon restored Fouché to the reconstituted ministry of police, later entrusting to him that of the interior. Fouché initiated peace overtures to the British in 1809. Such actions



Joseph Fouché. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

angered Napoleon, who dismissed Fouché in 1810. He regained favor by providing useful information.

Following Napoleon's abdication, Fouché made overtures to the Bourbons. Unsuccessful, he conspired against the Bourbons. After Napoleon escaped from Elba, Fouché again headed the ministry of police while conspiring with Metternich at Vienna. After Napoleon's second abdication, Fouché became president of the provisional commission governing France. He furthered the Bourbon cause, securing a position in **Louis XVIII's** ministry to finish his career.

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ERIC MARTONE

### **Fouquier-Tinville, Antoine Quentin (1746–1795)**

Antoine Quentin Fouquier-Tinville was public prosecutor during the phase of the **French Revolution** known as the **Reign of Terror**. After years of financial difficulties, in 1774 he found work as a prosecutor in Paris. In 1783, he gave up his practice and again fell into poverty until 1792, when Camille **Desmoulins**, a distant cousin, helped him get elected to the new criminal tribunal. Ironically, 18 months later, Fouquier sent his protector to the **guillotine**.

After the crowd killed hundreds of people arrested for counterrevolutionary activities, the **Convention** created the **revolutionary tribunals**, and Fouquier was named their public prosecutor. The tribunal judged its first case on April 6, 1793. The trial of **Marie Antoinette**, prosecuted by Fouquier, signaled the beginning of the Reign of Terror. On October 24, the **Girondins** were accused of conspiracy and Fouquier displayed extreme fervor in his prosecution. Trying to please Maximilien **Robespierre**, he wanted the court proceedings to last only a single day, to be followed immediately by execution.

On March 31, **Danton** and Desmoulins were arrested. During their three-day trial, Fouquier realized that if found not guilty and released, they would send him to the guillotine. He therefore spared no effort in obtaining the verdict he needed. After the **Law of 22 Prairial**, the number of people accused increased tremendously, and Fouquier had clearly innocent defendants executed. In one month, he was responsible for the death of over a thousand people.

However, the list of Robespierre's enemies remained lengthy, and on July 27, 1794, the Convention unanimously agreed to arrest him. After a quick impromptu trial led by Fouquier, Robespierre was guillotined the following day. Five days later, Fouquier was arrested. His countless transgressions of the law were revealed, and he himself was guillotined on May 6, 1795. Fouquier's death marked the end of the revolutionary tribunal and of the Terror as well. *See also L'Accusateur Public.*

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GUY-DAVID TOUBIANA

### **Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)**

Born in London, Fox was the second son of Henry Fox, later Baron Holland, who had enriched himself in politics and who had been a great rival of William Pitt the Elder, first earl of **Chatham**. Fox was his father's favorite and was much indulged by him. Free of all discipline and restraint, he long adopted a dissipated lifestyle that saw him spending a fortune on gambling, drinking to excess, and enjoying the company of a succession of mistresses. He was twice bankrupted, and he often had to be rescued from complete financial disaster by the generosity of family and friends. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he was asked to leave the former early, and he left the latter without graduating. Highly intelligent, he made many visits to the salons of Paris and spent almost two full years on the grand tour. Throughout his life, he read widely in classical and European literature and he started but did not complete a *History of the Reign of James II*. Extremely sociable, he enjoyed cricket and horse racing and spent much of his time in social clubs. He had a wide circle of friends and many devoted admirers. In 1795 he secretly married Elizabeth Armistead, his long-time mistress, and became increasingly domesticated, but his earlier life of debauchery always damaged his political prospects and credibility. He was the butt of more political caricatures than any other politician of the age.

Elected to **Parliament** on May 10, 1768, when he was only 19 and technically underage and so ineligible to sit in the House of Commons, his intelligence, oratory, debating skills, and frequent contributions to debates soon made his name.

He initially adopted his father's opinions and was a critic of John **Wilkes** and a supporter of Lord **North**. In February 1770 he was appointed to the admiralty board but resigned two years later. In December 1772 he was appointed to the treasury board but resigned in February 1774. On both occasions his resignation was precipitated by perceived slights to his family rather than any serious disagreement about policy or principle. This did not prevent him, however, from gradually gravitating toward the **Rockingham**-led opposition and becoming increasingly critical of Lord North's policies. Fox came increasingly under the influence of Edmund **Burke**, who sought him out, and he became a major critic of the government's American policies. He attacked the government's policy of trying to tax the American colonists, and he was appalled at the outbreak of war. He believed that the **American Revolutionary War** was ill advised, and he feared that it would be prolonged and might well be lost. He repeatedly accused leading ministers of mishandling the war, and he was one of the first of the leading politicians to accept the inevitability of American independence. In July 1780 Fox chose to stand as member of Parliament for Westminster, the most populous urban constituency in the country, and he began to be seen as a reformer and "a Man of the People."

Lord North resigned in March 1782, and Fox was appointed as foreign secretary in the Rockingham administration. He supported the ministry's economic reforms and its concessions to the Patriot cause in **Ireland**, but he soon came to believe that his efforts to negotiate peace with **France** and America were being thwarted by Lord Shelburne. When Shelburne became prime minister in July 1782, after the death of Rockingham, Fox resigned and opposed Shelburne's peace negotiations. This brought him into an alliance with Lord North, who also opposed these peace negotiations. When the peace proved unpopular, Fox and North were able to replace Shelburne's administration with their coalition government in March 1783. They had worked together between 1769 and 1774, but they were now very different in their politics, and this was soon seen as an unnatural alliance. It was also an administration doomed from the start because **George III** bitterly resented having this coalition forced upon him. In November 1783 the coalition passed through the Commons the India Bill. The bill was designed to put the administration of **India** on a new footing, but one that reduced the Crown's influence over appointments. The king intervened decisively in the Lords, threatening and cajoling the peers into narrowly defeating this bill on December 15. Fox was appalled by this use of Crown influence. He was even more offended when the king promptly appointed the younger William **Pitt** as his new prime minister, despite the fact that he had only minority support in the Commons.

Fox was now convinced that the king was determined to undermine the independence of Parliament and to subvert the constitution. He tried to obstruct the measures of Pitt, including money bills, but would not believe that this persuaded public opinion, independent MPs, and even reformers to turn from him to Pitt. When the king dissolved Parliament three years early in March 1784 and exploited Crown influence to support Pitt in the great victory achieved at the subsequent general election, Fox was again convinced that he had been defeated by the unconstitutional actions of the king, not by his own political mistakes and factious conduct. From now onward, Fox hated the king and regarded him as a threat to the constitution. In return, the king hated Fox for debauching his son, the Prince of Wales, and regarded Fox as a factious politician who could not be trusted.

Fox's election in Westminster in 1784 was bitterly contested, and the disputed return had to be considered by a House of Commons now dominated by Pitt's supporters. Fox was not able to take his seat in the Commons until early 1785, and this increased his personal antipathy toward Pitt. Fox thereafter sought every opportunity to oppose Pitt's measures. In a series of speeches from February to July 1785 he opposed Pitt's plans for a commercial treaty with Ireland and was delighted to see this rejected by his friends in the Dublin parliament. Fox joined Burke in managing the impeachment of Warren Hastings in February 1788. He was motivated more by revenge for the defeat of his India Bill of 1783 than by a desire for justice in India or in the trial of Hastings. He soon lost interest in the protracted proceedings, much to the irritation of Burke. Fox also made a series of major misjudgments during the Regency Crisis from November 1788 to March 1789. When George III was incapacitated with a mental disorder, and it was feared that he might not recover, Fox rushed back from Italy and promptly demanded that the Prince of Wales be given full authority as regent without consulting his colleagues. Fox undoubtedly hoped that the Prince, his personal friend, would dismiss Pitt and return the Foxites to power. Fox's claim that the House of Commons could not legitimately restrict the powers of a regent contrasted sharply with his previous attacks on the king's use of his powers. It gave Pitt the opportunity to "un-Whig" Fox and to expose him as being motivated more by self-interest than by principle. When the king recovered, Fox's reputation was irreparably damaged at court and far beyond its confines.

Fox had long been a Francophile and he had a wide circle of liberal aristocratic Frenchmen whom he termed the "French Whigs." He therefore rejoiced at the fall of the **Bastille** on July 14, 1789, famously exclaiming: "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world, and how much the best." He was convinced from the outset that the French only sought to replace an absolute monarchy with the kind of constitutional monarchy that the **Whigs** had established in **Britain** in 1688–1689 and were still seeking to safeguard. Fox never understood the real nature of the **French Revolution**, and he blamed its enemies when it descended into anarchy, violence, and terror. He rejected the views advanced by Burke in the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (published in November 1790), and as late as April 1791, he was informing the House of Commons how much he admired the new constitution in France "as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty." By May this had produced a permanent and public breach with Burke in a famous debate in the House of Commons.

Worried by France's decision to become a republic, and appalled by France's descent into violence and terror, Fox refused to blame the revolutionaries in France, preferring to blame **Louis XVI** and his monarchical allies in Europe. When war broke out in Europe, Fox blamed it on **Austria** and Prussia. When France declared war on Britain in February 1793, Fox blamed Pitt for joining a reactionary conspiracy against liberty. He seemed thereafter almost to rejoice at every French victory and every allied reverse. When peace efforts foundered on several occasions, Fox again blamed Pitt rather than the more intransigent French. When popular radicalism began to flourish in Britain in the early 1790s, Fox showed no real personal commitment to parliamentary reform, but he made no effort to prevent some of his Whig colleagues from establishing the **Association of the Friends of the People** in April 1792. The more conservative Whigs became increasingly concerned at Fox's stance on revolution and reform. A few prominent members followed Burke and deserted



Fox in 1792–1793. In July 1794 the Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the party, led a very substantial portion of the opposition into a grand coalition with Pitt.

These defections drastically reduced the number of Fox's supporters in Parliament and it was clear that they had no chance in the foreseeable future of defeating Pitt or forming an alternative government. Fox had supported the Libel Act of 1792, which allowed the jury, not the judge, to decide whether the offending words were a libel, and he opposed all of the government's repressive measures in the mid-1790s. He spoke out bravely in support of civil liberties. Fox was a character witness at the trial for treason of Arthur O'Connor at Maidstone in May 1798, and he began to consort with radicals such as John Horne Tooke for the first time. At a reform dinner in 1798, Fox toasted "Our sovereign lord, the people" and was struck off the Privy Council. Fox was never a genuine radical, however, though he was a staunch champion of civil liberties and religious toleration. He tried to hold the middle ground between reactionaries and revolutionaries. Losing hope of influencing Parliament, he rarely appeared in the House of Commons between 1797 and 1801.

Fox returned to public life in February 1801, when Pitt suddenly resigned, but he made few speeches and his attendance in the Commons was infrequent. He welcomed the peace with France made by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 and promptly visited Paris from July to November 1802. He met old friends and even had three interviews with **Napoleon**, but these did not go well. Fox was far too interested in civil liberties for Napoleon's taste, and Fox regarded Napoleon as a military adventurer. His visit was much lampooned by caricaturists. When war resumed in May 1803 and Pitt returned to power in May 1804, Fox entered a loose alliance with Lord Grenville and his group, who refused to rejoin Pitt in office. When Pitt died in January 1806, the king reluctantly agreed to a "ministry of all the talents," led by Grenville. Fox was appointed foreign secretary, but he could make no headway in his plans to negotiate peace with Napoleon. Fox's one achievement was his leading role in promoting a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. This measure was carried through in 1807, after Fox had died on September 13, 1806. Before his death, Fox's admirers created the Fox Club to honor his support for liberal causes. His younger admirers went on to deify him in the years ahead, toasting his memory at annual dinners. They eventually carried through the Great Reform Act of 1832, a moderate measure of which Fox might have approved. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade; Tories.

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H. T. DICKINSON

## France

By the eighteenth century, France had developed from a medieval principality into the largest and most populous kingdom in western Europe and seemed poised to dominate the entire continent. King Louis XIV, *le Roi Soleil* (the Sun King), as he was known, ascended the throne as a child of four years old and over the next seven decades transformed his kingdom into a great power. However, his legacy also proved an immense liability for his successors. Louis created a complex bureaucratic

apparatus centered at his palace in Versailles, from where he exercised virtually absolute power. Supporters of limiting royal absolutism had placed their hopes on Louis' heirs, but the king outlived his son, grandson, and even eldest great-grandson. After his death in 1715, Louis was succeeded by his five-year-old great-grandson, Louis XV, but real authority lay in the hands of the regency led by the king's cousin Philippe II, the duc d'Orléans. To secure his authority, Orléans made an important deal with the advocates of limiting absolutism. In return for their support, Philippe allowed the **parlements**, the chief judicial bodies in France, to exercise their power to review and approve royal decrees. This would prove consequential since the parlements eventually emerged as well-entrenched institutions opposed to royal authority.

The foremost problem facing Louis XV was the disastrous state of French finances. In social terms, France was divided into three estates that corresponded to medieval concept of those who prayed, those who fought, and those who farmed/worked. The **First Estate** consisted of the clergy, who were subject to their own church court system and were entitled to collect tithes. Catholicism was the dominant denomination since Protestantism had been persecuted since Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The **Second Estate** consisted of the **nobility**, who had over the centuries accrued numerous **privileges**, which allowed it to claim a monopoly on the top positions in the church, army, and royal administration and to collect seigneurial dues from commoners. The **Third Estate** consisted of unprivileged commoners, who numbered over 95 percent of the population of France. It was a loose group, lacking common interests, since it included the wealthiest bourgeoisie, who mixed easily with the nobility, and the poorest peasants and townspeople. The wealthy commoners were, naturally, dissatisfied with the social and political system in France, which placed a heavy tax burden on their shoulders yet failed to provide them with proper representation in government. The First and Second Estates were both privileged in that both were exempted from tax, notably the principal direct tax, the *taille*, which was levied on land and property. Attempts to introduce income tax without exemptions had been consistently blocked by the nobility and the church. To make up for its inadequate sources of revenue, the French monarchy began to sell government posts, which created independent venal officeholders who could not be removed unless the government purchased back the seat. This policy in turn produced an independent-minded and cumbersome bureaucracy. Responsibility for tax collection was leased out to so-called tax farmers, who paid the treasury a fixed fee in exchange for the right to collect taxes in a specific region. This system provided the monarchy with a steady flow of income but also allowed the officials in charge to squeeze as much as they could from an increasingly discontented population.

To maintain their position relative to other states, especially in their long-standing rivalry against **Britain**, the Bourbon kings of France incurred increasingly higher expenses that became a heavy burden on the kingdom's economy; in 1739, the debt amounted to some 36 percent of the government's budget. Louis XIV's wars, notably his last—the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714)—significantly weakened the French economy. Louis XV, an intelligent and capable man, was initially disinterested in governing and entrusted daily state affairs to his ministers. Thus, Cardinal Fleury effectively directed the French government between 1726 and 1743 and through his reforms helped stabilize and organize the government. After Fleury's death, Louis XV decided to rule personally, taking an active part in governing the

country. However, he was often influenced by his mistresses, notably the Marquise de Pompadour, who exerted a liberal influence on French policy. After the marquise's death, Louis XV took another official mistress, Madame du Barry, who, however, lacked the skills and education of Pompadour. In addition to high military expenditure, the French treasury was drained by the extravagance of the court as well as the elaborate welfare system that benefited the upper classes.

The Bourbon monarchy could not resolve this difficulty due to the underlying problem of an inadequate taxation system. Louis XV's involvement in the Seven Years' War (1756–63), when France lost many of her colonial possessions in Canada, **India**, and the West Indies to the British, transformed a financial problem into a national crisis. The national debt increased to 62 percent of the national budget in 1763 and kept growing due to interest obligations and a tax system unable effectively to address it. To meet its obligations, the French government took on new loans, which only perpetuated the problem. France would have easily managed these financial strains if not for the government's inability to implement much-needed reforms.

Although popularly described as “absolute” monarchs, the French kings, were, in reality, obliged to rule according to laws and customs accumulated over the ages. In this respect, the parlements represented an important check on royal authority, as they claimed the right to review and approve of all royal laws to ensure that they conformed to the traditional laws of the kingdom. In the absence of representative institutions, the parlements (although representing the nobility) claimed to defend the interests of the entire nation against arbitrary royal authority. After the Seven Years' War ended, Louis XV tried to retain a wartime tax, a 5 percent *vingtième* tax on all classes, but faced a virtual revolt from the clergy and nobility, who used their control of the parlements to declare the king's decree illegal. When the king tried to use a royal corvée to construct a road in Brittany, the Parlement of Rennes joined the aristocratic opposition to block the king's decree. Exasperated, Louis ordered the arrest of the president of the Parlement of Rennes, which caused the remaining parlements to unite in their opposition and claim themselves to be “the custodians and the depository” of the unwritten French constitution. In 1766, Louis turned to his troops to suppress the Parlement of Paris while his chef minister, René de Maupeou, led the fight against the aristocratic opposition. In 1771, Maupeou abolished all parlements and created a new court system in which the magistrates and judges became state employees. However, when Louis XV died in 1774, his successor, the 19-year-old **Louis XVI**, was compelled to dismiss Maupeou and restore the parlements.

After inheriting a financially and militarily weakened realm, Louis XVI stood by helplessly as France's traditional ally, the Kingdom of Poland, was partitioned by **Austria**, Russia, and Prussia in 1772. He was able to intervene in the **American Revolutionary War**, where the French expeditionary corps played an important role in securing the colonies' independence from Britain. However, this success cost France a great deal financially and delivered no tangible rewards that could have rectified the massive strain this imposed on its economy. In short, French participation in the **American Revolution** had driven the government to the brink of bankruptcy. Such financial difficulties soon affected French foreign policy, since the fear of increasing the nation's debt prevented Louis XVI from opposing Prussia's intervention in the **Netherlands** in 1787.

The French bourgeoisie (wealthy, middle-class commoners) grew significantly in number in the eighteenth century, and merchants in Bordeaux, Marseille, and Nantes exploited overseas trade with colonies in the West Indies and the Indian Ocean to reap tremendous profits. As its economic power grew, the bourgeoisie resented its exclusion from political power and positions of privilege. The foremost source of French wealth was agriculture and the peasantry that cultivated the land. The majority of French peasants enjoyed certain legal freedoms; some owned land but most rented land from local seigneurs or bourgeois landowners. By the late eighteenth century, the heavily taxed peasants were acutely aware of their situation and were less willing to support the antiquated and inefficient feudal system. The peasantry enjoyed prosperous years between the 1720s and the late 1760s, during which period the population grew. However, climatic conditions changed in the 1770s, bringing the repeated failure of crops and economic hardship that was even more acute due to the enlarged population. Secular attitudes become prominent in the countryside, and tolerance for the existing social order began to wear thin.

Louis XVI made several attempts at reforming the tax system. In 1774–1776, Jacques **Turgot** reduced government spending, levied taxes on landowners, and eliminated tariffs and the guilds that suffocated economy. These reforms, however, faced fierce opposition from many groups, which successfully lobbied to bring down both ministers. Between 1778 and 1781, Jacques **Necker**, a Swiss banker turned French minister of finance, was also unsuccessful in overcoming aristocratic opposition to his reforms. As a result, the French national debt rapidly increased and consumed almost the entire national budget by the late 1780s. To resolve it, the parlements had proposed to call elections for the **Estates-General**, an assembly of all three estates (clergy, nobility, and commoners) that was last summoned in 1614. Louis XVI was initially opposed to this idea but eventually agreed to a meeting of the Estates-General in May 1789. His decision opened the first modern political debate in French history as numerous political **pamphlets** debated such key issues as double representation and the methods of voting for the Third Estate. Abbé Emmanuel **Sieyès** defended the Third Estate in his famous pamphlet, proclaiming that it was “everything” yet had “nothing.” Louis agreed to double the representation of the Third Estate but retained the ancient voting tradition by which the estates met and voted separately. During the elections, each district was required to prepare lists of their grievances (*cahiers des doléances*), many of which criticized the existing system and level of taxation and some elements of royal privilege, such as its arbitrary power of arrest through **lettres de cachet**.

The Estates-General convened on May 5, 1789, but immediately became divided over the issue of voting since the Third Estate insisted on voting by head. On June 17, after over a month of bitter struggle over this legal issue, the deputies of the Third Estate declared themselves the **National Assembly** and invited other estates to join it. A political revolution had begun. When, three days later, royal officials locked the Third Estate out of its regular meeting hall, the deputies occupied the king’s indoor tennis court, where they pledged an oath (the **Tennis Court Oath**) not to disperse until they had produced a new constitution. The court opposed this notion and the king considered using troops to disperse the defiant Third Estate, whose deputies, as the comte de **Mirabeau**, one of its leaders, proclaimed, would not “leave our places except by the power of the bayonet.” In the event, the king chose to negotiate.

The political revolution that began with the aristocracy and expanded through the involvement of the deputies of the Third Estate soon passed beyond anyone's control. Paris and other cities and provinces suffered from lack of provisions and high prices, which combined to create a volatile situation. Many feared that the king would turn to the army to suppress the National Assembly. When, under pressure from his court, Louis dismissed the popular minister Necker, a Parisian crowd rose up and attacked the **Bastille** fortress, a symbol of absolutism, which was seized and demolished. Rumors of an "aristocratic conspiracy" to overthrow the Third Estate, meanwhile, spread throughout France and led to the start of rural disturbances. The Great Fear, as this turmoil is known, was largely sustained by various rumors that caused peasants to arm themselves in self-defense and turned their anxiety to the estates of their seigneurs.

The **Constituent Assembly** quickly proceeded with its reforms. On August 4, 1789, it decreed the abolition of the feudal regime and of the tithe gathered by the Catholic Church. The Assembly began working on the first constitution of the French kingdom, and on August 26, it introduced the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, proclaiming liberty, **equality**, the inviolability of property, and the right to resist oppression. The court opposed these political reforms, and the Assembly itself became divided into various feuding factions. In October, radical elements in Paris incited the hungry masses of thousands of Parisian women to march on Versailles to express their grievances to the Assembly and the king. These **October Days** had a dramatic influence on the subsequent course of the Revolution. Following the mob's attack on the palace, the royal family was compelled to move to Paris, where it was soon joined by the Assembly. From then on, both the king and the Assembly became the hostages of radical Parisian crowds, which hereafter began to play an important role in the political events of the Revolution.

In the first year of its existence, the Assembly implemented a variety of reforms that began to transform France. The Constitution of 1791, drafted between July 1789 and September 1791, established a constitutional monarchy in France. Legislative power was delegated to the **Legislative Assembly**, a unicameral legislature of 745 representatives that was elected by active citizens (those who had the vote, itself determined based on how much tax one paid), who met in local primary assemblies and elected 1 percent of their number as electors, who then elected representatives. Although the new **suffrage** excluded **women** from voting, it was still far broader than the existing system in Britain. Executive power was delegated to the king, but his authority was curtailed. The ancient administrative system by which France was divided into provinces was replaced by 83 departments, which were themselves subdivided into districts and cantons. In February through March 1790, provincial and municipal councils were elected at each of these levels, signaling a decentralization of the French government. The Assembly created a new judiciary, eliminated monasteries and religious orders, abolished the parlements, nationalized royal land, created a land tax, abolished internal tariffs, established civil rights for Protestants, and introduced uniform weights and measures and a whole host of other reforms.

The decision to nationalize the lands of the Roman Catholic Church in France to pay off the national debt led to a widespread redistribution of property but alienated the clergy, who still wielded enormous influence in rural regions. To ensure the clergy's loyalty, the Assembly drafted the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**, which defined the clergy's rights and place in the new France. After Pope **Pius VI** refused to

approve these changes, the Assembly demanded that the clergy take an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Almost all bishops refused to take it, while the parish clergy was evenly split among refractory priests, who refused, and juring priests, who accepted, the oath. This produced a schism that had a profound effect on the subsequent course of events, since the refractory priests often provided leadership to the counterrevolutionary movements of 1792–1793, especially in the western and southwestern regions of France. After nationalizing church property, the government issued assignats, a large denomination of paper bonds guaranteed by the sale of confiscated church property. While the assignats provided an important economic respite in 1790–1791, the Assembly's subsequent actions led to rapid inflation of the assignats, which all but lost its face value over the next few years. The failure to repay the state debt led to the loss of public credit and inadequate funds for local administration, while high inflation limited commercial activity.

In foreign policy, most European rulers initially were indifferent to the Revolution, considering it the internal affair of France. However, areas along the French border faced the increasing problem of hosting numerous French émigré communities who openly declared anti-revolutionary sentiments. The Assembly proclaimed that all peoples had the right of self-determination and it was the Assembly's mission to bring the Revolution to them. The king felt increasingly uncomfortable with his status as a titular head and the general course of the Revolution. After publicly expressing his support for the Assembly throughout 1790, he secretly fled the capital in June 1791. The king's flight to **Varennes**, where he was arrested, proved to be one of the most important events of the Revolution. A manifesto that Louis left behind explained his motives, denounced the revolutionary government, and suggested that he was seeking foreign help against the Revolution. This exacerbated the split between the moderate mass of citizens, who still believed in a constitutional monarchy, and the vociferous urban minority of radicals, who demanded the creation of a republic.

The arrest of the French royal family persuaded Emperor **Leopold II** of the Holy Roman Empire, and brother of the French queen, **Marie Antoinette**, to seek international support to protect the Bourbons. In August 1791, Austria and Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, which threatened the revolutionary authorities with intervention if the royal family were harmed. The declaration was intended as a warning to the revolutionary government not to infringe on the rights of the king, but instead it facilitated the start of the **French Revolutionary Wars** the following spring. On April 20, 1792, France declared war against Austria, which was later supported by Prussia. The war initially proved unsuccessful for the French, whose inexperienced and weakened army following the flight abroad of many of its aristocratic officers suffered defeats. The Austro-Prussian army crossed the French frontier and advanced rapidly toward Paris. Foreign invasion exacerbated tensions in the capital, where many believed that they had been betrayed by the king and the aristocracy. On August 10, Parisian radicals led an attack on the Tuileries Palace, all but ending the power of the Bourbon monarchy.

The Assembly decided to create a new legislature, the **National Convention**, which would be elected by universal manhood suffrage and would write a more democratic constitution. In September, Parisian crowds, still anxious about suspected enemies within, broke into the prisons and murdered hundreds of prisoners held there in what became known as the **September Massacres**. At the same time,

volunteers poured into the army, the Austro-Prussian invasion having awakened French nationalism. On September 20, the French army defeated the Prussians at the Battle of **Valmy**, and the following day the Convention officially proclaimed the **abolition of the monarchy** and the establishment of the republic.

The Convention was polarized by the struggle between the moderate **Girondins**, who sought to establish a bourgeois republic, and the Montagnards, who advocated a more radical program and wanted to give the lower classes a greater share in political and economic power. The first year of the Convention witnessed a power struggle for predominance between these two factions, and the king's trial became the greatest issue of the day. In the end, the Montagnards won the debates, and the king was condemned to death for treason and beheaded on the guillotine in January 1793.

The period between September 1792 and April 1793 proved to be successful for the revolutionary armies as they invaded **Belgium**, the Rhineland, and Savoy and helped establish revolutionary governments in those regions. However, in the spring of 1793, the tide of war shifted against France as Austria, Prussia, and Britain formed a coalition (later called the First Coalition). The French were driven out of Belgium and the Rhineland, and the Revolution was in peril once more. Such a threat only strengthened the radicals, especially in Paris, where the **Jacobins** enjoyed the full support of the Parisian sections and the *sans-cullottes* (the revolutionary element of the lower class). Between May 31 and June 2, the Montagnards organized a coup, which drove the moderate Girondins out of the Convention, and seized power.

Over the next 13 months, sometimes referred to as the Montagnard Dictatorship, the Montagnards dominated the Convention and controlled the government. They drafted the 1793 constitution and implemented radical policies to stabilize the country amid civil strife and foreign invasion. The Montagnards used terror to pursue their radical economic and social policy and to fight political enemies. They established strict state control of the economy, which benefited the poor. To fight the threats of invasion, the government issued the *levée en masse* (August 1793) that mobilized the resources of the entire nation and transformed the nature of military conflict forever. This period also saw the further secularization of French society as churches and monasteries were closed and dechristianization began. A new calendar advocated the ideals of the Revolution, while a civil religion dedicated to the Supreme Being sought, unsuccessfully, to replace traditional beliefs.

The Montagnards' policies, however, provoked violent reactions in various provinces. The insurrection of the **Chouans** in Brittany and the war in the Vendée continued without restraint, forcing the revolutionary government to divert substantial forces there. The Girondins, who escaped persecution in Paris, incited the so-called federalist risings in Normandy and in Provence. In August 1793, the federalists surrendered the strategic port city of Toulon and the entire French Mediterranean fleet to the British. In a desperate fight to save the republic, the Montagnard government turned to increasingly more violent methods. In September, the **Reign of Terror** became official government policy. Special legislation was passed that limited civil liberties and expanded the government's authority. The **Committee of Public Safety**, a 12-member executive committee with vaguely defined powers and led by Maximilien **Robespierre**, assumed executive power, while the **revolutionary tribunals** rendered swift, often summary, justice. **Representatives on mission**, wielding supreme political and military authority, were sent to the provinces and armies to enforce the will of the government.

By early 1794, the harsh methods of the Montagnard government seemingly paid off. The revolutionary armies halted the Austro-Prussian invasion and suppressed the federalist uprisings. These successes led some to suggest that the Terror should be brought to an end, which caused the Montagnards to split into factions, with Robespierre and his allies advocating a radical program of continued Terror, while Georges **Danton** and his supporters called for moderation. In April, Danton and his allies were arrested and, after a farcical trial, executed. Robespierre himself became more isolated and conspicuous, insisting on continuation of the Terror. Yet, in the coup of the 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794), known as the **Thermidorian Reaction**, Robespierre and his supporters were arrested and executed.

The 9 Thermidor signaled the end of the radical stage of the French Revolution. The Convention promulgated a new constitution that created a bicameral legislative branch (the **Council of Five Hundred** and the Council of Ancients) and delegated executive power to a five-member **Directory**. Suffrage was curtailed from the universal suffrage granted in 1793 to a limited one based on the amount of tax paid by the prospective voter. Many of the Montagnard democratic reforms were reversed, and efforts toward social and economic equality were abandoned. Under the Directory, in fact, France became a bourgeois republic that struggled to find stability amid internal chaos and war. The government attempted to stand in the political center, opposing both Jacobinism and royalism, which made it vulnerable to conspiracies. The general discontent led to several abortive uprisings, first by the radical *sans-culottes* in the Prairial Rising (May 20, 1795) and then by the right-wing sections on 13 Vendémiaire, Year IV (October 5, 1795).

The Directory failed to solve the continuing financial crisis in France. It eliminated the (by then worthless) assignats and issued the territorial mandates, which quickly shared the assignats' fate. As hyperinflation began, the prices of goods rapidly increased and caused widespread hardship among the populace. In 1797, the government returned to metal currency, but this did not alleviate the crisis. Civil strife rendered the government unable to collect regular taxation, leaving the state treasury empty. In 1796, the Conspiracy of Equals, led by Gracchus **Babeuf**, sought a social model closely resembling communism, but this group was discovered and its ringleaders executed.

The Directory was relatively more successful in its foreign policy. In 1795, peace treaties were signed with Prussia and **Spain**, while French armies advanced into the Rhineland and Holland. In 1796–1797, **Napoleon** Bonaparte led French troops on a triumphant campaign in Italy, forcing Austria to sue for peace and cede the Austrian Netherlands (present-day Belgium) and their northern Italian possessions to France. In 1798 and 1799, the French occupied Switzerland, the Papal States, and **Naples**, where they established the sister republics. In May 1798, in order to threaten British commercial interests in India, the French government dispatched an expeditionary corps under General Bonaparte to Egypt.

France's aggressive foreign policy and expansionism, however, threatened other European powers and encouraged the formation of the Second Coalition among Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Britain in 1799. This coalition achieved great successes during the spring and summer of that year, when Russo-Austrian forces defeated the French and reconquered all of Italy. At the same time, various French provinces had fallen into a state of disorder. A peasant uprising had to be suppressed in Toulouse, while the Chouans rose again in Brittany. The Directory



itself was in turmoil as its membership changed several times in the spring and summer of 1799. Some members of the Directory actively conspired against their colleagues and sought the support of the military to achieve their political goals. At this crucial moment, Bonaparte returned to France in early October 1799 and organized the coup d'état of 18 **Brumaire** (November 9–10), which overthrew the Directory and established the **Consulate**.

The period of the Consulate (1799–1804) proved to be one of the most important periods in the history of modern France. The Constitution of 1799, the fourth constitution since the start of the Revolution, established an authoritarian regime that retained some democratic elements. Executive power lay in the hands of three consuls, but the **First Consul** (Napoleon) held more power than his two colleagues. Legislative authority was divided between several bodies, the Legislative Corps, the Tribunalate, the **Senate**, and the State Council, all designed to draft bills, debate them, vote on them, and rule on their constitutionality. Despite universal manhood suffrage, elections were not democratic since the process was divided into three stages: voters first elected their representatives, who then chose electors, who chose legislators from a list prepared by the First Consul. Napoleon resorted to plebiscites, but the veracity of their results is still debated. In 1802, France received its fifth constitution, which reduced the legislative bodies to mere ornaments and made Napoleon the First Consul for life. Two years later, the trappings of **republicanism** were discarded and Napoleon was proclaimed the emperor of the French.

Throughout his rule, Napoleon sought to retain some elements of the revolutionary era that his rule replaced while undoing other achievements of the past decade. He legalized slavery again and dispatched an expeditionary corps to suppress the slave rebellion on Saint-Domingue, a conflict known as the **Haitian Revolution**. In 1801, a **Concordat** was signed with the Vatican. The Catholic Church was allowed to operate in France, and Roman Catholicism was recognized as “the religion of the majority of Frenchmen.” However, the French government reserved the right to nominate the clergy, while the pope would appoint them. The Concordat helped Napoleon to pacify the royalist-clerical revolts in the Vendée and Brittany, and the French government granted freedom of worship to Protestant churches and the Jews. In 1807, a Grand Sanhedrin of rabbis from all over Europe was summoned in order to acquaint Napoleon with Jewish practices and advise his government regarding its policy respecting them.

The Consulate introduced a series of economic reforms that helped stabilize France. Direct taxes were kept at a steady level, while indirect taxes on beer, wine, tobacco, liquor, and salt were increased. A system of hard money was developed, and in 1802, Napoleon created the National Bank of France, which handled the government's money and issued its securities and loans at controlled rates. The consuls established protective tariffs for national industries and provided low interest loans to promote industry. A *livret* or work card was introduced to keep track of the workforce.

Napoleon retained the administrative division of the country into 83 departments but ended the decentralization that began during the Revolution. Instead, he established a highly centralized administration, where prefects of departments, subprefects of districts, and mayors of cities were appointed by central authorities. A highly effective secret police and gendarmerie were created to maintain tight control on the population. Napoleon also expanded education, creating a national school system

(Imperial University), which consisted of *lycées*, special schools for women, and *grand écoles*. Most importantly, the Consulate developed a new legal system, starting with the **Civil Code** in 1804 and followed by a Code of Civil Procedure in 1806, a Commercial Code in 1807, a Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure in 1808, and a Penal Code in 1810. The Code Napoléon, as these codes were commonly known, eliminated antiquated laws and codified the legislation of the revolutionary years. It defined provisions regulating the rule of law and guaranteed individual liberty, equality before the law and in taxation, freedom from arrest without due process, religious freedom, and the right to choose one's work. However, the Code was also paternalistic, treating women as subordinates of men and delaying their emancipation until well into the twentieth century.

Between 1804 and 1814, Napoleon devoted most of his time to war, as he faced repeated attempts by European powers to defeat him. However, the French waged successful campaigns (with the exception of the war in Spain) for the next 10 years, occupying almost all the capitals of Europe. Vienna fell in 1805, followed by Berlin in 1806 and Madrid in 1808. The French Empire gradually expanded into Italy and the Netherlands while Napoleon used his victories to redraw the map of Europe. The Confederation of the Rhine was formed from the Germanic states, and the Holy Roman Empire was abolished in 1806. Prussia, following its crushing defeat in 1806, was forced to give up substantial territory, some of which Napoleon used to create the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1808.

In 1806, to counter his arch nemesis, Britain, Napoleon launched the Continental System, which attempted to close the entire continent to British goods. This form of economic warfare, however, proved ineffective, as the British took advantage of their naval power to shift their markets to other regions, namely South America, while France's continental allies suffered economically and became increasingly discontent with the restrictions imposed on them. In 1812, following Russia's refusal to maintain the blockade, Napoleon led his Grande Armée toward Moscow, which he occupied in the fall of that year. Disaster eventually befell him: the Russian army and the winter soon combined to annihilate almost all his troops.

Napoleon's defeat in Russia led directly to the collapse of the French Empire. In 1813–1814, a coalition of Russia, Britain, Austria, and Prussia defeated Napoleon and occupied Paris in March 1814. Napoleon was exiled to the island of Elba, while the Bourbon family was restored to the throne of France. The French Empire was reduced in size and returned to its 1792 borders, bereft of all its Napoleonic conquests. The political fate of Europe was decided at the Congress of **Vienna**, where the major European powers redrew the entire map of the Continent. Although a defeated power, France did manage to reassert itself as one of the five Great Powers, largely owing to the skill of the French foreign minister, Prince Charles Maurice de **Talleyrand**.

The new French king, **Louis XVIII**, the brother of Louis XVI, resisted pressure from the more reactionary aristocratic groups and agreed to grant the Charter of 1814 (*Charte Constitutionnelle*), which, in effect, established a constitutional monarchy, in which the king enjoyed executive power, and legislative power was concentrated in a bicameral legislature known as the Chambers of Peers and of Deputies. Still, the Bourbon monarchy proved unpopular with the French people, as it tried to reverse some of the achievements of the Revolution and the Empire. Such policies even prompted the famous remark that the Bourbons had learned nothing and

remembered everything during their period in exile. Within a year of their restoration, the Bourbons were forced to flee from Paris on news of Napoleon's departure from Elba in February 1815. During the Hundred Days, as Napoleon's brief reign is known, the European powers again joined forces against him. In a very brief military campaign, Anglo-Allied and Prussian forces defeated the emperor at the Battle of **Waterloo** on June 18, and by the following month the Bourbons were once more ensconced in Paris. *See also* Calendar, French Revolutionary; Constitutions, French Revolutionary; The Mountain.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Francis II, Emperor of Austria (1768–1835)

Francis II was the last Holy Roman emperor, the first emperor of **Austria**, and king of Hungary and Bohemia. Francis Joseph Charles was born on February 12, 1768, in Florence. The eldest son of Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany and future Holy Roman emperor, and his wife, Archduchess Maria Louisa of **Spain**, Francis would have 15 siblings. He was reared by a gentle governess in simple surroundings. Through private tutors, Francis was taught religion, languages, translation, history, writing, arithmetic, and sports in a strict daily educational regimen that began at 7 A.M. and ended at 5 P.M. Exacting order combined with a methodical upbringing were his educational mainstays. Francis enjoyed learning about the historical vagaries of Europe's royal houses. He concluded that the downfall of Athens was due to its democratic form of government and distrusted the idea of letting the people take part in government. Francis became a steadfast and absolute conservative, his beliefs never wavering.

Francis grew up to be vain, arrogant, miserly, deceitful, suspicious, and critical. He scarcely paid attention to his lessons, often misbehaved, and was apathetic to matters not directly related to him. He moved to Vienna and joined his uncle Emperor **Joseph II** in 1784. Francis's work habits changed; he learned to work diligently and attained an encyclopedic knowledge. In Vienna he began to assemble what would become a 40,000-volume library and a magnificent portrait collection. Francis disagreed with Emperor Joseph's liberal innovations, and as a future monarch he tried to learn what mistakes to avoid.

To complete his studies, Francis became involved in the Habsburg Empire's military affairs, which he enjoyed. This final component of his education taught him an immense capacity for work, a trait that never deserted him. He studied every aspect

of military affairs in excruciatingly close detail. Francis also fought in numerous battles and learned to enjoy war. He also traveled extensively through his uncle's domains and took copious notes in his journals about the places he visited and the characteristics of the people he met. Francis also demonstrated a strong interest in the economies and societies of the lands through which he traveled.

Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II arranged Francis's marriage to Duchess Elizabeth Wilhelmina Louise of Württemberg. The ceremony was held on January 6, 1788, but Elizabeth died on February 19, 1790, after a difficult birth. The baby, Ludovica, herself died 16 months later. Further tragedy in Francis's life ensued: Emperor Joseph died on March 1, and on May 15, Francis's mother died. His second marriage to a cousin, Maria Theresa of the Kingdom of **Naples**, on August 15, 1790, produced 12 children, of whom only 7 reached adulthood.

Upon Joseph II's death, Francis became Holy Roman emperor on March 1, 1792, at the age of 24. He inherited a troubling legacy: the Holy Roman Empire consisted of far-flung domains, from the Austrian Netherlands in the Low Countries to the middle of Europe, including most of Germany and parts of northern Italy, and of eastern Europe, consisting of present-day Croatia, Hungary, and Bohemia. These countries were populated by multiethnic groups who vied with one another for primacy. Francis also faced territorial encroachment, not only from Russia, Prussia, and the Ottoman Empire, but more ominously from **France**.

Francis strongly opposed the ideology behind the **French Revolution**, which preached the spread of equality and liberty not only throughout France but beyond her borders. Queen **Marie Antoinette**, Francis's aunt, and her husband, King **Louis XVI**, had both been guillotined in 1793. His cousins, the couple's children, were kept in prison, where 10-year-old **Louis XVII** died.

Francis fought against the French in five wars during his reign. His determination to maintain the status of his royal house led to several foreign policy disasters during his period of rule. The Treaty of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797) not only destroyed the First Coalition against France but also substantially redrew the map of Europe. As a result of this settlement, Francis was forced to cede **Belgium** to France, by which he lost 1.5 million subjects, in exchange for Venice, Istria, Friuli, and Dalmatia, by which he gained a half-million subjects. He also ceded some islands in the Mediterranean, including Corfu. The French were guaranteed free navigation of the Rhine, Moselle, and Meuse rivers, and Austria was forced to recognize the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics—satellite states of revolutionary France.

As a result of French victories at the battles of Marengo and of Hohenlinden on June 14 and December 3, 1800, respectively, on February 9, 1801, Francis was forced to conclude the Treaty of Lunéville, which confirmed and extended the terms of Campo Formio. Austria was the principal member of the Second Coalition against France but was defeated at the Battle of Austerlitz on December 2, 1805, as a result of which Francis had, by the Treaty of Pressburg on December 26, to cede Venice, Tyrol, Swabia, and Dalmatia to France or her allies. On August 6, 1806, **Napoleon** forced Francis to renounce his title as Holy Roman emperor and assume in its stead the designation of Emperor Francis I of Austria.

In 1806 Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine, which initially consisted of 16 German states that had been part of the Holy Roman Empire under Francis. Napoleon used the territory, with a population of 15 million inhabitants, as a counterbalance to Austria and Prussia. The Confederation would eventually

accept 23 more German states. Napoleon created the kingdoms of Württemberg and Bavaria as well as grand duchies and principalities, all under his auspices. As part of the Fifth Coalition, Austria was again defeated in 1809. The Treaty of Schönbrunn, signed on October 14, 1809, cost the Habsburgs considerable territorial losses, and nearly 2 million inhabitants found themselves under new rulers.

In 1810 Napoleon stood at the height of his power, but only after making many enemies. Francis had little choice but to allow his daughter Archduchess Marie Louise to marry the French emperor on March 11, 1810, in Vienna, and on April 1 in Paris. The marriage was politically arranged by Austrian foreign minister Clemens von **Metternich** and produced a son, Napoleon II, known as the king of Rome.

Austria was finally victorious in the campaigns against Napoleon of 1813 and 1814 as a result of a grand alliance with Russia, Prussia, and Britain. The Congress of **Vienna**, which convened in the wake of the **Napoleonic Wars**, largely returned Europe back to the conservative style of politics that had existed before the **French Revolution**. Francis himself, who believed his authority was granted by God, vehemently opposed the influence of revolutionary thought in Austria, where he strictly adhered to the repressive policies pursued by Metternich despite the criticism he received from liberals throughout Europe who deemed him a tyrant. Francis opposed reform and insisted on employing his own antiquated methods of governance, as a result of which the Habsburg political system grew stagnant. Francis died in Vienna on March 2, 1835, and was buried in the Imperial Crypt.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### **Franco-American Alliance (1778)**

Concluded on February 6, 1778, by Benjamin **Franklin** and the French foreign minister, the comte de **Vergennes**, the Treaty of Alliance with France, together with the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, provided French aid to the American colonies at a critical point during the **American Revolutionary War**. Although French liberal intellectual circles supported the cause of American independence for ideological reasons, the French crown was motivated by the geopolitical expedience of undermining Britain's position in the world after its conquest of **Canada** from France in 1763.

The treaty provided that if war should break out between France and **Britain**, France and United States “shall make it common cause and aid each other mutually” and “mutually engage not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured.” Vergennes was concerned that the treaty not strengthen the United States in proportion to its effect in weakening Britain, but it nonetheless had the immediate effect of broadening the colonial conflict to American advantage when in June 1778 British warships fired on French vessels, so precipitating war.

In 1779 **Spain** exploited the opportunity to recover colonies lost to Britain in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and entered the conflict on the side of France, though not in alliance with the United States. When in 1780 Britain declared war on



The French vessels *Languedoc* and *Marseillais*, outfitted with new sails, rejoin the French fleet under Comte d'Estaing, whom France sent to assist her American allies. *Library of Congress*.

the United Provinces of the **Netherlands** in response to continuing Dutch trade with the Americans, it found itself at war with three European powers whose collective challenge strained British resources to a much greater extent than the American threat alone. The alliance was thus decisive to the cause of American independence, above all at the siege of **Yorktown** in 1781, but yielded little long-term benefit to France. *See also* American Revolution.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790)

Benjamin Franklin was a principal leader of the **American Revolution**. Before the war for independence, Franklin earned fame as a Philadelphia publisher and writer and world recognition as a scientist and inventor. As early as 1754, he proposed the **Albany Plan of Union** as a design for the union of the American colonies within the British Empire. Although first reluctant to embrace the idea of revolution, Franklin swiftly became one of its greatest champions at home and abroad and came to personify the American character in Europe as an agent for the colonies in London and eventually for the United States as ambassador in Paris. At home, he served as deputy postmaster-general for the colonies and on the committee in the Second **Continental Congress** responsible for drafting the **Declaration of Independence** in 1776. He also reorganized **Pennsylvania's** government to better prosecute the Revolution. As ambassador in Paris, he achieved critical financial and military support for the American war effort and in 1783 returned to France to represent the United States in the negotiations with **Britain** that resulted in the Treaty of Paris, an accord formally ending hostilities and recognizing the United States. As a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, he helped draft the **United States Constitution** and successfully urged compromise among the delegates. He promoted civic improvements in Philadelphia; the abolition of slavery; and the establishment of educational, medical, and charitable institutions. Unlike many American leaders

of his day, he was able to look beyond local interests and attachments to a broader continental perspective and national unity.

### *Early Life*

Franklin was born on Milk Street in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1706, the fifteenth of 17 children of a candle maker, Josiah Franklin. His mother, Abiah Folger, was Josiah's second wife. Although mainly self-taught, Franklin attended Boston Grammar School, where he mastered Greek and Latin but demonstrated poor skills in mathematics. After abandoning the hope that Franklin would become a clergyman, his father removed him from school to learn a trade. This change of plans may have been an effort to curb Franklin's rebelliousness and desire to go to sea. In 1718, Josiah made Benjamin become an apprentice to a half-brother, James, to whom he was bound in service until the age of 21.

Franklin hated the apprenticeship and the beatings his jealous brother inflicted, but as expected, he learned the printing trade. He also became an excellent writer, often having satirical articles published in his brother's newspaper, the *New England Courant*, using the name "Silence Dogood." His popular satires were entertaining and sometimes controversial. For example, he poked fun at Puritanism and criticized the **Massachusetts** government for its failure to deal effectively with pirates stalking the colony's coastal waters. One such criticism of the government resulted in the jailing of James, during which Franklin managed the newspaper.

Eventually breaking his apprenticeship contract, Franklin hid aboard a ship in Boston Harbor. He made his way to **New York** and then to Philadelphia, where he met Sir William Keith, Pennsylvania's governor. Impressed by the personable and enthusiastic 18-year-old, Keith offered to appoint Franklin official printer for the colony. With promised letters of credit from the governor, Franklin sailed to London to purchase a printing press, only to discover that Keith's commitments and credit were worthless. Stranded in London, Franklin secured positions with prominent printers before returning to Philadelphia, with the assistance of a Quaker merchant, after two years. His experience with Sir William soured his view of the British aristocracy, but he liked London and seriously considered remaining in Britain. His early life influenced his beliefs in individual freedom, equality, social mobility, and freedom of the press.

### *Fame, Fortune, and Politics*

Back in Philadelphia, Franklin co-founded a newspaper, the *Philadelphia Gazette*, in 1728 and in time became sole owner. During this period he took a common-law wife, Deborah Read Rogers, a penniless widow, and started a family. Through his diligence and business acumen, his newspaper and printing business prospered. He was named official printer for Pennsylvania and opened book and stationary shops. His most famous publication was *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which was in great demand throughout the colonies and in Europe. With homespun wisdom, both original and borrowed, his annually published volume advised self-reliance, frugality, and hard work. He also published the first foreign-language newspaper in America, a German newspaper entitled the *Philadelphia Zeitung*, and various **pamphlets** advocating his economic, social, and political views. His most notable pamphlet was entitled *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of Paper Currency*. The Pennsylvania assembly was persuaded by his arguments and gave Franklin a contract to print currency. His printing enterprise

was so successful that he was able to retire at the age of 42 and devote himself to scientific, civic, and political causes.

### *Scientist and Civic Leader with a Continental Perspective*

Franklin's greatest renown prior to the Revolution came from his ingenious inventions and scientific experiments. Most notable were his studies of electricity commencing in 1746. He proved that electricity and lightning are the same, discovered positive and negative electricity, improved ways of storing electricity, and explored means of protecting buildings from lightning with lightning rods. He applied himself to many fields of science and made significant achievements in meteorology due to his weather prediction research and studies of the Gulf Stream. He invented bifocals, the smokeless Franklin stove, an odometer, a desk-chair combination used in schools to this day, and a musical instrument called the armonica, for which Mozart composed music. He established the forerunner of the American Philosophical Society, which was America's first scientific organization, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, receiving its Copley Medal in 1753. In 1757, due to his scientific contributions, he was awarded honorary doctorates by the universities of Edinburgh and Oxford and henceforth proudly went by the title Doctor Franklin.

Along with others, Franklin organized Philadelphia's first public library and first professional police force, and America's first free hospital, first fire department, and first fire insurance company. He helped found the Academy of Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. He served on Philadelphia's city council and the colonial assembly, and as Philadelphia's postmaster, and was subsequently named deputy postmaster for the colonies. In that capacity, he traveled extensively, instituted reforms promoting efficiency and regular mail deliveries, and gained a unique continental perspective and desire for improved cooperation among the colonies.

### *The Albany Plan and the Frontier*

As early as 1751, Franklin proposed the first plan of union of the American colonies as a purely defensive measure against the Indians. Ironically, he compared his plan to the Iroquois Indian federation known as the Six Nations. Realizing that such a proposal would meet with little support from the colonial governors and therefore would not be presented by the governors to their assemblies, he suggested to its supporters that it be transmitted to the leading men of each colony, who would in turn promote the idea within their respective colonies; yet little came of his early proposal.

At the Albany Congress of 1755, a conference called by the British Board of Trade to consider means of dealing with the French and Indian threat, and attended by representatives of six colonies, Franklin served as a delegate from Pennsylvania. He crafted and presented, along with Governor Thomas **Hutchinson** of Massachusetts, an unprecedented proposal for a union of the colonies within the British Empire. Franklin explained his new plan in his essay *Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies*.

The plan proved far broader than his 1751 concept. Under what became known as the Albany Plan, a "grand council" would be chosen by the colonial assemblies with apportionment of representation determined by the amount of taxes paid by each colony. Taxation would be levied on liquor and the issuance of stamps



for legal documents. Executive power would be vested in a president general appointed by the Crown. The president general would have the authority to deal with the Indians, make war, defend coastal waters from pirates, and govern frontier regions until they were organized into new colonies. Accordingly, Franklin saw the Albany Plan not just as securing a united defense, but also as the key to future colonial economic prosperity, with the united colonies jointly developing the western frontier into new colonies freed from burdensome trade restrictions. He also noted that new colonies would support an increasing population. Franklin further contended that union must originate with the colonies, not the British government. The plan proved unacceptable to the colonial assemblies for being too radical, but it did serve as a model for future efforts toward a unified governance of America.

In later years, Franklin would look back on the Albany Plan as a lost opportunity to prevent British abuse of colonists and the resulting American Revolution. His concern for westerners and their equality would lead to his great popularity in the trans-Appalachian west. In 1784, the aborted state of Franklin, located within the current borders of Tennessee, would be named in his honor, as were many towns and counties on the western frontier.

His knowledge of the frontier grew when he was sent by Pennsylvania's governor to organize the defense of the colony's northwestern region. There he designed and supervised the construction of three forts and commanded about 500 militiamen. On his return to Philadelphia, he was elected colonel of Pennsylvania's militia.

### *Colonial Diplomat*

Franklin was selected as Pennsylvania's agent to deal with the British proprietors of the colony in 1757. Although the Penn family, who inherited their proprietary rights from William Penn, refused to deal with Franklin, he became the unofficial representative for American interests in London and eventually the official agent for **Georgia**, **New Jersey**, and Massachusetts as well as Pennsylvania. In 1769, he asked the British government to make Pennsylvania a royal colony but was ignored.

While Franklin opposed the enactment by **Parliament** of the **Stamp Act** as an unconstitutional internal tax, as opposed to legal external taxes or custom duties on the colonies, many in America felt he had not objected strongly enough. Yet the Stamp Act was finally repealed due to the protests of British merchants harmed by the American boycotts of British goods and the renewed forcefulness of Franklin's arguments to members of Parliament. Consequently, Franklin's image in America was rehabilitated, and for nine years he pressed for colonial rights in London while urging moderation and compromise on both sides of the Atlantic. As the situation deteriorated, Franklin counseled colonists to use boycotts instead of armed resistance while at the same time urging pro-American members of Parliament to be more vocal.

Franklin finally reached the conclusion that independence was the only option for the colonies because of the so-called Hutchinson Affair, in which Franklin was publicly insulted and berated before the Privy Council as he stood silently, on January 19, 1774, for leaking letters of Massachusetts governor Thomas Hutchinson that called for the disregard of Americans' rights. His treatment by the British government greatly increased Franklin's popularity at home.

### *Revolution and Independence*

Franklin returned to America and threw all his energy into the movement for independence despite the opposition of his illegitimate son, William, the royal governor of New Jersey. He served in the Second Continental Congress and was appointed to the committee responsible for drafting the Declaration of Independence. Although Thomas **Jefferson** was the author of the document signed on July 4, 1776, Franklin and John **Adams** provided editorial assistance. Franklin next served as president of Pennsylvania's constitutional convention and reorganized the state's government to more effectively wage war as a tight committee system fashioned after the **Sons of Liberty**. This government structure served as a model to other states during the Revolution and later to French revolutionaries.

In late 1776, Franklin returned to France to seek an alliance and needed financial and military assistance. In Paris, he became popular, partly due to his manipulation of public opinion. He wore plain clothes and often a fur cap in order to cultivate the impression that he was a simple, plainspoken American frontiersman. Because of his democratic ideals and scientific credentials, he was viewed as the personification of the New World **Enlightenment**. The French aristocracy was enchanted, and his picture appeared in homes across France and on all sorts of household items. After convincing the French government that the United States would not resolve their differences with Britain and abandon the goal of independence, a critical alliance was forged with France on February 6, 1778. He subsequently won indispensable financial and military assistance. Franklin's home in Passy, just outside Paris, became the hub of American diplomatic activities in Europe. In 1779, he presented his credentials to the king of France, becoming the first minister (now ambassador) of the United States to be received by a foreign power.

After the American victory at **Yorktown** in 1781, achieved with the coordination of the French navy, Franklin was sent to London to negotiate a peace treaty. Before fellow commissioners John Adams and John **Jay** arrived, Franklin worked out much of the accord. The Treaty of Paris, signed on September 3, 1783, formally ended the war and recognized the independence of the United States. Furthermore, Britain relinquished its claim to the territory from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, effectively granting the United States one-fifth of the continent. Franklin refused to guarantee repayment to Loyalists for property losses but agreed to a recommendation that Congress provide compensation, knowing well that Congress had already turned the issue of Loyalist compensation over to the unsympathetic states. The British also pledged to remove their troops still garrisoning forts in the **Northwest**. Many consider the treaty Franklin's greatest diplomatic achievement. Upon his triumphant return to Philadelphia in 1785, he was elected president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania at the age of 79, a position to which he was twice reelected and filled for three years.

### *The Constitutional Convention*

With the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Franklin witnessed the achievement of his long-held dream of a strong central government for America to replace the arrangement of the **Articles of Confederation**, which he and most other delegates viewed as weak and ineffectual. Despite his advanced age and declining health, he was selected as a delegate representing Pennsylvania at the Convention to commence in March 1787. He was the oldest of the participants and, due to his illnesses,

had to be carried to the meetings on a litter. Throughout the secret proceedings during an unusually hot summer, he chiefly advised the younger delegates and, like George **Washington**, who presided over the meeting, lent the unprecedented gathering an aura of trustworthiness and legitimacy.

Franklin favored a multiple executive or triumvirate—similar to that of the ancient Roman Republic—with three individuals holding power rather than a single chief executive or president. He also preferred a unicameral (one-house) legislative branch and opposed salaries for high government officers in order to ensure that those truly desiring public service, not those simply seeking financial reward, would seek office. Although these ideas were not adopted, Franklin still made significant contributions to the final draft of the United States Constitution.

Franklin played a key role in crafting and urging acceptance of the so-called Great Compromise between the large and small states. The most populous states wanted representation in the **House of Representatives** based on population, which would thus give them the advantage. The smaller states wanted each state to have equal representation, as under the Articles of Confederation. An agreement was forged whereby representation in the House would be based on population, and each state would have an equal vote in the upper house, or **Senate**. He also supported a provision requiring that money bills originate in the House. Even with this compromise and others, many delegates were dissatisfied with the final draft. At a critical moment during the last day of the meeting, September 17, 1787, Franklin, who was in pain and unable to give a speech, had another delegate read a message to the Convention for him. In it he stated that there were parts of the Constitution he did not agree with, but that the delegates should doubt their fallibility and approve the final draft. When the Convention approved the document, Franklin joyfully observed that during the proceedings he had often wondered whether a carving of the sun on George Washington's chair was a rising or setting sun. He had now determined that it was rising.

### *Last Years, Ideology, and Slavery*

Retiring from public life in 1788, Franklin's last years were encumbered by ill health. Nevertheless, he continued to write letters for publication from the confines of his bedroom. To the end, his faith in the common man never wavered, and he continually expressed belief in social mobility over class barriers, pragmatism over ideology, and **nationalism** over provincialism. He also recognized the benefits to society of middle-class values and religious tolerance and teachings. An issue drawing much of his attention was slavery and its conflict with the ideals represented by the Revolution. As early as the 1730s, he advocated against the slave trade and in the 1780s had communicated with antislavery reformers in Britain and America. He also served as president of the Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. His last public act was his signing of the society's petition to Congress calling for emancipation on February 12, 1790. He failed to finish his autobiography and died in his sleep at the age of 84 on April 17, 1790. He was interred at Christ Church Burial Ground in Philadelphia. In his will, Franklin left large sums to the cities of Boston and Philadelphia. *See also* Abolitionists; American Revolutionary War; Constitutions, American State; Equality; France; Franco-American Alliance; Franklin, William; Loyalists; Newspapers (American); Revolutionary Committees of the French Revolution; Signers of the Declaration of Independence; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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RUSSELL FOWLER

### Franklin, William (1731–1813)

William Franklin's life and career show that the **American Revolution** was really a civil war with divisions not only between parties but also within families. He was born in 1731, the illegitimate son of Benjamin **Franklin**. Growing up at his father's house, he was well educated and given several opportunities to serve with the militia; the postal service, which his father had organized and managed; and the **Pennsylvania** Assembly.

In 1756, Benjamin was sent to **Britain** to act as Pennsylvania's agent. William accompanied him to London, where he then studied law. In 1763, he was named, in large part through his father's efforts, governor of **New Jersey**. The beginning of Franklin's tenure was promising. The colony faced several problems—some financial, some revolving around land grants in dispute—but he was popular and was a good administrator. The **Stamp Act** began to change that, however, and despite the fact that New Jersey was not as actively or stridently opposed to royal policy as other colonies, Franklin's task of governing an increasingly alienated population became more difficult. He attempted, but eventually failed, to convince the New Jersey Assembly to reject the First **Continental Congress's** resolutions to include the formation of the **Continental Association**. As the political situation hardened, so did the disagreement between William and his father. The break came in 1774, and they never fully reconciled after that.

Despite Franklin's partial successes, he lost control of the New Jersey government. The first Provincial Congress assembled in 1775 and began to effectively govern. The second Provincial Congress met in January 1776; in that same month, Franklin was arrested and held until the middle of the year, when he was sent to **Connecticut** as a prisoner. After two years, Franklin was released and went to British-occupied **New York**. He left for Britain in 1782 and never returned to America. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War; Loyalists.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### Frederick II (the Great), King of Prussia (1712–1786)

Frederick the Great was king of Prussia from 1740 to 1786 and was known as an enlightened despot. Born on January 24, 1712, in Berlin, he was the son of Frederick William I (1688–1740) and Sophia Dorothea (1687–1757), daughter of the future

King George I of Hanover and **Britain**. Frederick William treated his artistically and linguistically gifted son abominably and quashed his emerging liberal tendencies; he had the boy trained in military matters from the age of six.

While attempting a flight to his mother's family in England to escape his father's omnipresent control, Frederick was caught, arrested, and forced to watch the execution of his friend and accomplice Hans Hermann von Katte on November 6, 1730. Frederick was court-martialed, temporarily imprisoned, and banned from court. As a result, Frederick suffered a nervous breakdown but thereafter obeyed all his father's commands. By this time the focus on military affairs had become an overpowering obsession that would eventually stand him in good stead.

Frederick's politically arranged marriage to Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern in 1733 failed. Although the couple remained married, they did not have a conventional marriage. Frederick refrained from having any other relationships with women. His father gave him Château Rheinsberg, near Berlin. There, Frederick was happy for the first time in his life and pursued the study of the arts and became enthralled with **Enlightenment** ideals. He wrote *Anti-Machiave* in 1739 and began corresponding with **Voltaire**, whom he greatly admired. He also studied the biographies and strategies of military leaders.

Frederick succeeded to the throne upon Frederick William's death on May 31, 1740. Prussia only had a population of about two million people, but the abundant treasury allowed Frederick the luxury to make significant changes. He never believed in the divine right of kings, but he could be a despot at times. He quickly realized that his far-flung territories—scattered across northern Germany, and often not contiguous—required modernization, and he implemented major reforms to benefit his people. Frederick made major improvements in the army, the infrastructure, the judicial system, finance, and the education system. He abolished torture and tolerated religious differences, which earned him the gratitude of his people. He had Sans-Souci palace built in the rococo style and lived there for six months every year. Under Frederick's enlightened guidance, Berlin became the leading center for art, culture, and research. He wrote poetry and over 30 books and became the symbol of Prussian patriotism.

Frederick's outstanding military training provided him with excellent leadership skills that would be respected by friend and foe alike, though many reigning houses initially considered him insignificant. This assumption was to be permanently shattered by the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Frederick's primary goals were to expand Prussian influence through territorial expansion; his brilliant campaign strategies in various battles achieved this goal. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), he annexed parts of Austrian Upper and Lower Silesia. At the same time he instituted more reforms at home: land was reclaimed from swamps for agricultural purposes, and he introduced the turnip and the potato into Prussian agriculture and encouraged German immigration. He placed only minor restrictions on domestic trade and used high protective tariffs to protect Prussia's nascent industry. Canals were built, and the existing system of indirect taxation was reorganized.

On the diplomatic front, Frederick made peace with Tsar Peter III of Russia in an alliance that made possible the three eventual partitions of Poland. The end result of his maneuverings was that by the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, Prussia had become Europe's leading power and retained all its conquests. As a result of his

impressive battlefield record, Frederick was by this time recognized across Europe as a military genius. Astute diplomacy followed this period of fighting; Frederick instigated the Peace of Hubertusburg on February 15, 1763, and the War of the Bavarian Succession from 1778 to 1779, primarily to prevent Austria from annexing Bavaria. On June 23, 1785, he established the Fürstenbund, a league of rulers, to restrain the designs of Austrian emperor Joseph II. Frederick financially supported Russia in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1769.

Frederick died on August 17, 1786, at Sans-Souci in Potsdam. Remembered as Frederick the Great, this imposing ruler genuinely cared for his subjects, who were themselves devoted to their country. He succeeded in making Prussia the most powerful country in Europe: by the time he died, Frederick had six million subjects and Prussia's size had increased by 75,000 square kilometers.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## French Revolution (1787–1799)

The importance of the French Revolution, the period of profound political, social, and cultural change that transformed **France** and Europe between 1787 and 1799, can hardly be overestimated, and its origins and tumultuous course of events are still debated.

### *Origins*

The French Revolution was precipitated by a host of complex problems, but financial difficulties contributed most in bringing it about. Throughout the eighteenth century, France was troubled by the government's inability to balance its income and expenses. By this period, France had emerged from a medieval principality into the largest and most populous kingdom in Europe and seemed poised to dominate the entire continent. However, such a task also carried immense liabilities. To maintain their position relative to other states, especially in an age-long rivalry against **Britain**, the Bourbon kings of France incurred increasingly high expenses that lay a heavy burden on the kingdom's economy. King Louis XIV's wars, notably his last, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), significantly weakened the French economy, which was further undermined by Louis XV's involvement in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), when France lost many of her colonial possessions in **Canada**, **India**, and the Caribbean to the British. After inheriting a financially and militarily weakened realm, **Louis XVI** stood by helplessly as France's traditional ally, the Kingdom of Poland, was partitioned by **Austria**, Russia, and Prussia in 1772. He was able to intervene in the rebellion of the British colonies in North America, where French expeditionary forces played an important role in securing their independence from Britain. However, this success cost France a great deal of investment

and delivered no tangible rewards that could have rectified dire financial conditions. Furthermore, French participation in the **American Revolutionary War** had driven the government to the brink of bankruptcy. This proved to be a major impediment to the pursuit of objectives abroad, since the fear of increasing state debt prevented Louis XVI from opposing Prussia's intervention in the **Netherlands** in 1787.

Financial difficulties were not linked to foreign policy and wars alone. French monarchs presided over an elaborate welfare system that maintained roads, undertook public works, and provided justice, education, and medical services, all of which required substantial investments. The royal court also drained huge sums of money as the king underwrote the expenses of courtiers and granted lavish awards and pensions. To make up for its inadequate sources of revenue, the French monarchy began to sell government posts, which reduced their efficiency, and created independent venal office-holders who could not be removed unless the government purchased back the seat. This policy consequently produced an independent-minded and cumbersome bureaucracy. The collection of taxes was leased out to individuals who paid the treasury a fee in exchange for the right to collect taxes in a specific region. While this system provided the monarchy with a steady flow of income, it also allowed officials in charge to squeeze as much as they could from an embittered population.

France could have easily managed these financial strains if not for the government's inability to implement the much-needed reforms. Although popularly described as an absolutist monarchy, the French kings, in reality, were far from exercising unlimited authority and were obligated to rule according to laws and customs developed over the ages. In this respect, the royal appeal courts—the 13 **parlements**—represented an important check on royal authority. Although nominally royal courts, the parlements were, in essence, independent bodies after their members purchased their seats from the monarchy. The parlements, especially the Parlement of Paris, emerged as a potent opposition to the crown, claiming the right to review and approve all royal laws to ensure that they conformed to the traditional laws of the kingdom. In the absence of representative institutions, the parlements (although representing the **nobility**) claimed to defend the interests of the entire nation against arbitrary royal authority.

The late eighteenth century was a healthy period of French trade and created a prosperous elite of wealthy commoners (merchants, manufacturers, and professionals), often called the bourgeoisie, who resented their exclusion from political power and positions of privilege. In social terms, France was divided into three estates that corresponded to the medieval notion that some prayed, some fought, and the rest farmed or worked in some other capacity. The **First Estate** consisted of the clergy, who were subject to their own church court system and were entitled to collect tithes. Over the course of hundreds of years, the Catholic Church had become a wealthy institution, owing large tracts of land and real estate. While bishops and abbots led a lavish lifestyle, the parish clergy maintained a much more modest lifestyle, often in poverty. The **Second Estate** consisted of the nobility, who accrued numerous **privileges** over the centuries. Its status granted the nobility the right to collect taxes from the peasantry and to enjoy many privileges. Thus, top positions in the church, army, and royal administration were limited to nobles. The nobility, however, was not a monolithic block. It was divided into the *noblesse d'épée* and the *noblesse ancienne*, the traditional nobility that monopolized court positions and

enjoyed enormous wealth, and the lesser nobility, such as the *noblesse de robe* and the *noblesse de cloche*, who held certain government or municipal positions. Finally, there was the *noblesse militaire*, who earned their title by holding military offices. The First and Second Estates were both privileged in that both had a privileged status with respect to taxes and opposed the government's reforms as a threat to their respective positions.

The Third Estate consisted of unprivileged commoners, that is, the remaining 95 percent of the French population. As such, it was a loose group, lacking common interests, since it included the wealthiest bourgeoisie, who mixed easily with the nobility, and the poorest peasants and townsfolk. The bourgeoisie saw a significant growth in the eighteenth century, and merchants in Bordeaux, Marseille, and Nantes exploited overseas trade with colonies in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean to reap tremendous profits. These wealthy commoners were, naturally, dissatisfied with the social and political system in France, which placed a heavy tax burden on their shoulders yet failed to provide them with proper representation in government. The role of the bourgeoisie at the start of the French Revolution had been hotly debated and laid the basis for the so called bourgeois revolution thesis, which argues that revolutionary upheaval was the inevitable result of the commoners' struggle for class equality. Recent historical research has downplayed such an explanation of the Revolution since the boundary between the nobility and bourgeoisie was very fluid and both classes often shared common interests.

Of the groups comprising the Third Estate, the peasantry was the largest. Unlike their brethren in eastern or central Europe, the majority of French peasants enjoyed legal freedoms, and some owned land, but most rented land from local seigneurs or bourgeois landowners. Rural conditions differed depending on the region, and such differences later influenced peasants' reactions to revolutionary events. By the late eighteenth century, the heavily taxed peasants were acutely aware of their situation and were less willing to support the antiquated and inefficient feudal system. The peasantry enjoyed prosperous years between the 1720s and the late 1760s, which produced a growth in the population. However, climatic conditions changed in the 1770s, bringing repeated crop failures and economic hardships that were exacerbated by the increased population. Secular attitudes become prominent in the countryside, and tolerance for the existing social order began to wear thin.

The ideological origins of the French Revolution are directly linked to the activities of the **philosophes**, who championed radical ideas and called for social and political reform. The intellectual arguments of the **Enlightenment** had been read and discussed more widely in France than anywhere else. Applying a rational approach, the philosophes criticized the existing political and social system. In his *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), **Montesquieu**, a prominent political thinker, provided a detailed study of politics and called for a constitutional monarchy that would operate with a system of checks and balances between its branches. François Marie Arouet (**Voltaire**) directed his sharp wit and tongue at the social and religious ills afflicting French society, denouncing religious intolerance, fanaticism, and superstition and advocating the British system of constitutional government. Starting in 1751, many philosophes participated in a monumental undertaking to produce the *Encyclopédie*, edited by Jean d'Alembert and Denis **Diderot**. Completed in 1765, the *Encyclopédie* applied a rational and critical approach to a wide range of subjects and became a best seller that, in part, shaped the newly emerging public opinion. The works of Jean-Jacques



**Rousseau** proved to be especially important for the influence they exerted. In his famous *The Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau explained the rise of modern societies as a result of complex social contracts between individuals, who were equal and possessed a common interest—what he called “the general will.” If the government failed to live up to its “contractual” obligations, Rousseau maintained, citizens had the right to rebel and replace it. Rousseau’s ideas would eventually nourish the radical democratic section of the revolutionary movement.

One of the major outcomes of the Enlightenment was the growth of public opinion, which was formulated in an informal network of groups. In Paris, this network manifested itself in **salons**, informal regular meetings of artists, writers, nobles, and cultured individuals that became the discussion forum for a variety of ideas. Essays and various literary works presented here eventually appeared in the growing number of **newspapers** and journals that further disseminated information. The spread of the Masonic movement, which was introduced from Britain in the early eighteenth century, further stimulated discussion, since it advocated an ideology of equality and moral improvement, irrespective of social rank. The process of secularization accelerated after 1750 and affected both the elites and the lower classes. Cafés in Paris and other cities established reading rooms where patrons could peruse and discuss a wide range of literature, notably the works of the philosophes. The late eighteenth century also saw the rapid growth of pamphleteering, which was largely directed against the government and provided ample criticism of the royal family, particularly the widely unpopular queen, **Marie Antoinette**. Some pamphleteers eventually emerged as leading revolutionary orators and journalists.

Finally, a brief note should be made of the royal family itself. King Louis XVI, who ascended the throne in 1774, was an intelligent, kind-hearted, and generous man who was more interested in his favorite pastime of hunting and making mechanical gadgets than governing the country. He was hardly fit for the position he inherited, which demanded a man of firm will, energy, and interest in a variety of affairs. He would have made an exemplary small-town burgher, but not the king of France. His wife, Marie Antoinette, who exerted a strong influence over the king, was a beautiful and vivacious woman whose Austrian origin proved to be an important factor in shaping contemporary attitudes toward her. Although allied since 1756, France and Austria were historical enemies and the French public was unsympathetic to the young Austrian archduchess when she wed the heir to the French throne. Her lavish lifestyle, often exaggerated by pamphleteers, created a deeply negative impression of the queen, whose reputation was further damaged by the infamous Diamond Necklace Affair in 1785.

### ***The Revolt from Above (Aristocratic Opposition), 1787–1789***

The French government was well aware of the problems it faced, and throughout the eighteenth century, it attempted to introduce a series of reforms, some of which faced staunch opposition. As early as 1749, Machault d’Arnouville, the controller general of France, had tried to establish a uniform tax on all landed property but was foiled by the resistance of the nobility and clergy. In the mid-eighteenth century, the **Physiocrats**, a group of economic reformers, advocated free trade by seeking to eliminate commercial restrictions, especially on the grain trade, in order to facilitate commerce and production. However, a series of bad harvest years, which produced shortages, social unrest, and opposition from various groups, thwarted

this program. In the last years of Louis XV's reign, the ministers Maupeau and Terray successfully campaigned against the parlements, which served as bulwarks for the reform opposition, and had them abolished. However, the death of Louis XV in 1774 led to the dismissal of these ministers and an end to their reforms.

Two years later, Jacques **Turgot**, a Physiocrat, launched an ambitious program to transform the French economy into a free market, abolishing trade restrictions and guilds that held monopolies over specific forms of production. This produced a backlash from the interested parties, who succeeded in having the minister removed. Yet Turgot's successor, Jacques **Necker**, continued most of these reforms and even introduced representative assemblies in several provinces in order to give public opinion some role in lawmaking. To justify these reforms, Necker, and his predecessors, had to criticize the existing institutions and practices, which undermined their legitimacy and opened the way for further criticism. Thus, Necker's publication of the first public accounting of the state finances, the *Compte rendu au roi*, in 1781 led to a public discussion of royal expenditure, not least the family's lavish lifestyle. As before, Necker's reforms resulted in growing opposition and, facing a vehement pamphlet campaign, Necker unsuccessfully sought royal support before resigning in May 1781.

Several events in 1787–1789 proved to be catalysts for the Revolution. In January 1787, Charles Alexandre de Calonne, Necker's successor as controller general of finances, summoned the **Assembly of Notables** (prelates, great noblemen, and a few representatives of the bourgeoisie) to propose reforms designed to eliminate the budget deficit, chiefly by taxing the privileged classes. The Assembly refused to agree to such reforms and instead suggested the calling of the **Estates-General**, a joint assembly of the clergy (First Estate), the nobility (Second Estate), and the Third Estate. The Estates-General had not been summoned since 1614. Further efforts to enforce drastic fiscal reforms by Calonne and his successor, the archbishop of Brienne, led to what the great French scholar Georges Lefebvre labeled an "aristocratic revolution" when the landed aristocracy fought against its weakening position and the parlements refused to approve royal edicts sanctioning reforms. Although the parlements were suppressed in May 1788, the populace, believing that the parlements spoke for the entire nation, supported them, causing popular unrest in Paris, Grenoble, Dijon, Toulouse, and other cities in the summer of 1788. Louis XVI yielded to public pressure and reappointed the reform-minded Jacques Necker as the finance minister. Necker promised to convene the Estates-General on May 5, 1789, and granted freedom of the press, which resulted in a flood of **pamphlets** across the country. The newly restored Parlement of Paris entered the fray as it ordered that the Estates-General should be organized according to the procedures of 1614, which meant that three estates would meet and vote separately, giving an edge to the first two estates. This decision naturally alienated the Third Estate, which had previously supported the parlements but now realized that they were bent on ignoring its interests in favor of the privileged estates. The Committee of Thirty, consisting of liberal nobles and bourgeoisie, was established to argue in favor of doubling the Third Estate's representation to match that of the two other estates and of voting by head, as had been done in some provincial assemblies. The example of the provincial assembly of Dauphiné province was particularly important in this respect, since the local Third Estate managed to secure double representation there. In the fall of 1788, the abbé **Sieyès** produced his famous pamphlet

*What Is the Third Estate?* in which he asked, “What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been in the political order up to now? Nothing. What does it demand? To become something.” In December 1788, Necker managed to secure royal approval for double representation, but not for the method of voting, which had to be decided after the Estates-General convened.

The elections to the Estates-General, held between January and April 1789, coincided with further disturbances, as the harvests of 1788 and 1789 had been extremely bad. Nevertheless, the elections produced 648 deputies for the Third Estate, while the First and Second Estates each chose about 300 deputies. The electors drew up *cahiers de doléances*, which listed their grievances and hopes. The cahiers differed greatly depending on region, but they tended to represent the thinking of the literate and politically astute men in their respective constituencies. The cahiers from urban centers emphasized the need for a constitution that would secure individual rights, regular meetings of the Estates-General, and no taxation without consent. The cahiers drawn up in rural parishes, however, hardly mentioned individual rights but rather called for equality of taxation and pointed out abuses in the existing feudal system. None of the cahiers suggested the abolition of the monarchy or any major governmental change. Only the cahiers prepared in the Parisian sections contained calls for fundamental social and economic change.

### ***Revolt from Below (Popular Revolution), 1789***

The Estates-General held its first session in the Salle des Menus Plaisirs at Versailles on May 5, 1789. In their opening speeches, both Louis XVI and his minister Necker failed to provide the much-needed leadership or offer a program upon which the deputies could act. Many deputies of the Third Estate were disappointed by such a start and began to look for leadership within their own ranks. From the very beginning, the Estates-General faced a fundamental issue: should the deputies follow the tradition and vote by estate—in which case the two privileged orders would always outvote the Third Estate—or vote by head, giving the advantage to the Third Estate? Naturally, the First and Second Estates upheld tradition and refused to compromise out of fear of losing their privileges. On June 17, after over a month of bitter struggle over this legal issue, the deputies of the Third Estate declared themselves the **National Assembly** and invited the other estates to join it. Two days later, they were supported by the parish priests of the First Estate, who outnumbered the aristocratic upper clergy and voted in favor of joining the National Assembly. The king could have interfered at this moment, but on June 4, he lost his son and heir to the throne and was in mourning.

On June 20, royal officials finally reacted and locked the deputies of the Third Estate out of their regular meeting hall. In response, the deputies occupied the king’s indoor tennis court (*jeu de paume*) and pledged an oath, known as the **Tennis Court Oath**, not to disperse until they had produced a new constitution. The oath did not call for the abolition of the monarchy but rather sought to establish a limited (constitutional) monarchy. Yet, the Tennis Court Oath also represented a step toward revolution since the deputies had come to Versailles with cahiers that said nothing about a constitution or any limits on the monarchy. By declaring themselves a National Assembly, the deputies also claimed sovereignty as a principle deriving from the people, not from the king. The king grudgingly consented to the Third Estate’s actions and instructed the nobles and the remaining clergy to join

the assembly, which now assumed the title of the National **Constituent Assembly**. The royal court, however, began gathering troops in the capital to dissolve the defiant estate.

Political vacillation at Versailles coincided with the ongoing crisis of food supplies and anxiety among the rural population. The gathering of troops around Paris and the dismissal of the popular minister Necker on July 11 provoked insurrection in Paris. On July 14, 1789, the Parisian crowd seized the **Bastille**, a symbol of royal tyranny. Again the king had to yield. He restored Necker to office and personally visited Paris, wearing the tricolor cockade of the Parisian militia. Rumors of an aristocratic conspiracy to overthrow the Third Estate, meanwhile, spread throughout France and led to a series of rural disturbances, known as the Great Fear, in July. This turmoil was largely sustained by various rumors that, for example, held that aristocrats, concerned by events in Versailles, were preparing some terrible revenge and that troops were to be set loose on the peasantry. Peasants armed themselves in self-defense and turned their anxiety on the estates of their seigneurs. Peasants also sought to destroy the records of the feudal dues that they owed.

To calm the provinces, the Constituent Assembly quickly moved forward with its reforms, and on August 4, it decreed the abolition of the feudal regime and of the tithes gathered by the Catholic Church. On August 26, it introduced the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, proclaiming liberty, equality, the inviolability of property, and the right to resist oppression. The Assembly then continued working on the first constitution of the French kingdom. However, the fast pace of changes and the nature of political reforms that served to limit royal power caused the king to withhold his acceptance of these reforms. The Assembly was also divided into various feuding factions, some of which sought support from political groups in Paris, where an ongoing scarcity of food agitated the masses. On October 5–6, thousands of Parisian **women** marched on Versailles to express their grievances to the Assembly and the king. These so-called **October Days** had a dramatic influence on the subsequent course of the Revolution. The mob stormed the palace and forced the king to move to Paris. The Constituent Assembly followed the king to the capital on October 19, and thereafter, the king, his advisers, and the entire Assembly effectively became the hostages of radical Parisian crowds, who began to play an important role in the political events of the Revolution. Royalist factions lost their power as they became overwhelmed by a radical, oftentimes hostile, populace, while radical left-wing factions benefited as they gained the king's acceptance of their reforms. The government's move to Paris also stimulated the growth of **political clubs**, the most influential of them being the **Cordeliers Club** and the **Jacobins**.

The rural provinces reacted differently to the events of the summer of 1789. Most peasant cahiers called for the abolition of various seigniorial obligations and taxes, mainly the widely hated salt tax (gabelle) and the head tax (taille). While the Assembly did abolish feudal dues, tithes, and other taxes, it still relied on the old tax registers to determine local tax assessments, which, to most peasants, represented the same old tax under a new name. The urban leadership of the Revolution also ignored some grievances that seemed insignificant to them but were urgent to the peasant population. While the Revolution offered many benefits to peasants, the peasants in some regions felt that they were robbed of the full benefits. The confiscation and sale of church property allowed some peasants to increase their landholdings,

but rural property most often ended up in the hands of the urban middle classes, who possessed the resources to buy land in large amounts.

### *The New Regime Takes Shape, 1790–1792*

In the first year of its existence, the Assembly implemented a variety of reforms that began to transform France. The Constitution of 1791, drafted between July 1789 and September 1791, established a constitutional monarchy in France. Legislative power was delegated to the **Legislative Assembly**, a body in constant session that the monarch had the power to dissolve. A unicameral legislature of 745 representatives, the Legislative Assembly was elected by active citizens whose power to vote was based on how much tax they paid, and who met in local primary assemblies and elected 1 percent of their number as electors, who then elected representatives. Although the new **suffrage** excluded women from voting, it was still far broader than the existing systems in Britain or even the United States. Executive power was delegated to the king, but his authority was curtailed. The ancient administrative division of France into provinces was replaced by a system of 83 smaller jurisdictions called departments. Within the departments, the Assembly established districts that were further divided into cantons. In February and March 1790, provincial and municipal councils were elected at each of these levels, signaling a decentralization of the French government. The Assembly created a new judiciary that answered to the people and the Assembly, not the king. It eliminated monasteries and religious orders, abolished the parlements, nationalized royal land, created a land tax, abolished internal tariffs, established civil rights for Protestants, and introduced uniform weights and measures and other reforms. One of its most important reforms restricted the rights of workers in the form of **Chapelier's Law** (June 1791), which outlawed trade unions and abolished the guilds.

Despite its many successes, the Assembly also failed to address many crucial matters. The most important of them was that of the place of the Catholic Church in the new France. The decision (in November 1789) to nationalize the lands of the Roman Catholic Church in France to pay off the public debt led to a widespread redistribution of property but naturally upset the clergy, who still wielded enormous influence in rural regions. To ensure the clergy's loyalty, the Assembly drafted the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**, which defined the clergy's rights and position in the new France. Priests and bishops became servants of the state, elected by departmental or district electors, and received a state salary. However, the old bishoprics were abolished and bishops instead ruled over departments. After Pope **Pius VI** refused to approve these changes, the Assembly demanded that the clergy take an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Almost all bishops refused to take it, while the parish clergy was evenly split between the refractory priests, who refused, and juring priests, who accepted the oath. This produced a schism that had a profound effect on the subsequent course of events since the refractory priests often provided leadership to the counterrevolutionary movements in 1792–1793, especially in the western and southwestern regions of France.

The Assembly also failed to solve the interrelated issues of state debt and taxation. After nationalizing church property, the government issued assignats, large-denomination paper bonds guaranteed by the sale of confiscated church property. While assignats provided an important economic respite in 1790–1791, the Assembly's subsequent actions led to rapid inflation of the assignats, which all but lost their face

value over the next few years. The failure to repay the state debt led to the loss of public credit and inadequate funds for local administration, while high inflation limited commercial activity. In foreign policy, most European rulers initially were indifferent to the Revolution, considering it an internal affair of the French. However, areas on the French border faced the increasing problem of finding themselves the sites of numerous French émigré communities who openly manifested anti-revolutionary sentiments. The Assembly proclaimed that all peoples had the right of self-determination and it was the Assembly's mission to bring the Revolution to them. This, in effect, justified the invasion of neighboring territories and made the presence of French **émigrés** an additional pretext for territorial aggrandizement.

The Assembly also failed to establish a strong executive branch. The king felt increasingly uncomfortable with his status as a titular head and the general course of the Revolution. After publicly expressing his support for the Assembly throughout 1790, he secretly fled the capital in June 1791. The king's flight to **Varennes**, where he was arrested, proved to be one of the most important events of the Revolution. A manifesto that Louis left behind explained his motives, denounced the revolutionary government, and suggested that he was seeking foreign help against the Revolution. This event exacerbated the split between the moderate mass of citizens, who still believed in a constitutional monarchy, and the vociferous urban minority of radicals, who demanded the establishment of a republic.

As discussed earlier, in October 1791 the Legislative Assembly succeeded the Constituent Assembly. The new legislative body was very different from its predecessor since the law prohibited the serving Assembly deputies from participating in elections. The new deputies, thus, were younger (half of them were under 30) and were more committed to the principles of a new order. Among the main political groups in the Assembly were the **Feuillants**, conservative members who defended the king and urged moderate reforms. The Left was represented by the moderate **Girondins** and the more radical members of the Jacobin and Cordeliers clubs.

Relations between the new legislature and the king proved to be strained, and the fall of 1791 was marked by the king's veto of a number of important decrees. By early 1792, both the Assembly and the king desired a war—the former eager to spread the Revolution, and the latter hopeful that war would either strengthen his authority or allow foreign armies to end the Revolution. On April 20, 1792, France declared war against Austria, which was later supported by Prussia.

The first phase of the war (April–September 1792) proved unsuccessful for the French revolutionary government, whose inexperienced and weakened army suffered defeats; an Austro-Prussian army crossed the French frontier and advanced rapidly on Paris, taking fortresses in succession. The threat of foreign invasion exacerbated tensions in the capital, where many believed that they had been betrayed by the king and the aristocracy. On August 10, Parisian radicals led an attack on the Tuileries Palace, where the king was living, and imprisoned the royal family in the Temple. This event signaled the end of the Bourbon monarchy in France and the beginning of the First Republic. The Legislative Assembly decided to create a new legislature, the **National Convention**, which would be elected by universal manhood suffrage and would draft a more democratic constitution. In September, the Parisian crowd, still anxious about alleged enemies within, broke into the prisons and massacred hundreds of prisoners held there. At the same time, volunteers swelled the army as the Austro-Prussian invasion awakened French nationalism. On September 20, the

French army defeated the Prussians in a decisive action at the Battle of **Valmy**; the Revolution was safe for now. The following day, the National Convention met and officially proclaimed the **abolition of the monarchy** and the establishment of the Republic.

### ***Building a French Republic, 1792–1793***

In the National Convention, no faction held a majority, but universal suffrage and the ongoing war produced a radical body. The Feuillants were virtually eliminated from the legislature. Instead, the Convention was polarized by the struggle between the moderate Girondins, led by Jean-Pierre **Brissot** and Jean Marie **Roland**, who wanted to organize a bourgeois republic in France, and the Jacobins and their allies, who wanted to give the lower classes a greater share in political and economic power; the latter were also called Montagnards because they sat in the upper seats of the Convention and included many radical deputies, among them Georges **Danton** and Maximilien **Robespierre**. The first year of the Convention was characterized by a power struggle for predominance between these two factions, and the king's trial became the greatest issue of the day. In the end, the Jacobins won the debates; the king was condemned to death for treason and beheaded on the **guillotine** in January 1793; the queen, Marie Antoinette, was guillotined nine months later.

Thereafter, the conduct of the war came to dominate the political debates of the Convention. The period between September 1792 and April 1793 proved to be successful for the French revolutionary armies, which invaded Belgium, the Rhineland, and Savoy and helped establish revolutionary governments in those regions. However, in the spring of 1793, the tide of war shifted against France as Austria, Prussia, and Britain formed a coalition (later called the First Coalition). The French were driven out of **Belgium** and the Rhineland, and the Revolution stood in peril once more. Such a threat only strengthened the radicals, especially in Paris, where the Jacobins enjoyed the full support of the Parisian sections and the *sans-culottes* (lower-class revolutionaries). Between May and June 2, the Montagnards organized a coup that drove the Girondin leaders out of the Convention and allowed them to seize power.

The Montagnards thereafter dominated the Convention and controlled the revolutionary government for the next year during a period sometimes referred to as the Montagnard Dictatorship. They drafted the Constitution of 1793, which was the most democratic constitution at the time, and implemented radical policies to stabilize the country in the midst of civil strife and foreign invasions. They adopted a radical economic and social policy, used terror to fight political enemies and perceived counterrevolutionary activities, and established strict state control of the economy through the Law of the **Maximum**, which benefited the poor. To oppose foreign invasion, the Montagnard government issued the *levée en masse* (August 1793), which mobilized the resources of the entire nation and transformed the nature of military conflict, helping to turn the tide of the war. This period also saw the further secularization of French society as the church and monasteries were closed and a process of dechristianization began. A new calendar advocated the ideals of the Revolution, while a civil religion dedicated to the Supreme Being sought to replace traditional beliefs.

The Montagnards' policies, however, provoked violent reactions in various provinces. The insurrection of the **Chouans** in Brittany and the war in the Vendée

continued without respite, forcing the revolutionary government to divert substantial forces to that troubled region. The Girondins, who escaped persecution in Paris, incited the so-called federalist risings in Normandy and in Provence. In August 1793, the federalists surrendered the strategic port city of Toulon and the entire French Mediterranean fleet to the British.

### *The Reign of Terror, 1793–1794*

The context of the **Reign of Terror** was thus an intimidating climate of fear of internal and external threats to the Revolution and a desperate fight to save the Republic and the Revolution's achievements. To do so required harsh measures, and the Montagnard government was not constrained in using them. In September 1793, terror was made into official government policy. The enactment of the Constitution of 1793 was postponed, freedom of the press was suppressed, and severe laws were adopted to oppose any counterrevolutionary activity. The **Law of Suspects** expanded the government's authority and authorized the arrest of anyone suspected of anti-revolutionary conduct or connections. The **Committee of Public Safety**, a 12-member executive committee with vaguely defined powers and operating under the leadership of puritanical Robespierre, assumed executive power while the **revolutionary tribunals** rendered swift justice untempered by mercy. **Representatives on mission**, akin to political commissars and wielding supreme political and military authority, were sent to the provinces and to accompany the armies in the field.

Over the next 13 months (June 1793–July 1794), the Montagnards used the Terror for a partisan political purpose and as a means of stabilizing the country. They attacked their rivals and succeeded in executing the early leaders of the Revolution, members of the royal family, feminists, and the leading Girondins, literally decapitating their most dangerous opponents. The executions were used to eliminate any potential threat to the revolutionary government, and the bloody blade of the guillotine, or the Republican Razor, as it was crudely called, became a grisly symbol of this turmoil. The total number of those executed remains unknown and varies from as low as 14,000 to as high as 40,000. Contrary to popular notions, most of the people executed were workers and peasants, not aristocrats and priests.

By early 1794, the harsh methods of the Montagnard government seemingly paid off as the military situation improved following the French victory at the Battle of Wattignies, in the Austrian Netherlands (**Belgium**) on October 15–16, 1793. The revolutionary armies suppressed the federalist uprisings, in which the representatives on mission employed ferocious methods to eliminate the enemies of the Revolution. Jean Baptiste Carrier drowned hundreds of prisoners in the Loire River, while Joseph **Fouché** used canister shot to execute people in Lyons. These events led some to suggest that the Terror should be brought to an end. However, like the god Saturn in classical mythology, instead the Terror consumed its own children. The Convention's policies backfired by early 1794 when a series of intra-Montagnard conflicts took place. The Montagnards split into factions, with Robespierre and his allies advocating a radical program of continued Terror, while Danton and his supporters (the Indulgents) called for moderation. In April, Danton and his allies were arrested and, after a farcical trial, executed. Robespierre himself became more isolated and conspicuous, insisting on a continuation of the Terror. By June 1794, the Montagnards, never a solid block, disintegrated and collapsed in the coup of the 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794); Robespierre and his supporters were executed the following day.



Following this coup, the National Convention drafted yet another new constitution. This created a bicameral legislative branch (the **Council of Five Hundred** and the Council of Ancients) and delegated the executive power to the five-member **Directory**. Suffrage was curtailed from the system of universal suffrage granted in 1793 to a limited one based on the amount of tax paid by the potential voter. The Convention, however, sought to protect its own interests by decreeing in the Fructidor Laws that two-thirds of the membership of the new legislative branch had to come from among its own ranks. The 511 returning *conventionnels* were mainly drawn the old Girondin faction as well as from the more conservative wing of the Convention, among them 158 confirmed royalists. The increasing general discontent led to abortive uprisings, first by the radical *sans-culottes* in the **Prairial insurrection** (May 20, 1795), which was suppressed by government troops, and then by the right-wing sections on 13 **Vendémiaire**, Year IV (October 5, 1795), which was crushed by the young General **Napoleon Bonaparte**. A few days later the Convention dispersed, paving the way for the Directory.

### *The Directory, 1795–1799*

The first year following Robespierre's fall was known as the **Thermidorian Reaction**. The Montagnards were purged from the Convention and persecuted by right-wing dandies (the *muscadins*, *jeunesse dorée*) throughout the country. Many of the Montagnard democratic reforms were reversed, most notably the Law of the Maximum, and efforts at social and economic equality were abandoned. The Catholic Church was allowed to return. The Directory was a bourgeois republic that struggled to find stability amidst internal chaos and war. The government attempted to stand in the political center, opposing both Jacobinism and royalism, which made it vulnerable to conspiracies. It failed utterly in most of its economic policies. The economic crisis got worse when the Directory eliminated the (by then worthless) assignats and issued territorial mandates, which quickly shared the assignats' fate. As hyperinflation set in, the price of goods rapidly increased and caused widespread hardship among the populace. In 1797, the government returned to metal currency, though this did not alleviate the crisis. Civil strife prevented the government from collecting taxes on a regular basis, leaving the state treasury empty. Many industries, especially silk-cloth manufacturing in Lyon, were devastated. In 1796, the economic and social disgruntlement of the lower classes was expressed in the Conspiracy of Equals, which proposed a social model closely resembling communism. The conspiracy, however, was uncovered and its ringleaders executed.

Relations between the Directory and the legislative councils were strained and disputes were often settled in a series of coups. Thus, a coup of 18 Fructidor, Year V (September 4, 1797), removed the royalists from the Directory and the councils. The Directory was, however, more successful in its military endeavors. The French armies advanced into the Rhineland and Holland and compelled Prussia and **Spain** to negotiate peace. In 1796–1797, Bonaparte waged a triumphant campaign in Italy, where he defeated Piedmont-Sardinia and Austria, forcing both countries to accept French terms of peace. In 1798 and 1799, the French entered Switzerland, the Papal States, and **Naples**. Most of the countries occupied by the French were organized as sister republics (the Batavian in Holland, the Helvetic in Switzerland, and the Parthenopean in Naples), with their institutions modeled on those of revolutionary France. More importantly, these successful campaigns provided the Directory with much-needed

financial rewards, which came in the form of war contributions, including the seizure of hundreds of works of art from the occupied territories into France.

By 1798, only Britain remained at war with France and the Directory. On Bonaparte's request, the Directory decided to threaten the British commercial interests in India by occupying Egypt. A French expeditionary force easily occupied Egypt but was isolated there following the British naval victory at the Battle of the Nile on August 1. France's aggressive foreign policy and expansionism encouraged the formation of the Second Coalition, consisting of Austria, Russia, Turkey, and Britain, in 1799. This coalition achieved great successes during the spring and summer of that year, when Russo-Austrian forces drove back the revolutionary armies to the French frontiers and recaptured all of Italy. The Directory itself was in turmoil as its membership changed several times in the spring and summer of 1799. Some Directors actively conspired against their colleagues, while the provinces were in disorder. A peasant uprising had to be suppressed in Toulouse, while, following a break in the fighting, the Chouans rose again in Brittany. Meanwhile, Bonaparte abandoned his army in Egypt and returned to France in early October 1799. Only one month later, he and his supporters, notably Sieyès (one of the directors) and Fouché (minister of police) organized the coup d'état of 18 **Brumaire** (November 9–10), which overthrew the Directory and established the **Consulate**, under which government the Revolution may be said to have come to a close. *See also* Calendar, French Revolutionary; Clubs (French); Constitutions, French Revolutionary; The Mountain.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802)

The French Revolutionary Wars, a series of campaigns fought between 1792 and 1802, involved revolutionary **France** and her allies on one side, and various European states bent on restoring the Bourbon monarchy on the other.

### *The War of the First Coalition, 1792–1797*

Growing anti-monarchist agitation in revolutionary France led to widespread fear that the major monarchical powers, supported by French **émigrés**, were planning to invade France and restore the **ancien régime**. On April 20, 1792, the French **National Assembly** declared war on **Austria**. Fighting began on the frontier with the Austrian Netherlands (hereafter referred to as **Belgium**), but it was not until July

that an Allied army, consisting of Austrians and Prussians, began to assemble in the Rhineland for an invasion of France. On August 19, the Allies crossed the frontier and took the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, though the Duke of Brunswick plodded on slowly, while the French, under General Dumouriez, sought to halt him at **Valmy**. There, on September 20, the two sides did little more than exchange artillery fire, but the experience was enough to persuade Brunswick to disengage and withdraw east. The Revolution was thus saved from an infant death, and Europe was condemned to another two decades of war, for not until 1814 would the forces arrayed against France come so close to reaching Paris.

The fighting, known as the War of the First Coalition, took place on numerous other fronts. In the south, the French invaded Piedmont and Savoy, in the process of which they occupied Nice. In the Rhineland, General Custine emerged from Alsace and captured Mainz. In Flanders—the principal theater of operations—General Dumouriez pushed north, while in Paris the government declared the nation a republic. The French victory at Jemappes, in Belgium, on November 6, 1792, roused the enthusiasm of the troops, and 10 days later, Brussels fell to them. Nevertheless, on the Rhine, the Allies drove back Custine in December.

Early in 1793, the war grew in scope, for the execution of King **Louis XVI** on January 21 aggravated still mounting Anglo-French tensions. **Britain**, already concerned over the French occupation of Belgium and the opening of the Scheldt estuary, was bracing for confrontation. On February 1, France saved Britain the bother by declaring war on her, as well as on Holland and **Spain**. The French annexed Belgium and prepared to invade Holland. The Allies, for their part, were preparing an offensive of their own, in the course of which Prince Saxe-Coburg defeated Dumouriez on March 18 at Neerwinden and retook Brussels. Custine, replacing Dumouriez, was himself defeated near Valenciennes on May 21–23, and French forces in Belgium rapidly retreated. By August the French war effort was approaching collapse, with an Anglo-Hanoverian army under the Duke of York force besieging Dunkirk. Worse still, far to the south an Anglo-Spanish fleet took control of the port of Toulon, made possible by the royalist revolt there. French republican forces were also engaged in counterrevolutionary operations in the Vendée. To tackle the emergency, the **Committee of Public Safety** under Maximilien **Robespierre** issued the *levée en masse*, a form of universal conscription that brought hundreds of thousands of men to the colors.

French morale improved with the victory at Hondshoote on September 8 against the Duke of York in Belgium, while five days later General Houchard routed the Austrians at Menin. Further success on October 15–16 at Wattignies resulted in an Austrian retreat eastward, and between these three victories the French, bolstered by reinforcements sent by the **Convention**, now felt themselves the equal of any opponent, including those inside France. By late October 1793 the royalist revolt in Lyon had been put down, the uprising in the Vendée was finally suppressed by the end of the year, and, far to the south, republican forces, besieging the royalists and their Anglo-Spanish allies at Toulon, retook the city on December 19. A week later, on the Rhine, one French army drove the Austrians back across the river after defeating them at the Geisberg while another retook Mainz and cleared Alsace and the Palatinate.

During the new year, fortune continued to favor the French, who defeated an Anglo-Austrian force at Courtrai on May 11, and again at Tourcoing a week later.

Both sides fought a drawn action at Tournai on the May 23, but the decisive battle of the campaign came on June 26, when at Fleurus the French drove the Austrians from the field before following up their victory by occupying Brussels on July 10 and Antwerp on July 27. With these two vital cities in their hands, the French rapidly completed the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands and advanced north into Holland. At about the same time, along the Rhine, the French pushed the Prussians off the left bank of the river, and by the end of 1794 the Rhineland was firmly in French hands.

In the first three months of 1795 the French consolidated their hold over Holland, going so far as to capture the Dutch fleet while it sat frozen in the Texel. On April 5, Prussia, unable to bear the financial cost of the war and seeing no benefit to further hostilities, signed a separate peace with France at Basel, while Spain followed suite in June. Austria and Britain continued the struggle, the latter supporting a royalist landing at Quiberon Bay, on the Breton coast, which ended in disaster for the émigrés, who lost nearly half their force. Along the Rhine, French armies under generals Jourdan and Pichegru made no substantial progress and had mixed success, with Jourdan failing to make headway against the Austrians there, and Pichegru losing an engagement near Mainz. Still, the Austrians called for a general armistice, which stabilized the situation for the French. In Italy, the French forces under General Schérer advanced along the Mediterranean coast, but nothing of consequence occurred apart from Masséna's minor victory over the Austrians at Loano in late November. Revolt in the Vendée broke out again in 1795, but the uprising was short lived and was brutally repressed by General Hoche the following spring.

During the campaign of 1796 in Germany, General Jourdan crossed the Rhine in June to be repulsed by Archduke Charles and his Austrians at Wetzlar on June 16, although Moreau more than reversed the effect by obliging Charles to recross the Danube after his defeat at Neresheim on August 11. Charles recrossed the river in August and decisively defeated Jourdan at Amberg on August 24, while on the same day Moreau drubbed another Austrian force at Friedberg. Charles followed up his early success by enveloping both French flanks at Würzburg on September 3 before concluding an armistice.

The decisive front in 1796 was, however, in northern Italy, where the young General **Napoleon** Bonaparte exercised overall command. Although he inherited poorly clothed and fed troops, Bonaparte instilled new vigor into their ranks and would lead them in the series of astonishing victories over the Austrians for which he would become famous as a military commander. He scored his first victory at Montenotte on April 12, before pushing on to Dego, which he captured on April 14–15. The Piedmontese under Baron Colli attempted to halt the French advance at Mondovi, where on April 21 Bonaparte inflicted a defeat of sufficient magnitude to oblige Piedmont first to seek an armistice and then to withdraw from the war. Thereafter, Bonaparte advanced to the Po, fighting the Austrian rearguard on May 10 at Lodi, where he demonstrated great personal bravery and followed up his success by occupying Milan on May 15. Within two weeks he had reached the Mincio and invested the strategically vital fortress of Mantua. Substantial Austrian forces arrived in the summer to relieve the garrison, but Bonaparte defeated two enemy formations in turn, first at Lonato on August 3, and then, more convincingly, at Castiglione on August 5. The French siege of Mantua, temporarily lifted due to

ongoing operations in the field, was resumed, now directed against the reinforced Austrian garrison.

While the conquest of northern Italy from the Austrians may largely be attributed to Bonaparte, some of his subordinates enjoyed independent successes of their own, in particular generals Augereau and Masséna, who on September 8 defeated the Austrians at Bassano—though they could not prevent the reinforcement of the Mantua garrison. In their third attempt to relieve the fortress, the Austrians again failed, despite success at Caldiero on November 12. Bonaparte bolstered his reputation with a minor victory at Arcola on November 15–17 and frustrated a fourth and final Austrian attempt at relieving Mantua in January 1797. The decisive battle of the campaign in Italy came on January 14, when Bonaparte smashed General Alvintzy's attack and inflicted over 10,000 casualties at a cost to himself of only a third as many. Mantua finally capitulated on February 2. The following month the French proceeded to invade Austria itself, obliging the Habsburgs to sue for peace. Preliminary terms were agreed at Leoben on April 18, with definitive arrangements concluded at Campo Formio on October 17. The Austrians ceded substantial territories in northern Italy as a result.

### *The War of the Second Coalition, 1798–1802*

With Austria driven from the war, the First Coalition collapsed, and France, facing no further resistance on the Continent, could occupy Switzerland in April 1798 without a fight. Hostilities continued against Britain, the Republic's most implacable enemy, but being unable to strike Britain directly due to the superior power of the Royal Navy, France looked for an alternate strategy. This came in an unlikely form when the **Directory** approved Bonaparte's proposal to dispatch an expeditionary force to Egypt, an Ottoman province whose possession could serve as a springboard for an overland attack against British **India**. A fleet carrying over 30,000 troops left Toulon on May 19, 1798, took Malta en route to Egypt, and captured Alexandria on July 2. Bonaparte's army then advanced on Cairo, defeating the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids on July 21. This seemed to bode well for the French until they unexpectedly found themselves isolated in Egypt when Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson discovered the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay and annihilated it on August 1–2.

The Turks, meanwhile, were gathering an army in Syria, while Bonaparte, leaving a garrison behind in Cairo, advanced into Palestine, taking El Arish on February 14–15, 1799, and Jaffa in operations conducted on March 3–7, and laying siege to Acre on March 17. The Turks sent an army to relieve this coastal city, only to be defeated by General Kléber at Mount Tabor on April 17. This ended Bonaparte's hopes of consolidating his hold over the Holy Land, for despite numerous assaults, the French failed to take Acre and were forced to withdraw south on May 20, reaching Cairo on June 14. A Turkish army escorted to the Egyptian coast by a British squadron landed at Aboukir on July 25, only to be disastrously repulsed by the French. Sensing that his luck was soon to turn, and learning that a new coalition in Europe was pressing heavily on the French armies there, Bonaparte left his men behind in Egypt and returned to France on October 23.

General Kléber, left in Bonaparte's stead, soundly defeated the Turks at Heliopolis on March 20, 1800, but he was assassinated on June 14, and his successor, General Menou, was left to make the best of a hopeless situation. The beginning

of the end came on March 8, 1801, when Sir Ralph Abercromby landed with British and Turkish forces, swept aside French resistance at Alexandria on March 20–21, and finally took Cairo on July 28. French forces in Egypt capitulated on August 31 and were granted free passage home, so ending forever Bonaparte's unlikely plan to end British power in India.

While the two sides were vying for control of Egypt, much was occurring in Europe, where in December 1798 Britain and Russia had established a second coalition, which Austria, Turkey, Portugal, and other powers joined early the following year. Operations took place on four fronts: in Italy, on the Rhine, in Holland, and in Switzerland. In January 1799, the Austrians engaged the French along the river Adige, where Habsburg forces threw back their opponents at Magnano on April 5. After assuming overall command in Italy, the Russian general Alexander Suvorov sent an Austrian force to besiege Mantua, defeated Moreau at Cassano on April 27 and then entered Milan. He continued his success in mid-June, defeating the French at the Trebbia on June 17–19, and then driving them west along the Mediterranean coast. On August 15 the French sought to slow Suvorov's advance at Novi, but they failed comprehensively, and Suvorov pursued them across the Apennines. The Russian commander was then ordered to Switzerland, leaving his Austrian colleague, Melas, to defeat the French at Genoa and push them back across the Alps.

In Germany, General Jourdan crossed the Rhine in March 1799 and confronted Archduke Charles at Stockach on March 25. An Austrian counterattack punched through Jourdan's center, not only achieving a tactical victory but effectively ending the French offensive on the Rhine altogether. In Holland, a British force under the Duke of York landed near the Texel, where a Russian expeditionary force, conveyed by the Royal Navy, disembarked to reinforce him. The British and Russians failed to coordinate their efforts, and their mixed force was defeated by the French and their Dutch allies at Bergen on September 16. On recovering, York renewed his march and drove off his opponents on October 2 in a second action at Bergen before proceeding south. He made little progress. In an action at Castricum on October 6, Franco-Dutch forces halted York's advance, obliging the British general, who had already succeeded in his principal mission of capturing the Dutch fleet back in August, to withdraw northward. By the Convention of Alkmaar, the Allied army withdrew from Holland after the exchange of prisoners.

Simultaneous operations had been underway in Switzerland, where the French entered the country in March 1799. After considerable maneuvering by both sides, General Masséna advanced against Zurich, outside of which he was repulsed by the Austrians on August 14. A second battle, fought on September 25, now involved the Russians, who were soundly defeated, and while Suvorov managed to fight his way across the Alps to aid his subordinates, he arrived too late to avert disaster for Russian forces already in Switzerland and withdrew back across the Alps to the upper Rhine. Disappointed by his generals' performance in Switzerland, Tsar **Paul I** withdrew from the Second Coalition, leaving only Austria as the principal continental power still opposing France.

In March 1800, Bonaparte raised a new army and in May crossed the Alps via the St. Bernard Pass, though he was too late to prevent the capitulation of the French garrison in the fortress at Genoa, which had undergone a dreadful siege at the hands of the Austrians. At Montebello, on June 9, General Lannes drove an Austrian

force toward Alessandria, but the decisive battle of the campaign took place five days later at Marengo, where Bonaparte, at first seemingly defeated, summoned nearby reinforcements late in the day, counterattacked with devastating effect, and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. Simultaneous operations conducted in Germany also went badly for the Austrians, with General Moreau scoring successes in Bavaria at Stockach on May 3 and Hochstädt on June 19, leaving him free to advance on Munich. On December 3, Moreau confronted Archduke John at Hohenlinden, where he surrounded much of the Austrian army, which suffered massive casualties. With Vienna now threatened, Austrians sued for peace on Christmas Day, and by the Treaty of Lunéville, concluded on February 8, 1801, they reaffirmed the terms of Campo Formio and left the Second Coalition. Finding herself supreme at sea but unable to field an army of her own, Britain reached an accord with France at Amiens on March 27, 1802.

Peace was, however, to prove short lived, and the Anglo-French conflict that resumed in May 1803 was to inaugurate another decade of general European hostilities known as the **Napoleonic Wars**.

### *Operations at Sea, 1792–1802*

No naval operations of significance took place in the first year of the war, not least because the French navy was suffering from an acute shortage of trained officers due to the replacement of many by a revolutionary government keen to strip aristocrats of their former privileged status, and because of the flight of other officers who did not wish to serve the Republic or feared for their lives. In August 1793, however, with the royalist rising in the south of France, an Anglo-Spanish fleet took possession of the French Mediterranean naval base at Toulon. While many French ships were burned by the British, the republican forces laying siege to the city rained down artillery fire on the Allied fleet and forced it to withdraw in late December.

The first major naval engagement of the war took place on June 1, 1794, when Admiral Lord Howe attempted to intercept a grain convoy bound for France from the United States. He managed to capture six French ships of the line, but Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse safely escorted the convoy into port, thus conceding only a tactical victory to the British. In 1795, the British admiral, Lord Hotham, fought two indecisive actions in the Mediterranean, while Lord Bridport captured three French line-of-battle ships off the Ile de Groix on June 23. Nevertheless, no decisive encounters took place that year, naval activity being largely confined to the seizure of enemy commerce, conducted both by bona fide naval vessels and privateers.

In 1795, Spain, having failed in its operations along the Pyrenees since 1793, withdrew from the First Coalition and, by the terms of the Treaty of San Ildefonso, concluded on August 19, 1796, allied herself to France, an act that put the Spanish navy in contention with that of Britain. Action took place off Cape St. Vincent on February 14, 1797, where Admiral de Cordova fell in with Sir John Jervis, who captured four Spanish vessels, two by Nelson. In the same year, Admiral Duncan engaged the Dutch off Camperdown, capturing nine ships of the line, though suffering severe losses and damage of his own. In the Mediterranean, Nelson discovered Admiral Brueys's fleet in the harbor at Aboukir after it had landed Bonaparte's army and captured or destroyed all but two of the French force—a comprehensive

victory. The final fleet action of the war took place in the Baltic, where Denmark had joined a league of neutral states challenging the Royal Navy's policy of search and seizure. On April 2, 1801, Nelson engaged the harbor defenses and Danish fleet anchored at Copenhagen, destroying most of the vessels and taking away those that were still serviceable. *See also* Carnot, Lazare; Consulate; Lafayette, Marie Joseph Paul, Marquis de; Representatives on Mission.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

### Fréron, Louis-Stanislas (1754–1802)

Louis-Stanislas Fréron enjoyed a varied, indeed, notorious career. His father was a reactionary journalist and an adversary of **Voltaire** who secured the services of Stanislas Lescynski, ex-king of Poland, as a godfather to his infant son. Fréron fils attended the prestigious College of Louis-le-Grand in Paris, where his classmates included future revolutionaries Maximilien **Robespierre** and Camille **Desmoulins**. Prior to 1789, however, Fréron descended into Grub Street when he lost control of the family newspaper and was obliged to live off hack writing. Others who plunged into this murky demimonde resurfaced to seize the opportunities presented by the events of 1789. Fréron participated in storming the **Bastille**, joined the radical **Cordeliers Club**, and founded a fresh newsheet, the *Orateur du Peuple*.

In August 1792, he was involved in the attack on the Tuileries that deposed the king, and he was subsequently elected as a Parisian deputy to the **Convention**, where he sat with the Montagnards. Like them, he voted for **Louis XVI's** death and, in the summer of 1793, he was sent as a *représentant en mission* to Provence, in company with Paul **Barras**. Faced with anti-Montagnard uprisings (often termed federalist revolts), notably at Marseille and Toulon, the pair constituted a deadly duo, exacting ferocious punishment on those who had defied the Republic. Such excesses prompted their recall and doubtless Robespierre's disdain. A desire to avenge the death of Desmoulins inclined Fréron to join the plot to unseat the so-called Incorruptible in Thermidor (July 1794). Surprisingly, Fréron now turned his coat completely and threw himself into the repression of former Montagnards (the so-called **White Terror**), reviving his paper for this purpose. Dispatched on a second mission to Marseille, his conduct was similarly discredited by violent behavior, plus an abortive affair with Pauline Bonaparte (the sister of **Napoleon**). He became



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something of a pariah but eventually secured a government post in Saint-Domingue, where he succumbed to disease. *See also* The Mountain.

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MALCOLM CROOK





# G

## **Gage, Thomas (1720–1787)**

Thomas Gage is known principally for his role as military governor of provincial **Massachusetts** when the political tension between **Britain's** American colonies and **Parliament** escalated into military hostilities at **Lexington and Concord**. Though a career military officer and a capable administrator, Gage had little actual battlefield experience and is not considered to have been a great strategist, militarily or politically.

Because Gage was his father's second-born son, primogeniture and entail laws precluded him from inheriting any portion of his father's estate. He therefore chose a career in the British Army, beginning in 1740. A major by February 1747, he accompanied General Braddock's 1754–1755 expedition to western **Pennsylvania** during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Their objective was to capture the newly constructed Fort Duquesne, so positioned as to enable the French to expand from **Canada** into the Ohio River Valley. This incursion threatened Britain's claim to that territory, as well as claims made by **Virginia** land speculators (including George **Washington**). Gage led the advance forces and was wounded when ambushed by an overwhelming force of French and Indians. He survived, but Braddock was killed, which left Washington (colonel of the Virginia militia) to command the retreat. This encounter precipitated war between Britain and **France** for control of eastern North America.

Gage served under General Jeffrey Amherst in the march on Montreal that forced French forces in Canada to capitulate in 1760. In December 1763, Gage succeeded Amherst as commander-in-chief of British forces in North America, headquartered in New York City. In 1768 Gage was posted to Boston to quell provincial riots against the **Townshend Acts** and their opposition to the quartering of British soldiers in unoccupied public buildings. During a peaceful interlude Gage returned to England in February 1773 but soon returned.

Following the December 1773 **Boston Tea Party**, Gage helped Parliament draft the **Coercive Acts**. Specifically, Gage aided in writing the **Massachusetts Government Act** and was responsible for the provision of the 1774 **Quartering Act** that required provincials to house British soldiers and officers in their private homes.

Shortly thereafter he was appointed military governor of Massachusetts. Gage arrived in Boston in May 1774, accompanied by four regiments of British regulars sent to enforce the Coercive Acts. Gage's previous popularity as governor of Montreal (1760), combined with his marriage to American Margaret Kemble (rumored to be sympathetic to the provincial Whig cause) and his 20-year residence in North America, led many in Massachusetts to hope that he might be more inclined than his predecessor, Thomas **Hutchinson**, to mediate their grievances with Parliament.

Gage avoided political entanglements, though, and instead focused upon defusing the possibility of military conflict; on several occasions he ordered his troops to seize colonists' military supplies. British seizure of provincial munitions in Charlestown on September 1, 1774 (the Charlestown Powder Alarm), prompted Massachusetts's Provincial Congress in Boston to establish a network of messengers throughout the colony that could quickly notify neighboring towns if British troops should ever again march out of the city.

Following the actions at Lexington and Concord, approximately 20,000 New England militiamen surrounded Boston for what proved to be a year-long siege. On June 12, 1775, Gage issued a proclamation that offered to pardon all rebels in arms (except John **Hancock** and Samuel **Adams**), but the colonists responded on the night of June 16 by erecting military fortifications on Breed's Hill (across the Charles River from Boston). The following day, Gage ordered General Howe to attack the defiant Americans. The British won the Battle of Bunker Hill, but Gage's insistence upon a frontal assault to awe the rebels into submission resulted in 1,150 British casualties—half the men involved in the battle. This costly victory prompted Gage's recall in August 1775; he was replaced by General William Howe. In October, Gage returned to London, where he served under Amherst and organized English militia units to defend against an anticipated French invasion. Gage's health declined, and he died on April 2, 1787, survived by his wife for another 37 years. *See also* Tea Act.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

## Gallicanism

Gallicanism asserted in general that monarchs, bishops, and popes have equal authority over the Roman Catholic Church. Gallicanism originated in France (Gaul was the ancient name of France and Belgium) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (propagated by William of Occam, John of Jandun, Marsilius of Padua, John Gerson, and Peter d'Ailly), blossomed in the European Low Countries in the eighteenth century, and ceased to be important by the mid-nineteenth century as the European political and ecclesiastical landscape changed following the **French Revolution**. Gallicanism strode to travel the road between **ultramontanism**, the belief that the pope has temporal authority over the church and kingdoms, and Anglicanism, the belief that monarchs have temporal authority over the church and kingdoms.

This general assertion united the threads that interwove to form the tapestry of Gallicanism. Ecclesiastical or theological Gallicanism asserted that the pope, though

supreme in spiritual matters, was not infallible and was subject to the decisions of ecumenical councils (Conciliarism) as adopted by the Council of Constance (1414–1418). Though bishops were the divinely appointed successors to the apostles, the power to appoint them and the revenues from their vacant bishoprics resided with the divinely appointed secular rulers. Royal Gallicanism asserted that kings—French kings in particular—possessed absolute authority in all temporal matters (Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438). Parliamentary Gallicanism insisted on the complete subordination of the French church to the state in all temporal matters, including the administration of the French church.

Gallicanism dissipated during the reign of the reign Henry IV, the first Bourbon king of France (1589–1610), but was reborn when the humanists of the Sorbonne endorsed it (1663) and the Assembly of the Clergy of France (1682) codified it in their Four Articles. Gallicanism waned again when the persecution of the clergy and the ecclesiastical restrictions imposed on the French church during the French Revolution led the bishops to reassert their association and subordination to the Roman church. *See also* Papacy; Religion.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Galloway, Joseph (c. 1731–1803)

The colonial statesman and revolutionary Loyalist who attempted to preserve a place for the American colonies within the British Empire, Joseph Galloway was born to Peter Bines Galloway and Elizabeth Rigbie in West River, Maryland. In 1747 Galloway went to Philadelphia to practice law, becoming a specialist in land titles and marrying Grace Growdon in 1753. Elected to **Pennsylvania's** provincial assembly in 1756, he petitioned the king for the royal replacement of proprietary rule. Defeated for reelection over his actions, he advocated moderation in opposing the **Stamp Act** of 1765 and encouraged payment of “constitutional” taxes. Reelected to the assembly in 1765, he was made Speaker, remaining in this position for 10 years and advocating that the American colonies should be better represented in **Parliament** while recognizing the Crown's sovereignty.

Galloway joined the First **Continental Congress** and advanced his moderate Plan of Union, in which a “British and American legislature, for regulating the administration of the general affairs of America, be proposed [by the Continental Congress] and established in America, including all the said colonies; within, and under which government, each colony shall retain its present constitution, and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police.” This legislature would be supervised by a president general appointed by the king and subordinate to the Crown. The president general's assent would be essential to effect laws passed by the American legislature. Its members to be elected every three years; the legislature representing the people would be called the Grand Council and would meet at least once every year, a system modeled upon the House of Commons. Galloway proposed that this Grand Council and president general should function as “an inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it,” for the purposes of establishing policies in the colonies and granting them representation. Criticism

of Galloway's plan arose over the appointment of the president general by the king and the Crown's veto power over acts of the legislature.

Galloway's plan was not adopted. Rather more confrontational politics were adopted when the **Continental Association** boycotted British goods. Because of this rebuff, Galloway declined to serve in the Second **Continental Congress**, preferring to defend his moderate proposal for an American legislature with *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies, with a Plan of Accommodation, on Constitutional Principles*. He remained a Loyalist during the Revolution, serving as superintendent general in occupied Philadelphia under General William Howe. General Henry Clinton, Howe's successor, conducted Galloway and his family to British-occupied New York and then to Britain. Galloway was formally dispossessed of his American properties in March 1779 for his Loyalist activities. In 1780, he published *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion* and still hoped to reconcile America and the British Empire. He died in exile in Watford, Hertfordshire, England. *See also* Albany Plan of Union; Loyalists.

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BARBARA BENNETT PETERSON

### Genet, Edmond Charles Edouard (1763–1834)

Genet served as a diplomat during the **French Revolution**. Born in Versailles to a cultured family that had traditionally served the monarchy, he, like his father, joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He worked abroad at, among other places, the embassy at Vienna, before assuming his father's position as head of translation in 1781. **Louis XVI** then sent him to St. Petersburg, where he served as secretary of the embassy and then chargé d'affaires.

Because of Genet's active partisanship of the Revolution, he offended **Catherine II**, who forbade him to appear at court, placed him under surveillance, and eventually ordered his expulsion in July 1792. The French next dispatched him as their representative to the United States, where he arrived in the spring of 1793. Genet had been ordered to improve relations with the United States and to involve that republic in a war with **Britain**. A gifted linguist, he was, however, not skilled in diplomacy. He offended many Americans, even such close supporters as Thomas **Jefferson**, then secretary of state, who, in remarking upon the minister's conduct, observed astutely that Genet was "absolutely incorrigible." He went on to stress the necessity of "quitting a wreck which could not but sink all who should cling to it."

Genet issued French military commissions to American citizens, reprovisioned French privateers in American ports, authorized the capture of British ships in American—that is, neutral—waters, and launched schemes to invade Spanish Florida and Louisiana and incite an uprising in **Canada**. He even publicly attacked the authority of the president. Genet refused to recognize international law and argued that governments should follow natural law. He boasted that he would "throw Vattel and Grotius into the sea whenever their principles interfere with my notion of the rights of nations." Such actions prompted President **Washington** to request his recall. **Robespierre** and other members of the **Committee of Public Safety** denounced the conduct of Genet, whom they regarded as a member of the discredited Girondin

Club, and ordered his recall. When his successor, Fauchet, arrived to arrest him and send him back to France for trial and certain death, Washington refused to allow his extradition and permitted him to remain in the United States.

Genet subsequently became an American citizen and a prosperous farmer and married first Cornelia Clinton, the daughter of the governor of **New York**, and then Martha Osgood, the daughter of the first postmaster general. Genet died in 1834 and was buried in his adopted country.

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LINDA S. FREY AND MARSHA L. FREY

### ***Gens de Couleur***

The *gens de couleur*, or free people of color, were an intermediate group in **France's** Caribbean colonies who stood between the mass of African slaves and the white minority. Including both freed slaves and free descendants of black slaves and white masters, the group's racial and economic heterogeneity led it to play an ambiguous role in the revolutionary struggles at the end of the eighteenth century. Many *gens de couleur* were property owners and supported **slavery and the slave trade**, yet their demands for equality with whites posed a radical challenge to racially determined conceptions of **citizenship**.

Whatever their origin or wealth, no free people of color in the French colonies were considered the equals of whites. The social status of individual *gens de couleur* varied, however, according to their racial mixture (identified by different contemporary terms of varying specificity) and to the process by which they had gained freedom (purchased, granted on the basis of service, or being the child of free parents). The free colored population in the Caribbean rose during the eighteenth century so that by 1789, *gens de couleur* comprised almost half the free inhabitants of Saint-Domingue, although a much smaller proportion of the populations of **Guadeloupe** and Martinique. This increase occurred despite colonial administrations' efforts to limit their number by imposing a duty on the manumission of slaves. A broadening range of racially restrictive legislation beginning in the 1760s demonstrated white concern at this increase and at the expanding free-colored role in the colonial economy. Beyond their activities as craftsmen and small merchants in colonial ports, free people of color became independent farmers. White masters donated land and slaves to colored mistresses or children, and colored planters thrived in the coffee boom following the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). A free colored planter elite, which acquired wealth and sought social status by choosing light-skinned marriage partners, developed in Saint-Domingue. While some *gens de couleur* owned slaves, others provided the colonies with internal security as members of the mounted police and the militia, which countered the threat of slave revolt and hunted down runaway slaves. In theory all free men belonged to the militia, but white colonists avoided military service whenever possible. Colonial authorities recognized the vital importance of colored troops to these forces, but white colonists never treated them with respect. *Gens de couleur* adhered to the values of colonial

society yet were excluded from white privilege, and their frustration was apparent by the end of the **ancien régime**.

The free colored elite was aware of the liberal currents within the **Enlightenment** and petitioned the metropolitan authority directly for equality with whites. In 1785 the wealthy colored planter Julien Raimond met with the minister of marine to ask him to end racial discrimination in Saint-Domingue. In arguing that *gens de couleur* had proven their virtue, however, Raimond advocated equality only for the wealthy light-skinned elite. The coming of the **French Revolution** presented a new opportunity, and in August 1789 Raimond and Vincent Ogé, another wealthy free man of color, were in Paris to seek civil **equality** and the right to representation. These demands were presented to the **National Assembly** in October 1789. While the anti-slavery Société des Amis des Noirs supported this campaign, the Club Massiac, an association of absentee planters, lobbied vigorously against extending rights to free people of color.

Despite the principles articulated in the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, the National Assembly proved as reluctant to grant *gens de couleur* equality as it was to abolish slavery. Its decree of March 1790 authorized colonial assemblies to propose constitutional arrangements but was ambiguous regarding who was eligible to elect these assemblies. Free colored property owners appeared to meet the criteria, yet white colonists excluded them. This drove Ogé to return to Saint-Domingue in October 1790 and to raise a rebellion: its failure ended with Ogé's execution in February 1791. Following this episode, the National Assembly attempted to clarify the status of *gens de couleur*. It decreed in May 1791 that free men of color born of free fathers and mothers would be admitted to future parish or colonial assemblies if they met age and property qualifications. While this granted political rights to a relatively small number, it aroused heated opposition. In a new decree of September 1791, the National Assembly relinquished the authority to determine the status of free people of color to colonial assemblies: this allowed white colonists to continue to exclude them from public life. News of the outbreak of Saint-Domingue's massive slave revolt in August 1791, however, reversed metropolitan policy yet again. The new **Legislative Assembly** was desperate to regain control of the colony and decreed political equality for free men of color in March 1792, but developments in the Caribbean overshadowed the new law.

*Gens de couleur* fought for their rights and interests within ruthlessly shifting alliances. In Martinique and Guadeloupe, free people of color backed the colonial assemblies' counterrevolution against metropolitan authority in September 1792 but switched their allegiance in January 1793 to the French Republic, whose representative promised them equality and pledged to maintain slavery. The British conquest in spring 1794 shook this allegiance, as did Victor Hugues's recapture of Guadeloupe for the French republic in June 1794. Hugues brought news of the **National Convention's** February 1794 decree of abolition and freed Guadeloupe's slaves. If this alienated slave owners, most of Guadeloupe's *gens de couleur* supported Hugues's regime, which guaranteed them equality. The role of free people of color in the **Haitian Revolution** was even more complex. In September 1791, white planters in Saint-Domingue established alliances with free colored property owners in hopes of protecting plantations and containing the slave revolt. These collapsed, and free colored fighters under the command of André Rigaud took control of much of the west. At the same time, other *gens de couleur*, the most famous being



**Toussaint l'Ouverture**, joined the slave insurgents. Toussaint allied his forces initially with Spain then switched to the French Republic after its abolition of slavery. He repelled Spanish and British troops from the colony but also defeated Rigaud's army. **Napoleon** was determined to restore slavery, however, and dispatched a major military expedition to Saint-Domingue in 1801. Toussaint was arrested and died in a French prison. News from Guadeloupe, where former free person of color Louis Delgrès led a revolt against the reimposition of slavery and racial inequality in 1802, reignited resistance in Saint-Domingue, which led to French evacuation and the declaration of the Republic of Haiti in 1804.

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WILLIAM S. CORMACK

### **Gensonné, Armand (1758–1793)**

Armand Gensonné was a French revolutionary politician, a deputy to the **Legislative Assembly** and **National Convention**. The son of an army surgeon, Gensonné was educated at the College of Guyenne. He was chosen by Leberthon, the first president of the Parlement of Bordeaux, from among 25 of the best students at the age of 16 to train as a barrister. He was called to the bar in 1779. Gensonné and his future colleague **Vergniaud** shared an interest in the arts. They were members of a Bordeaux literary society, the Musée.

Gensonné greeted the **French Revolution** with enthusiasm. He was a captain of the local **National Guard** regiment in addition to being an elected administrator of the Bordeaux Commune and a member of the Bordeaux Jacobin Club. As president of the club, he wrote the society's statutes. Before his election to the Legislative Assembly, Gensonné had been commissioned to report on these movements in the departments of the Vendée and Deux-Sèvres. His research in these areas found widespread oath refusal by priests and an overwhelming lack of support for the constitutional priests.

Elected deputy from the Gironde to the Legislative Assembly on September 4, 1791, Gensonné sat on the Left and recommended vigorous measures against the refractory priests. He was an ardent supporter of the war against Austria and advocated punitive measures against King **Louis XVI's** two émigré brothers. A leading member of the Assembly, Gensonné served on the Diplomatic Committee and served terms as vice president and president in March 1792. In July 1792 on the eve of the insurrection of August 10, with Vergniaud and **Guadet**, Gensonné tried to negotiate with the king to reinstate the Patriot ministry in exchange for a delay in the uprising of August 10.

Reelected to the **Convention**, Gensonné sat on the right with his Girondin colleagues, but he did not submit to Madame **Roland's** influence, and during the king's

trial, unlike many of his colleagues, Gensonné voted for death and against reprieve. Although he was one of the most virulent critics of the Paris Commune and the Montagnards, when the Convention voted on the impeachment of **Marat** (April 13, 1793), he declared himself incompetent to judge him.

Gensonné was an influential member of this assembly, holding offices of secretary (October 18, 1792) and president (March 1793). He sat on the constitution and diplomatic committees.

Accused by Marat of being an accomplice of the treacherous General Dumouriez, Gensonné was placed under house arrest during the uprising of June 2, 1793. Although he wrote a famous protest against this event, in which he portrayed himself as the victim of a popular movement and a would-be legal assassination, he did not flee from Paris as did many of his colleagues. However, Gensonné helped to promote the counterrevolution in the department of the Gironde by sending his address to the sections of Bordeaux, which arrived on June 8. Gensonné remained in prison until his execution on October 31, 1793. He went to his death with dignity. *See also* Civil Constitution of the Clergy; French Revolutionary Wars; Girondins; Jacobins; The Mountain; Political Clubs (French).

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LEIGH WHALEY

### George III, King of Great Britain (1738–1820)

George III was king of Great Britain and Ireland from 1760 to 1820, elector of Hanover from 1760 to 1814, and king of Hanover from 1814 to 1820. His tumultuous reign endured significant political upheavals, but **Britain** emerged stronger than ever before at his death. George William Frederick was born on June 4, 1738, at Norfolk House, St James's Square, the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Augusta, daughter of Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Gotha. He had seven siblings. George was the first of the Hanoverian line to be born and raised entirely in England and spoke fluent English, unlike his predecessors.

George was tutored by George Lewis Scott, a fellow of the Royal Society, and Andrew Stone. George learned German, French, some Latin, mathematics, ancient history, British and European history, the British constitution, and governance. When the tutors were falsely accused of favoring Jacobite ideology, they were replaced. George's household was administered by the Earl of Harcourt, while the Bishop of Norwich and Thomas Hayter concluded his formal education. George was continually upbraided for the slightest infraction or seemingly inappropriate comment or behavior. The passive and crippledly shy George accepted his parents' stronger love for his brother, Edward, and confined him to his brother's company, hoping Edward would serve as a positive influence to bring out some of the livelier aspects of George's personality. Cloistered in an adult world, George had no experience with society and never learned to enjoy the company of adults, court life, or the

endless royal ceremonies. He would be sharply criticized later in life for the traits he developed as a child.

Upon the death of his father on April 20, 1751, the 12-year-old George became Prince of Wales. He was strongly influenced by his mother, Augusta, who served as his regent, but she was in turn heavily reliant on the advice of John Stuart, the third earl of Bute. George had always been socially isolated, and as a child and teenager he was emotionally neglected. He therefore turned to the intellectual Bute as a father figure, a relationship he had never experienced. Bute showed him affection and some kindness. Bute quickly became George's inspiration, his teacher, and his mentor, influencing and encouraging George's interest in botany. While he eventually convinced George to become a patron of the arts, the domineering and exacting Bute created an insecure and vacillating youngster who dreaded his mentor's displeasure.

As he matured, the kind-hearted George exhibited a religious, modest, extremely moral, and temperate personality of sincere convictions complemented by an innate rectitude. He proved to possess great personal courage, but he was often extremely obstinate. George was not, at any time in his life, a charismatic man. His conscientious character seemed dull and boring to the public.

George was a practical man; he did not enjoy the royal lifestyle. He hunted and enjoyed botany and agriculture, the latter earning him the pejorative sobriquet of Farmer George. He liked working with mechanical contrivances. He showed little interest in literature and the fine arts, though he became an enthusiastic bibliophile as he aged. His collection of books was donated to the nation and became the nucleus of the King's Library at the British Museum. George eventually grew to enjoy his private reclusive world, but this would create strong tensions and great misunderstandings that would have calamitous effects on the world stage.

On October 25, 1760, upon the death of his grandfather George II, George acceded to the throne at age 23. George's first decade as sovereign was politically unstable, and he was burdened with political controversy of his own making, largely due to his inexperience. George possessed neither tact nor subtlety, and was an ineffective leader at a time when no formal political parties existed. He failed to work proficiently with the frequently shifting alliances that constituted the political groupings in **Parliament**. This proved politically fatal. The Whig faction did not favor the monarchy, while the conservative Tory members sided with the institution of kingship. George lacked foresight and had he installed an executive with a proper infrastructure, he would have prevented much personal grief. Although he firmly believed it was his patriotic duty to make parliamentarians work together, ultimately he aimed to expand the Crown's influence.

George's personal life was exemplary for a monarch. On September 8, 1761, he married the German noblewoman Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, daughter of Charles, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. They had not previously met. Charlotte was the stronger character in the marriage, and she provided the emotional security George had lacked most of his life. His decorum as both husband and father was praiseworthy. He never took mistresses, and his dealings with his wife were always above reproach. The couple remained devoted to one another for over 50 years of a marriage that produced 15 children: George, Frederick William, Charlotte, Edward Augustus, Augustus Frederick, Sophia, Elizabeth, Ernest Augustus, Augustus Frederick, Adolphus, Mary, Sophia, Octavius, Alfred, and Amelia. George bought the

Queen's House, which was later renamed Buckingham Palace, for Charlotte. George was irrationally possessive of all of his children. The Prince of Wales's coming of age in 1783 caused him a depression and, indeed, his sons generally disappointed him.

Provoked by the unsuitable and secret marriages of his brothers, George had the Royal Marriages Act passed in 1772, so that the consent for any lineal descendant of George II under the age of 25 had to be acquired from the sovereign for a lawful marriage to occur, except for females marrying into other royal families. This act is still in force today, and those who have married without the monarch's consent have had to forfeit their rights to the throne. After the death of his youngest child and frequent companion, Princess Amelia, in 1810, George was inconsolable. Several historians intimate that he never fully recovered from her death.

A metabolic defect caused George to be afflicted with porphyria in 1762. Twentieth-century medical specialists have identified porphyria as a physical rather than mental illness; it would incapacitate George numerous times throughout his life and eventually led to insanity. Doctors at that time had no knowledge of the infliction, nor did they understand how to treat it.

Upon his accession, George inherited responsibility for waging the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The conflict was fought on the Continent between Prussia and Austria, supported by Russia, and in North America, **India**, and elsewhere between Britain and France. Decisive campaigning by the best senior British commanders who received adequate numbers of well-trained troops resulted in a victory over the French at Quebec in 1759 and the eventual loss of **Canada**. When Spain ceded Florida to Britain, the French were left without a strong foothold in North America altogether.

George insisted on recovering the royal prerogative of appointing the prime minister—a prerogative lost to his predecessors. George relied on Lord Bute as the former struggled with the burdensome royal responsibilities and quickly became fully dependent on him. Neither George nor Bute liked the prime ministers William Pitt the Elder, later the Earl of **Chatham**, and Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, both of whom resigned in 1761. George, determined to weaken the Whig faction, succeeded in this goal through coercion, patronage, and bribery, an approach that worked well for the first 20 years of his reign. As a result, he appointed the ambitious, tactless, and manipulative Bute as prime minister in 1761, upsetting many members not only because he was a Scot but because he was totally unsuited for that high office. The Treaty of Paris concluded the Seven Years' War under Bute's ministry. The votes of those British politicians who disagreed with the treaty were bought off, and the public regarded the peace settlement as inadequate. In this respect, as well as in others, Bute simply did not possess the personality required of a prime minister, and he made numerous enemies. He was forced to resign in April 1763 but remained a strong influence on the king's political opinions for some time. By this period Britain had become the premier colonial and naval power.

After Bute's resignation George rapidly went through four different prime ministers: George Grenville, who began to tax the American colonists; Charles Watson-Wentworth, the Marquess of **Rockingham**; William Pitt the Elder, who opposed George's American policies; and Augustus Henry Fitzroy, the third Duke of Grafton. George also appointed to the cabinet mediocre members of Parliament who acted in accordance with his wishes. While in the 1760s no particular group could control the House of Commons, Edmund **Burke**, a Whig statesman, held George responsible for

the political vacillation that characterized its politics. Burke thought that the cabinet should solidify and create party loyalty, and that the king should symbolize commonly accepted principles and use Parliament as understood by the country's unwritten constitution. This inadvertently produced the basis of modern-day party politics.

The economic deficit of £114 million that Britain faced after the Seven Years' War caused a financial crisis, with a heavy burden on the Treasury to service this debt. Problems had been brewing and escalating since 1763. The **Proclamation of 1763**, which governed territorial, social, and economic conditions after the British victory in Canada, was an early catalyst for colonial dissension and drastically changed lifestyles in the colonies, bringing harsh limits to an already difficult life. Moreover, the British Army policed the colonies—a much-resented practice. Administering the vast expanse of territory was prohibitively costly at £2 million a year. George saw no reason why the colonists should not help defray the costs of fighting a war on their behalf; specifically, he deemed it unfair that the British taxpayer should carry the burden.

The king and Parliament were both astonished by the dissent shown by the colonists, whose complaints were simply ignored—another cause for the growing revolutionary fervor. Grenville initiated the fatal mercantile policies. First the Plantation Act (1754), then the **Currency Act** (1764), and then the **Quartering Act** were passed, causing unexpected defiance in the colonies. The **Stamp Act** of 1765, which required every official document to be taxed, provoked an economic crisis. Although the act was revoked, Parliament passed the **Declaratory Act** (1766), binding the colonies to its legislation. The **Townshend Acts** of 1767 expanded the methods of collecting revenue and intensified the mounting discontent, while in 1768 most Bostonian households refused to billet British troops in their homes.

By 1770 George was more familiar with kingship and had learned how to work within the constraints of Britain's political system. He never wavered in using his executive power to win elections for his favorite candidates and officially disapproved of many politicians. The stubborn king proved tenacious in his dealings and eventually used his guile to recover the royal prerogatives that had been granted to the ministerial council. In 1770 he appointed Fredrick, Lord **North**, prime minister. North and George worked well together, and the former remained in office for over a decade.

George was stubborn and refused to accede to colonial demands; they revolted. The King Street Riots of March 5, 1770, in which British soldiers killed five Bostonians, resonated throughout the colonies, where the incident became known as the **Boston Massacre**. The **Boston Tea Party** in 1773 and the **Coercive Acts** of 1774 were deemed the final offenses by the colonists. The insensitivity and disrespect conveyed to the colonists by George and by Parliament were deemed unwarranted and became additional factors contributing to the outbreak of rebellion in 1775.

The resulting **American Revolutionary War** became an ideological struggle, for the colonists threatened Parliament's authority from the outset. Many colonists believed they were being taxed unfairly yet enjoyed no representation in Parliament. Many insisted on receiving the same rights as British subjects in Britain well before Thomas **Paine** published *Common Sense*. Paine attacked kingship as an institution and advocated a republican form of government, ideas the colonists readily accepted. Many colonists defied the Prohibitory Act of 1776 and declared their independence on July 4, 1776. The supremacy of Parliament clashed with many of

the colonists' belief in an independent republic. Although he believed that the war was economically indefensible, the king feared that permitting colonial disobedience would lead the Irish to follow with their own revolt. Consequently, George stubbornly pursued the war until the final rebel victory at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army. The Peace of Paris in 1783 secured British acknowledgment of the United States of America; the colonies were irreversibly lost, and George was held responsible. North's ministry was defeated in 1782. His successors, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, and the Duke of Portland, failed as prime ministers, after which George contemplated abdication. William **Pitt** the Younger succeeded them in 1783 and held office until 1801, and again between 1804 and 1806.

Porphyria reappeared on November 5, 1788 when George physically attacked his eldest son, George, the Prince of Wales. George was placed in a straitjacket and was made to sit in a specially made iron chair. Doctors at the time still believed in the existence of evil humors and treated the king with various poultices. George recovered by April 1789 and resumed his royal duties. A regency plan was later introduced and approved by George after his recovery.

Political unrest continued to plague George's reign, most dramatically during the Gordon Riots of 1780 and in the 1798 Irish rebellion, in which the United Irishmen unsuccessfully rose up in favor of Irish autonomy. Ireland was officially unified with Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) to form the United Kingdom in 1801, the same year in which George came into conflict with Pitt over the conciliatory Catholic Emancipation Act. Pitt wanted Catholic emancipation as a principle included in the Act of Union with Ireland. George firmly opposed it, for he was conscious of the religious strife experienced by previous British monarchs. As such, he firmly upheld his role as head of the Church of England and urged defeat of the policy. When, in order to win his favor, the parliamentary backbenchers agreed with the king, Pitt resigned over the issue, thus reaffirming George's control.

Pitt was replaced by Henry Addington (later the first Viscount Sidmouth), whose administration collapsed in 1804. Pitt was returned to office but had given up his proposals for Catholic emancipation. Instead, he concerned himself mainly with combating Napoleonic France, though he died in January 1806. By 1807, with Lord Grenville in office, George was nearly blind and required his secretary to read him his official papers. In one instance George mistakenly believed his Whig ministers were trying to trick him and demanded restrictions designed to hamper the power of the government. The king's ministers refused and were replaced by a succession of Tory governments under the Duke of Portland from 1807 to 1809, Spencer Perceval from 1809 to 1812, and Lord Liverpool from 1812 to 1827.

From 1808, British forces gradually pushed the French from the Iberian Peninsula and contributed to the final defeat of **Napoleon** when Anglo-Allied forces under the Duke of Wellington defeated the emperor at **Waterloo** in 1815.

Social unrest characterized the last years of George's reign. The economic downturn that struck Britain in the wake of the **Napoleonic Wars** brought mass unemployment and severe economic depression. Luddite agitators wrecked factories and machinery in an attempt to preserve their manual labor jobs. Emerging industrialization exacerbated the already-strong class distinctions. The Enclosure Acts of 1801 resulted in less need for agricultural workers, who fled to the cities in the hope of finding work. In addition, the Corn Law of 1815, meant to temporarily exclude

foreign grain from the country, instead increased prices. Social reform became the preeminent issue, but the government replied with oppressive measures—most infamously in the form of the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, which resulted in several deaths and hundreds of injuries. Dissent was quashed by the passage of the Six Acts of 1819, which repressively squashed opposition to social and political reform.

Conversely, progressive improvements were introduced at the same time: the slave trade was abolished in Britain in 1807, the population increased as a result of rising standards of living, and advances were made in agricultural and industrial methods. The later years of George's reign also witnessed a great outpouring of English literature by writers and poets such as Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats. George granted a charter to the Royal Academy and encouraged the sciences. He strongly supported the works of Cook, Byron, Wallis, and other explorers.

In his lucid periods, George was always a kind and well-intentioned man who sincerely believed his actions were beneficial for his country. But by 1810, George's porphyria had permanently incapacitated him to the extent that he was unable to rule. He was incorrectly deemed insane, and his son George became prince regent. George III died at Windsor Castle on January 29, 1820. He is known to history as the king who lost the American colonies. Ultimately, he suffered from all-too-human frailties and was confronted by problems too sizeable for his limited personality to solve. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Georgia

Founded in 1733, the colony of Georgia became the fourth state to ratify the **United States Constitution** in 1788. Georgia played little part in the events leading up to the **American Revolution**. The French and Indian War (1756–1763) had left Britain in considerable debt. As a result, Britain passed a series of acts pertaining to the colonies that taxed a number of products and goods. Though the first of these acts, the **Sugar Act**, caused public outcry throughout New England, Georgia only really became involved after the passage of the **Stamp Act**.

Georgians in Savannah who were opposed to the new act took to the streets, burning and hanging the effigies of stamp collectors. Despite these incidents, the colony failed to send a delegate to the **Stamp Act Congress** held in **New York** in November 1765. Georgia also neglected to send representatives to the First **Continental Congress**, where the other 12 colonies drafted the Declaration of Rights and Grievances.

Most Georgians continued to hope for reconciliation with Britain. Once news of the confrontations at **Lexington and Concord** (April 1775) reached Georgia, however, public sentiment essentially turned against the British. In July, Georgians captured a British vessel anchored off the coast, sending most of the gunpowder they found to the Continental Congress.

The following year, Georgians arrested the royal governor of the colony. Once the revolutionaries were in charge of the colony, they appointed five delegates to attend the next meeting of the Continental Congress. All of Georgia's members of the Second **Continental Congress** signed the **Declaration of Independence** in July 1776. Upon hearing the news of the document, Georgians in Savannah staged a mock funeral of King **George III**.

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NICOLE MITCHELL

### **Germain, Lord George (1716–1785)**

Lord George Germain was a British soldier and statesman whose narrow strategic vision was partially responsible for the British colonial retreat from the 13 colonies. The third son of the first Duke of Dorset, Germain was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was known as Lord George Sackville until 1770, when under the terms of a will he took the name Germain. He was made commander-in-chief of British forces in Germany in 1758, but his early military career, in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), ended in court-martial and eventual dismissal. After leaving military service, he spent the next 16 years rebuilding his parliamentary career.

Germain's consistent opposition to all liberal measures made him highly unpopular in his own country. He was compelled to barricade his house during the Gordon Riots in London in 1780. However, with the inauguration of the ministry under Lord **North** (January 1770–March 1782), Germain's illiberal ideas found new supporters. His tough attitude toward the colonies led to his appointment as secretary of state for the American colonies. He zealously supported all vigorous measures against the colonists and sternly opposed every attempt to effect a termination of hostilities. He urged the various Native American tribes to unite against the rebels, advocated the hiring of mercenaries, rejoiced over massacres conducted by the Indians, and enthusiastically praised British rapacity and cruelty in the colonies.

Germain's strategic arrogance reflected the shifting balance of power in Europe and beyond. The international scene prior to 1763 was characterized as a bipolar world where **France** and **Britain** were virtually equal superpowers, with awesome military and economic resources and vast colonial empires centered in North America but extending far afield. The European balance of power, however, shifted in favor of Britain, when, at the end of nearly a century of intermittent warfare, France suffered her most humiliating defeat and was driven out of **Canada** and off the North American continent in 1763. As long as France held Canada, Britain had remained reluctant to force any kind of showdown with her 13 colonies. But with the French threat eliminated, British attitudes changed.

However, the surrender of a British army at Saratoga in 1777 revealed Britain's military weakness, a circumstance of which her rivals could take full advantage. France, in particular, was still seeking revenge for the losses she had suffered after the Seven Years' War. The French minister Choiseul had in 1765 prophetically stated



that revolution in America would weaken Britain and reduce her as a threat to the continental powers. Saratoga convinced the French that the time had come to act, and in the following year, France joined the conflict on the Patriot side.

France was Britain's traditional political and economic enemy, and the British had more stomach for a war of this kind than for one in which, in effect, they were fighting fellow Englishmen. However, in order to conduct a successful campaign against the French, it would be necessary to recall much of the naval strength then on service in American waters. Clearly, many in Britain felt that the time had come to negotiate with the American colonies and secure peace, even at the price of granting full independence to the rebels.

The entry of Spain into the war, when Spain signed the Convention of Aranjuez in 1779, increased the problems facing the British government, since Spain threatened Gibraltar and Minorca. In 1780 another European threat appeared. Britain, since France had entered the war, had insisted on the right to search Dutch ships carrying Baltic naval stores to France. The Dutch resented this and, in an attempt to gain protection from the British, began negotiations to join Tsarina **Catherine II**'s League of Armed Neutrality. The threat of facing the whole league, should the Dutch join it, forced the British government to declare war on the United Provinces, on the pretext that the Dutch were negotiating with the Americans. Britain was now in the position of being at war with a large part of Europe as a direct result of the war with America. Almost inevitably, the effort of trying to conduct such a war, with a large proportion of the Royal Navy occupied in American waters, while also attempting to press on with the war against Europe and facing opposition in **Parliament**, did nothing to alleviate Lord North's despairing view of his prospects. The growing war in Europe also helped to persuade independent members of Parliament that the only realistic course to follow was to negotiate for peace with the Americans.

The European factor—the absence of continental allies and the entry of France and later Spain into the war—destroyed any possibility of victory, if one had in fact ever existed. The defeat of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in 1777 changed what was a colonial rebellion into a wider conflict. The government in London, experiencing a dilemma as to whether it should fight a land war or a naval war, and how to conduct it, never developed a strategically unifying concept. For his part, Germain seemed unwilling or unable to develop a comprehensive strategic initiative. He was not helped by the deep suspicions and rivalries among the British generals themselves—Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton, and Cornwallis—and between the army and the navy. Lord Germain's arrogance and lack of strategic understanding, moreover, ensured the defeat of General John Burgoyne at Saratoga.

As secretary for America, Germain was completely ignorant of American geography and the character of the colonists. One of his worst mistakes as far as British military efforts in America were concerned was his propensity to tie down his field commanders by issuing minute instructions. Exacerbating this problem, he repeatedly issued exact orders but failed to provide adequate reinforcements to enable them to be carried out. Germain also utterly failed to act as an efficient liaison between field commanders by not coordinating concurrent battle plans. He often bypassed theater commanders and wrote directly to their subordinate officers, issuing confusing or contradictory orders. Underscoring all of this was the fact that some officers in the field found it difficult to serve under him because of his previous conviction for disobedience.

As to his relations with the commanders in America, Germain was regularly at odds with Sir Guy Carleton, the commander of British forces in Canada. This situation led to much consternation for Howe, who was fighting a major conflict with little help, coordination, or guidance from London. Germain was a typical *maladroit* who contributed his fair share to the disaster but never missed a chance to criticize others for their failures. Thus, a substantial amount of the criticism leveled at Howe that surfaced during and after the war was orchestrated by Germain to cover his own poor performance. The British strategic confusion, aggravated by Germain's arrogance, ultimately contributed to British defeat in America and resulted in the loss of the 13 colonies.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

## Germany

*See* Prussia and Germany, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on

## Girondins

"Girondins" is the name used by historians to describe a loosely knit group of French deputies who contested the Montagnards for control of the **National Convention**. The Girondin faction's fate was closely tied to the rise of Parisian political radicalism: it owed its origin to anti-Parisian sentiment following the storming of the Tuilleries on August 10, 1792, and to the **September Massacres** of the same year, and it was overthrown by still another Parisian insurrection on June 2, 1793. Revolutionary figures commonly associated with the Girondins include Jean-Pierre **Brissot**, Pierre Victurnien **Vergniaud**, Jérôme **Pétion**, and François Nicolas Léonard **Buzot**. Still, the term "Girondin" is quite controversial; not only is there disagreement as to which deputies belonged to the Gironde, but some historians even contend that the Gironde barely existed or existed only in the **Mountain's** imagination.

The term "Girondin" owes its origins not to the Girondins themselves, but rather to their left-wing Montagnard opponents, who claimed as early as April 1792 that a counterrevolutionary faction had coalesced around deputies of the department of the Gironde. "Girondin" was in fact only one of several contemporary terms, including "**Brissotins**," "**Rolandins**," and "**Buzotins**," that were employed in Montagnard attacks against Brissot and his political allies in the hall of the **National Convention**. Whichever label was applied, the message was clear: these deputies were seeking the treasonous gain of their faction rather than the general good of the people—a point that was hammered home repeatedly during the Montagnard-orchestrated trial of the Girondins in the summer and early fall of 1793. To a large degree, then, the idea of a Girondin faction was constructed after the members of that faction

had already been removed from the stage of history. As for the supposed Girondins themselves, they consistently denied membership in any political party.

In general, historians have accepted the truth of Montagnard rhetoric, and most histories of the **French Revolution** divide the Convention into Montagnard (left-wing), **Plain** (centrist), and Girondin (right-wing) factions. There has been less agreement on what factors determined membership into these groups. One traditional view concerning the Girondins is that they represented the class interests of the commercial bourgeoisie of the coastal seaport towns, as opposed to the petty bourgeois interests represented by the Montagnards. Very few historians still accept this interpretation, however. Attempts to explain the Girondin-Montagnard split in terms of age, education, or geographical origins have proved unsatisfactory as well, prompting at least one historian (M. J. Sydenham) to argue for the abandonment of the term altogether.

More recently, historians have sought to demonstrate the validity of the traditional categories by exploring political and ideological differences between the two main groups. The Girondins, some argue, were united by a common opposition to the Paris Commune and the Parisian sections, which increasingly claimed to represent the will of the French people and repeatedly challenged the authority of the elected legislature. For this reason, many Girondins embraced federalism, at least insofar as they called for the power of Paris to be balanced by the will of the departments. Other historians have demonstrated that Girondin deputies generally took a legalistic, constitutional attitude toward political problems, as opposed to Montagnard deputies, who were more likely to appeal to the will of the people and inalienable natural laws.

Be that as it may, the Girondin conversion toward legalism and anti-Parisian politics came relatively late in the history of the Revolution. In the period before the summer of 1792, in fact, the deputies of the future Mountain and Gironde were fellow travelers of the Revolution, united by their political radicalism and shared social connections. Members of both groups were active in the Paris political societies, for example, and in September of 1790, Brissot and Pétion, two future Girondin leaders, were even invited along with the arch-Montagnard Maximilien **Robespierre** to Camille **Desmoulins'** wedding. What is more, members of both groups drank deeply from the same philosophic wells, especially the writings of **Montesquieu** and Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**. The work of Rousseau was especially crucial, as it provided future Girondins and Montagnards not only with a set of radical political doctrines, but also a model of republican virtue and noble martyrdom that many future Girondins would later follow to their graves.

For the most part, the fissures that would later divide the two groups did not yet exist in 1789, at the start of the Revolution. Few members of either the future Montagnard or Girondin factions were elected to the **Estates-General**, which governed **France** under the name of the **National Assembly** until late 1791, and those who were elected to that body found that their radicalism set them at odds with the more moderate majority. The future Girondins and Montagnards were not idle, however, and took advantage of the opportunities afforded by local elections, new **political clubs**, and the new journalistic opportunities provided by the relaxation of censorship to participate in revolutionary politics. The crucial formative event for these radicals in this period was the flight to **Varennes**, the king's attempted defection from the Revolution in June 1791, which persuaded many of these radicals

to abandon monarchical sentiments in favor of republican ideals. In the period that followed, some future Girondins rose to positions of considerable influence: several future Girondins served as ministers for **Louis XVI** in the spring of 1792, and Brissot dominated French foreign policy in the same period. These men were the exception, however; during this period, most Girondins and Montagnards continued to participate in revolutionary affairs in more modest ways, such as through municipal politics, journalism, and participation in the increasingly influential Jacobin Club.

The Montagnards and Girondins, then, ought to be counted as a single radical group headquartered in the Jacobin Club until the Parisian insurrection of August 10. Still, a perceptive observer might have noticed that fissures were already forming in the edifice of the radical movement by the summer of 1792. Some splits were the fruit of personal dislikes, such as a growing atmosphere of mutual suspicion between Robespierre and Brissot. What is more, the willingness of some future Girondins to serve as ministers to the king raised the hackles of some republican-minded future Montagnards. Furthermore, common participation in the Cercle Social publishing group served to forge strong social and political ties between a number of radicals who would eventually be counted in the ranks of the Girondins.

Nonetheless, it was the political events of August and September that were chiefly responsible for the Girondin-Montagnard conflict. The Parisian insurrection of August 10 led to the election of a new National Convention for the purpose of producing a republican constitution. As a result of the abolition of property requirements for voting and a certain amount of voter intimidation, radical candidates swept the election, and all future Girondins and Montagnards were seated in the Tuileries Palace for the opening of the Convention on September 22. By the time this occurred, however, several circumstances had served to alienate Brissot and his followers from their former radical allies. By the time of the election, Brissot had fallen out with the Jacobin Club, and since the Jacobin Club exerted such a controlling influence on the Paris election that it virtually handpicked the deputies, Brissot and his allies regarded the Paris deputies, including Robespierre, as illegitimate. Some of this was sheer sour grapes, since Brissot and other future Girondins wanted to represent the prestigious city of Paris themselves. What is more, Brissot and his friends were wary of the power exercised by the Paris Commune, the revolutionary municipal government established after the August 10 insurrection and joined by many radicals who would later be counted with the Mountain. This distrust of the Commune turned into dismay after Brissot and his associates learned that members of the Commune had debated arresting them shortly before the prison massacres of September 2; if warrants had been drawn up, Brissot and his supporters realized, they would have been sentenced to death.

Not surprisingly, then, Brissot and his friends launched a political campaign against Robespierre and his allies almost as soon as the Convention opened. On September 24, Buzot called for the formation of a special guard drawn from the departments to protect the Convention from Parisian insurrection, a proposal that outraged the future Montagnards, who had forged alliances with Parisian radicals. The Montagnards were further infuriated by Jean-Baptiste **Louvet**'s October 29 so-called Robespierriide speech, which accused Robespierre of aspiring to become the dictator of France. The "appeal to the people" debate during the king's trial, which ran roughly from December 26, 1792, to January 4, 1793, was also seen by

Robespierre's supporters as a Girondin attack on Paris and, by extension, themselves. The successful vote to impeach Jean-Paul **Marat**, a firebrand deputy with ties to both Robespierre and the Paris Commune, was also seen as a Girondin plot. In response to these attacks, Brissot and his friends were progressively purged from the Paris Jacobin Club, which increasingly became dominated by Robespierre's clique.

It is important to note, however, that political alliances through most of this period were still quite fluid. The words "Montagnard" and "Girondin" were bandied about, but formal party structures were entirely absent, and relationships between deputies tended to revolve around patronage and friendship, as well as personal animosities with often-petty origins. The Mountain was a somewhat more homogeneous faction than the Girondins and tended to display a greater degree of uniformity in their voting record in the Convention, due in part to peer pressure exerted by the Paris deputies and the Jacobin Club. The Girondin voting record, by way of contrast, was far more inconsistent, with many Girondin deputies voting against supposedly Girondin legislative proposals, such as the appeal to the people in the king's trial and Marat's impeachment. Still, clear patterns of factional membership were beginning to crystallize over time, especially toward April and May 1793.

Nonetheless, the fatal blow against the Girondins came not from within the Convention, but from outside. Constant Girondin attacks on the Parisian "assassins and incendiaries" had inflamed public opinion in Paris, especially among the *sans-culotte* militants in control of many radical sections, and economic shortages at home and military defeat abroad in the spring of 1793 added further fuel to the fire. The final straw, for the Parisian radicals, was the May 28 vote by the Convention to reinstate the Commission of **Twelve**. This vote, which revealed the clearest Girondin-Montagnard division of any vote to date, resurrected a much-hated committee within the Convention charged to forestall Parisian insurrections. The result was exactly what the commission had been established to prevent: the Convention was surrounded five days later by up to 10 thousand armed militiamen, who demanded the expulsion and arrest of the 22 Girondin deputies. At first, the expelled deputies suffered only house arrest, but after the assassination of Marat on July 13, most were brought to trial for treason and either took their own lives or were executed, proclaiming their innocence and patriotism to the end. The Girondin faction, which had never been much more than a loose association in any case, was now gone, and the way was clear for the triumph of the Mountain, the dictatorship of Robespierre, and the **Reign of Terror**. See also Jacobins; *Sans-Culottes*.

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BENJAMIN REILLY

### Goddard, Mary Katherine (1738–1816)

Mary Goddard was the first publisher to print a copy of the **Declaration of Independence** including the names of all the signatories, and the first postmistress in the United States.

Born on June 16, 1738, in **Connecticut**, she grew up in New London before moving in 1762, along with her widowed mother, Sarah (née Updike), to Providence, **Rhode Island**, where her elder brother, William, had opened a printing business. The three worked together, and in the summer of 1765, when William moved to Philadelphia, Mary and her mother continued with it themselves, publishing the *Providence Gazette* from 1766 on, and then printing *West's Almanack*. In 1768 they sold the printing works and moved to be with William in Philadelphia.

Mary Goddard assisted her brother, who printed and published the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, until 1773, when William moved again, this time to Baltimore, **Maryland**, where he printed and published the *Maryland Journal*, urging the end to British rule. Mary followed him in February 1774 and also started working on the journal, which she edited and published throughout the **American Revolutionary War**.

In 1775, Mary Goddard took over the running of the Baltimore post office and became the first postmistress in America. She remained in that position for 14 years, finally being dismissed, amid wide protests, when the government wanted a man to take over so that he could more easily travel around, supervising the postal services.

After the Declaration of Independence was issued, it was printed by John Dunlap in Philadelphia. In January 1777, however, Mary Goddard was the first to print the Declaration together with the names of all the signatories. As the document was regarded by the British as treasonable, printing it was fraught with risks. In 1784 William Goddard returned to publishing the *Maryland Journal*, and following her dismissal from the post office, Mary Goddard opened a bookshop. She died on August 12, 1816, in Baltimore. At her death, she freed a slave woman who had helped her in her last years and made her the beneficiary of her will. *See also* Newspapers (American).

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Godwin, William (1756–1836)

Usually acknowledged as the first systematic exponent of philosophical anarchism, Godwin also enjoyed a long career as a writer of fiction, children's literature, and history. Born in Wisbech, England, Godwin came from a line of Protestant nonconformist ministers and trained for the ministry himself at Hoxton Academy in London. After losing his faith, he settled in 1783 in London, where he made a precarious living as a political journalist, reviewer, and novelist. He rose to sudden fame in 1793 with the publication of *An Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and Its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness*. *Political Justice*, as the work came to be known, was an important contribution to the pamphlet war that surrounded the outbreak of the **French Revolution**. Responding to the conservative criticisms of Edmund **Burke**, Godwin crystallized and extended existing critiques of aristocracy and monarchy, arguing ultimately for the immorality of all government as it controverted the human individual's essential and definitive right of private judgment. The work

caused a sensation, and during the mid-1790s Godwin was regarded as Britain's premier liberal intellectual. Godwin's fame was enhanced by his publication in 1794 of the novel *Things as They Are; or, The Adventures of Caleb Williams*. Part detective novel, part psychological thriller, and part damning critique of the British political, social, legal, and penal systems, *Caleb Williams* instantly achieved and has deservedly retained, the status of a classic. It was, as Godwin admitted, an attempt to disseminate to a wider audience the political and moral ideas of *Political Justice*. In 1797, Godwin married the feminist philosopher and novelist Mary **Wollstonecraft**, with whom he had a daughter, Mary, later the author of the horror novel *Frankenstein*.

Although prolific in his literary output over the rest of his long life, Godwin never attained the fame of this early phase of his career. Godwin's life was also a continual struggle against poverty, and his choice of literary output usually reflected his financial needs. Among Godwin's important other writings are the novels *St. Leon* (1799) and *Fleetwood* (1805); his biography of Mary Wollstonecraft, *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1798); and his *History of the Commonwealth of England: From Its Commencement, to the Restoration of Charles the Second* (1824–1828). Godwin's writings attract increasing scholarly interest, but most attention continues to be devoted to *Political Justice* and *Caleb Williams*. Godwin was undoubtedly an innovator in the detective novel and an important political theorist who took to its logical, if extreme, end the rationalism and perfectibilism of liberal **Enlightenment** thought.

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ROWLAND WESTON

## Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1832)

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, German poet, dramatist, novelist, and scientist, is one of the most influential figures of modern literature and important thinkers in Western culture. Goethe was born in Frankfurt am Main to the family of a lawyer, Johann Caspar Goethe, and Katherine Elisabeth Textor, the daughter of the mayor of Frankfurt. In 1765, Goethe went to Leipzig to study law. There he wrote his earliest lyric poems, which were published in 1769. After a period of illness, he completed his studies at Strasbourg in 1770–1771. In Strasbourg, Goethe met Johann Gottfried von Herder, who became a close friend. For 20 years Herder exercised a vital influence on Goethe's intellectual development, and it was through Herder that Goethe became interested in Shakespeare and Ossian and German folk poetry.

After graduation, for a short period of time Goethe practiced law in Frankfurt and Wetzlar, but disappointed, he turned to literature. He contributed to the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* and published his novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*) in 1774. Written as a series of letters from a sensitive young artist with commentary by the editor, the novel depicts emotional breakdown leading to suicide. Printed anonymously, the book started the controversial *Werther-Fieber* (Werther Fever), a wave of admiration and imitation of the romantic hero all across

Europe. *The Sorrows of Young Werther* elevated Goethe to the position of leader of the Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress) movement. Reflecting on the zeitgeist of the “age of sentiment,” in his novel Goethe stressed subjectivity, an enthusiasm for nature, and the importance of the emotional life of the individual.

In 1775, Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, invited Goethe to Weimar, where he spent the rest of his life. At the Weimar court, Goethe immersed himself in state affairs as the privy counselor, the head of the state theater and of various scientific institutions, a council member, a member of the war commission, director of roads and services, and administrator of the court’s financial matters. He also became the center of Weimar’s cultural and intellectual life. During 1786–1788, Goethe traveled through Italy. This trip inspired his enthusiasm for the classical ideal, as he elaborated in his *Die italienische Reise* (1816, *Italian Journey*) and in *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (1805, *Winckelmann and His Century*). While in Italy, Goethe carried out geological and botanical research in Naples and Sicily, climbed Mount Vesuvius, and wrote his first version of *Faust*. During this period he met Christiane Vulpius, his future wife and mother of his children.

In 1792, as an official historian, Goethe accompanied the Duke of Saxe-Weimar in the campaign against revolutionary France and participated in the historic Battle of Valmy. In 1794, Goethe established a friendship and close collaboration with Friedrich von **Schiller**, who, to some extent, influenced the development of Goethe’s aesthetic theory. In 1808, Goethe published the first part of *Faust*, finishing the drama only in 1831, the year before his death.

Goethe is a cultural and intellectual force not only for Germany, but for Europe as a whole. His life and works reflected and inspired several trends in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Starting with Sturm und Drang, with its cult of sensibility and critique of the principles of the **Enlightenment**, he immersed himself in the movement of Weimar classicism and profoundly influenced romanticism. His poetry, dramas, novels, novellas, essays, and autobiographical volumes became of central importance to world literature.

Goethe himself expected to be remembered as a scientist. His scientific interests were extensive, including the conceptualization of morphology, which is fundamental to the theory of evolution; his discovery of the human intermaxillary bone; and his formulation of a vertebral theory of the skull. Goethe considered *Zur Farbenlehre* (*Theory of Colors*, 3 vols., 1810) to be his most important work. A general explanation of color, it is better known for Goethe’s criticism of the Newtonian doctrine of light and colors. Goethe’s polemic is traditionally interpreted as an episode in the battle between romantic poetry and physical theory. It is also often seen as an attempt at subversion of the “tyranny” of the “master” Newton by the “dilettante” Goethe and an indication of Goethe’s concern with overthrowing “mechanical philosophy” as an embodiment of a dangerous political ideology.

Perceptions of a political Goethe are a controversial issue. His name was used in the establishment of the ideological foundations for the second and third German empires, the Weimar Republic, and the Third Reich. Germany’s national hero, he became a poster boy for the ideology of romantic nationalism. Given his activity as a privy counselor and head of the War Commission of Saxe-Weimar, Goethe is often seen as a conservative who supported the state and the old order. He showed a skeptical reserve toward the **French Revolution** and played rather a harsh role in his policing of professors at the University of Jena, from which Johann **Fichte** was dismissed from the



faculty. At the same time, his widely humanistic views and his emphasis on toleration and the right and power of the individual to inquire freely into political affairs are often overlooked. *See also* Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich; Kant, Immanuel.

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NATALIE BAYER

### Golden Hill, Riot at (1770)

The riot at Golden Hill, actually a clash between local colonists and British soldiers, occurred in New York City on January 19, 1770, over one year before the better-known confrontation referred to as the **Boston Massacre**. Tensions among New Yorkers had been simmering since the British government imposed the **Quartering Act** of 1765 and then the New York Restraining Act of 1767 on the colony. The **Sons of Liberty** led local protests against the acts and erected a liberty pole in defiance of the British. On January 18, an estimated 3,000 New Yorkers roamed the streets and offered threats to any armed soldiers found outside their quarters in response to the destruction of the liberty pole. The next day, British troops placed placards denouncing and ridiculing the actions of the Sons of Liberty and their supporters around the city.

A group of local citizens seized three soldiers with placards, and approximately 20 British troops attempted to intervene and rescue their comrades. As more local citizens arrived, a fight erupted between the two groups, forcing the soldiers to retreat toward Golden Hill, where they were reinforced by more men from the British garrison. The fighting escalated as the soldiers began using their bayonets on the crowd before withdrawing back to their barracks. Contemporary reports indicate that one New Yorker died and several were wounded. However, researchers believe that while several locals and soldiers were injured, no one died in the riot. *See also* American Revolution; Townshend Acts.

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TERRY M. MAYS

### La Grande Chambre

In the **ancien régime**, the Parlement of Paris was the supreme court of justice in **France**. Previously named the Chambre au Plaid—the central pleading chamber—the Grande Chambre was the core of the Parlement. There were other chambers, such as the Chambre des Enquêtes, which held judicial inquests; the Chambre de Requêtes, which dealt with petitions; the Chambre de la Tournelle, which settled criminal cases; the Chambre de la Marée, which handled fish trade affairs; and the Chambre de l'Edit, which originated after the Edict of Nantes (1598), which settled cases where Protestants were involved.

The Grande Chambre, which had over a hundred magistrates, dukes, and other peers, handled appeals from lesser courts. It dealt with trials concerning peers, members of the aristocracy, members of the Parlement, and the king's rights. The first president—*le premier président*—was appointed by the king, but other members attained their acted positions through purchase from the sovereign dating back to the reign of Francis I in the early sixteenth century. The Parlement acted as a legislative body, creating laws that applied within its jurisdiction. It could also refuse to accept legislation with which it disagreed until a *lettre de cachet* signed by the king was received. Immediately before the **French Revolution**, the Parlement blocked reforms, although harsh methods of execution and judicial torture were abolished by **Louis XVI** in 1788.

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ISABEL PEREZ-MOLINA

### Grattan, Henry (1746–1820)

Henry Grattan never held any important political office, failed to achieve many of his cherished political aims, and spent nearly 40 years on the opposition benches in the Irish and Westminster parliaments, yet he was undoubtedly one of the most important figures in Irish politics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A member of the Irish parliament from 1775 to 1797, and a member of the Westminster parliament from 1805 to his death in 1820, he was renowned for his well-prepared and well-delivered speeches in support of various liberal and reforming measures. Engaging, generous, and highly principled, he strove, largely unsuccessfully, to steer a moderate, liberal course between the reactionary upholders of the Protestant Ascendancy and the radical members of the United Irishmen, and between the sectarian bigots in both the Catholic and the Protestant camps.

Grattan was born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College in that city and for four years at the Middle Temple in London. Called to the Irish bar in 1772, he soon showed a preference for a career in politics. He entered the Irish House of Commons in 1775 and quickly became a leading spokesman for the Patriot opposition to the conservative government in Dublin Castle during the crisis of the **American Revolution**. With the aid of the Patriots in the Irish parliament and with the backing of the armed Irish Volunteers outside **Parliament**, he sought to gain greater political independence for **Ireland** without pressing for a complete breach with **Britain**. In 1780, because of its failures in the **American Revolutionary War**, Britain made concessions, granting Ireland free trade with the British colonies and in 1782 conceding a measure of legislative independence by repealing the Irish Declaratory Act of 1720 (which had maintained the Westminster parliament's right to pass legislation for Ireland) and removing the Irish Privy Council's right to interfere in the legislation drafted by the Irish parliament. Grattan was satisfied with these achievements and did not support Henry Flood's successful effort to secure the Renunciation Act of 1783 from Westminster that explicitly renounced Britain's right to legislate for Ireland.

Grattan was granted £50,000 by the Irish parliament for his efforts in 1780–1782, but he did not achieve as much as he thought, since Britain still exercised very

considerable influence over Irish politics and still appointed the Irish executive. He did show that the Irish parliament could resist the British and Irish executives by leading the successful campaign against **Pitt's** proposed free-trade treaty between Britain and Ireland in 1785 and by securing the Regency Act in 1789, which would have granted the Prince of Wales very considerable powers had **George III** not recovered from his illness. After some hesitation, Grattan took up the cause of parliamentary reform and Catholic relief in the early 1790s but found that his small group of Irish **Whigs** stood on narrow ground between the radical **Society of United Irishmen**, who pressed for more extensive reforms, and the leaders of the Protestant Ascendancy, who resisted any political or religious concessions. He hoped that the liberal lord lieutenant, Earl Fitzwilliam, would secure moderate reforms in 1794–1795 and was appalled when Fitzwilliam was dismissed. He gradually withdrew from parliamentary life and did not stand for reelection in 1797. In 1798 he was in England during the terrible events of the Irish rebellion. This rebellion further weakened his political influence and set back the whole cause of reform.

In late 1799 Grattan reentered the Irish parliament but was unsuccessful in his efforts to defeat the legislative union between Britain and Ireland in 1800, and he was alarmed at Pitt's failure to secure Catholic emancipation. He again retreated from politics but was persuaded by the Whigs to enter the new united parliament in 1805, and he served in it until his death in 1820. Throughout this period he was critical of political corruption and regularly and bravely brought forward petitions and motions for various measures of Catholic relief, including the type of reform for Catholic emancipation eventually passed in 1829, but he failed to defeat the entrenched Protestant interest. He was, however, praised as a firm friend of the Catholic cause in Ireland. *See also* Tories.

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H. T. DICKINSON

## Great Britain

*See* Britain (1760–1815)

## Grégoire, Henri (1750–1831)

Henri Grégoire was a French priest who was an influential politician during the **French Revolution**. Grégoire, more commonly known as the abbé Grégoire, was born in the village of Vého in Lorraine. Prior to the Revolution, Grégoire was an outspoken advocate of Jewish rights and won a prize from the Metz academy for an essay that he wrote on this topic in 1788. Later that year, Grégoire was a representative at the **Estates-General** and was one of the priests who took part in the **Tennis Court Oath**. Influenced by **Jansenism**, Grégoire favored limited reform of the Catholic Church and in 1790 took the oath of loyalty despite some concerns that he had about the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**. He was elected a bishop and served in that capacity before being elected to the **National Convention** in 1792. It was when Grégoire was appointed to the Colonial Committee that he joined the Société des

Amis des Noirs, and his activism on behalf of oppressed peoples was expanded to include slaves and *gens de couleur*.

During the radical phase of the Revolution, Grégoire continued to support the revolutionary government despite some objections to its **anti-clericalism** and his refusal to renounce his religious convictions. Following the **Reign of Terror**, Grégoire worked to reestablish the constitutional church but later saw his efforts undermined by **Napoleon's** religious policies, including the **Concordat** of 1801, which Napoleon signed with the **papacy**. Grégoire died in 1831, disappointed with the failure of the Revolution he had supported. *See also* Religion; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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MARGARET COOK ANDERSEN

## Guadeloupe

Guadeloupe refers to a series of islands in the eastern Caribbean. The most prominent of these are the two islands of Basse-Terre and Grande-Terre. Spain was the first European power to colonize the island in 1626, displacing the Carib inhabitants. However, France successfully wrested the island away from Spain, and in 1674 Guadeloupe became part of the French Empire. It was then that Guadeloupe was transformed into a giant sugar plantation, which necessitated the importation of thousands of African slaves. Slaves, the small white elite planter class; a number of middle- to lower-middle-class whites, who filled modest positions in the economy; and freed persons of color and mulattos made up the island's social structure. Slaves accounted for the vast majority of the population.

At the height of the **French Revolution**, British troops and French royalists occupied the island in 1794. However, the French revolutionary government sent Victor Hugues and a military expedition to the island, which was retaken. In accordance with the principles of the Revolution, Hugues abolished slavery. The resulting power imbalance enraged the white planters. Hugues executed hundreds of white planters in the ensuing power struggle.

The **Consulate** under **Napoleon** rescinded the slaves' freedom and reestablished slavery in 1802. British forces captured Guadeloupe in 1810 during the **Napoleonic Wars**, but with the emperor's defeat in 1815, Guadeloupe reverted to French control. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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CHARLES ALLAN

## Guadet, Marguerite-Elie (1755–1794)

A French revolutionary politician, Marguerite-Elie Gaudet was one of the leaders of the Girondin faction in the National Convention. Guadet, the son of the mayor of Saint-Emilion, received his bachelor of law in 1778 after he studied at Guyenne and the University of Bordeaux. He registered as a lawyer for the Parlement of

Bordeaux in 1781. Before the **French Revolution**, he worked as a secretary to the lawyer Elie de Beaumont, a friend of **Voltaire**.

During the early years of the Revolution, Guadet participated in local politics. He was elected an administrator to the department of the Gironde in 1790 and president of the criminal court in 1791.

Guadet became involved in national politics in October 1791 when he was elected to the **Legislative Assembly** for the Gironde department. In the Assembly, the offensive against refractory priests was dominated by the radicals, or those who sat on the Left: Guadet, **Gensonné**, Pierre **Vergniaud**, the Marquis de **Condorcet**, and Georges **Couthon**. At the Legislative Assembly, he met Jean-Pierre **Brissot** and became an active proponent of foreign war.

During July 1792, with his colleagues from the Gironde, Vergniaud and Gensonné, Guadet entered into secret negotiations with **Louis XVI** in an attempt to reappoint the Brissotin or pro-war ministry that had been in office from March to June. The deal, which involved delaying the insurrection of August 10, which overthrew the monarchy, in return for the reappointment of pro-Brissot ministers, was a failure. As a member of the Legislative Assembly's "extraordinary commission" on the eve of August 10, Guadet was one of those deputies who attempted to stall the imminent revolution.

Guadet was reelected to the **National Convention** for the Gironde in 1792. He was elected secretary on October 4 and president on October 18 and served on both the diplomatic and legislative committees. In addition, he served on the Committee of General Defense, which would become, in amended form, the famous **Committee of Public Safety**.

With respect to Louis XVI's trial, upon Guadet's proposal, the Convention decreed that it would deliberate on the questions that dealt with the king's guilt, the ratification of the Assembly's vote by the people, and the type of punishment to be inflicted. Guadet voted in favor of the referendum and death but with reprieve.

During the period of the Convention, Guadet became one of the most vocal opponents of the **Mountain** or Jacobin faction. He demanded that a vote be taken to impeach Jean-Paul **Marat**. Yet he voted himself incompetent to judge on April 13, 1793. The next day, Marat was impeached. He was less successful in his attempt to have the Convention's sessions moved to Versailles later the same month.

Purged from the Convention and placed under house arrest on June 2, Guadet fled to the Gironde, where he hid out for a year. He was guillotined on June 20, 1794. *See also* Brissotins; Jacobins; Parlements.

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LEIGH WHALEY

## **Guillotín, Joseph-Ignace (1738–1814)**

Guillotín was a French doctor who recommended to the **Constituent Assembly** that they adopt a mechanical means of implementing capital punishment in revolutionary **France**. As a result of this recommendation, the device came to bear his name, though he neither invented it nor further pursued its adoption.

Dr. Guillotin was a renowned physician who founded the French Academy of Medicine and supported the **French Revolution** from its early stages. He belonged to a group of revolutionaries (inspired by the reform writings of Cesare Beccaria) who sought to eradicate capital punishment and to replace it with rehabilitation. He, and others in his circle, envisioned the adoption of the **guillotine** as an intermediary step that would make execution more equitable across social classes. On October 10, 1789, he proposed six articles to amend the French penal code, including the adoption of a new decapitation device. The Assembly accepted his proposals.

After the first public execution by guillotine in 1792, Guillotin's family fought to have the name disassociated with the device. Ultimately unsuccessful, the family changed their name instead. The *e* at the end of the name was added later to make the word easier to pronounce in English. Records of the **Committee of Public Safety** indicate that a Dr. Guillotin was executed by the device, which gave rise to statements about the irony of his demise, but subsequent research has proved that he died of natural causes well after the **Reign of Terror** had ended.

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LAURA CRUZ

## Guillotine

The guillotine was a bladed instrument used for public executions beginning in the late eighteenth century, especially during the **French Revolution**. Scholars believe that it symbolizes both the ideology of the **Enlightenment** and its contradictions.

Prior to the use of the guillotine, public beheadings were performed with an executioner's ax. The ax was not always sufficient to remove the head cleanly, which occasionally had grisly results. The guillotine, a wooden frame with a mechanism for dropping a sharp metal blade, was designed to sever the head more efficiently. The first modern guillotine was built by Tobias Schmidt, a German engineer working in Paris, in 1792. A French doctor, Joseph-Ignace **Guillotin**, advocated its use by the French government because he believed it to be more humane than the ax. Once adopted, the device was named after the doctor and became symbolic of the Enlightened program for reform of crime and punishment.

The guillotine was frequently used by French revolutionaries, particularly during the mass execution of political enemies during the period of power of the **Committee of Public Safety**, commonly known as the **Reign of Terror**. Scholars have frequently pointed out the hypocrisy in using a more humane method for what would seem to be an inhumane purpose. After the Terror, criminal reform took a turn away from capital punishment and toward incarceration as a means of rehabilitating criminals, though the guillotine remained in use in France until 1977.

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LAURA CRUZ

# H

## Haitian Revolution (1791–1804)

A revolution that took place in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, located on the western third of the Caribbean island of **Hispaniola**, the Haitian Revolution resulted in the abolition of slavery and the establishment of the independent state of Haiti in 1804.

On the eve of the **French Revolution** of 1789, **France's** sugar-, indigo-, and coffee-producing colony of Saint-Domingue was the largest and most profitable of all the slave colonies in the Caribbean. Because of Saint-Domingue's abundant natural resources and competitive position on the world market, many white landowners desired eventual autonomy or independence from France. Slave revolts were not uncommon and the practice of *marronage*, or slaves running away and establishing temporary refuges in the mountains, was frequent and became an effective means by which slaves could organize. Situated between the 465,000 slaves and the 40,000 whites in the colony's legal hierarchy were the *gens de couleur*. In 1789 they numbered about 28,000 and ranged from recently freed slaves to wealthy plantation and slave owners. The desires for freedom on the part of slaves, legal equality on the part of *gens de couleur*, and autonomy on the part of white planters were among the causes of the Haitian Revolution. Yet it was political developments in France that would ultimately set in motion the series of events leading up to the Haitian Revolution.

In 1788 white planters, long displeased with the existing mercantilist policies of the French crown, sent representatives to the meeting of the **Estates-General** in the hopes of obtaining economic emancipation for Saint-Domingue. Aware of the formation of abolitionist organizations, such as the Société des Amis des Noirs, the white planters formed the Club Massiac to represent their interests. The Revolution in particular also created opportunities for groups to dismantle the very racial hierarchy the Club Massiac sought to protect. Emboldened by the egalitarian rhetoric of the French Revolution, the *gens de couleur* sent representatives, including Julien Raymond and Vincent Ogé, to the newly formed **National Assembly** in 1789 to obtain active rights on an equal basis as white property owners. Frustrated by the French government's refusal to enact such legislation, Ogé returned in 1790

to Saint-Domingue, where he led a group of *gens de couleur* in an uprising that was suppressed in 1791. Although initially a victory for the white planters, the suppression of this uprising ultimately destroyed any possibility of what could have been a strategic alliance between the white planters and the *gens de couleur*, both of whom wanted to protect the institution of slavery. Upon hearing the news of Ogé's violent capture and execution, the National Assembly in Paris enacted a decree on May 15, 1791, granting rights to all free people of color born to free parents. Adamant at maintaining the existing racial hierarchy, the governor of Saint-Domingue refused to promulgate the Assembly's decree. This resulted in renewed uprisings among the *gens de couleur*.

Meanwhile, elite slaves on plantations all over the northern region of the colony watched the disunity of the propertied classes with interest and met at the Bois Caïman to plan the revolt that would begin in August 1791 and take the propertied classes by surprise. Soon the northern part of the colony became embroiled in slave rebellions, while the southern and western parts were divided between areas controlled by whites and areas controlled by *gens de couleur*, with both factions recruiting rebelling slaves to fight on their side under various pretenses of freedom. When news of the bloody slave revolt reached Paris, the most alarming aspect of it was the fact that members of the colonial assembly had appealed to the governor of **Jamaica** for help and, in one case, actually had written to the British government to invite them to occupy and restore order in the colony. The French government, fearing foreign invasion, sent civil commissioners headed by Léger-Félicité Sonthonax to the colony to restore order. This was temporarily achieved in April 1792 when France granted **citizenship** to all *gens de couleur*, thus winning their support.

The effects of the **French Revolutionary Wars** would soon reach Saint-Domingue with British and Spanish invasions of the colony. Both powers recognized the tenuous hold the French revolutionary government had over the colony and sought to form alliances with various warring factions in an effort to defeat France and claim this wealthy colony. Like Britain and Spain, France was forced to negotiate with the slaves and in 1793 offered freedom to any slave who would fight on the French side against the British and Spanish. In 1794 the decisive negotiation was made; the French government made good on Sonthonax's original promise to free slaves with a decree abolishing slavery in all the colonies. **Toussaint l'Ouverture**, who had initially fought for the Spanish, was attracted by the promise of freedom and joined the French, along with many of his followers. When Toussaint foiled a British invasion and an attempt to overthrow the governor of Saint-Domingue in 1796, the French government recognized that they depended on him to keep the island in French hands. Toussaint was appointed deputy governor, and in 1800 he became the governor. Conflict between Toussaint and French authorities in Paris arose in 1801 when Toussaint annexed the former Spanish colony of Santo Domingo. French troops arrived in Saint-Domingue in 1802, and **Napoleon** reinstated slavery. Slaves resumed their rebellion and Toussaint was captured. Ultimately the slaves were victorious, earning their freedom in 1803 and independence from France in 1804. Jean-Jacques Dessalines became the first leader of the newly independent nation of Haiti, named in honor of the island's indigenous Arawak inhabitants. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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MARGARET COOK ANDERSEN

### Hamilton, Alexander (1755–1804)

Alexander Hamilton was an American soldier, politician, and statesman; author of the **Federalist Papers**; and the first secretary of the treasury of the United States (1789–1795). Among those figures involved in the founding of the American republic who never became president, Hamilton ranks as the most significant. His recorded thoughts on the principles and purposes of American government and his deeds in its service together reveal Hamilton to have been a major thinker on the virtues and perils of republican government anywhere, but also a powerful influence both on the formative history of the United States and its relationship with the rest of the world.

Hamilton was born out of wedlock on the tiny Caribbean island of Nevis in 1755. When he was 10 years old, his father moved the family to the nearby island of St. Croix and subsequently abandoned them, whereupon his mother opened a shop while Hamilton found a job as a clerk at a trading post. It was in this position that Hamilton was first immersed in bookkeeping and economics and began to demonstrate an extraordinary capacity for systematic self-education and adaptation to adverse circumstance. The labor-intensive nature of the sugar trade at the time made Hamilton a witness to the brutality of slavery and developed in him an aversion that prevented him from ever owning slaves or endorsing the practice. The death of Hamilton's mother made him an orphan at age 13, which of itself established a lifelong habit of self-reliance and close collaboration with like-minded friends.

Friends and relations helped Hamilton at age 17 to secure passage to the colony of New York, where he enrolled in King's College (now Columbia University) in 1772, just as the American colonies were moving toward open revolt against British rule. There he absorbed a mass of historical, legal, constitutional, and political knowledge and developed a precocious talent for its practical application. Not initially an enthusiast of the revolutionary cause, he was quickly driven into the thick of the agitation by the works of James Otis and John **Adams**, coupled with the Crown's inept demonstrations of imperial authority. Hamilton was gifted with the pen and the sword. He was a strong speaker and was only surpassed in the art of churning out revolutionary **pamphlets** in short order by Thomas **Paine** and Benjamin **Franklin**. He joined the New York Militia in 1775, became a captain of an artillery unit, distinguished himself at the siege of **Yorktown**, and gained the respect of General George **Washington**, who appointed him his aide-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Washington found Hamilton to be the best executive officer in his army—loyal, apparently fearless, and capable of performing difficult tasks with thoroughness and speed.

Hamilton was also brimming with good ideas and acute perceptions. Among the latter was an appreciation of the merits and limitations of the revolutionary alliance with **France**. Hamilton spoke French fluently, and as Washington's aide-de-camp, he established professional contacts and personal friendships with aristocratic officers posted to America, the most notable being the Marquis de **Lafayette**.

But Hamilton equally appreciated that French policy was motivated less by genuine favor to the American cause than by the impulse to harm **Britain** in return for defeat in the Seven Years' War. Beyond the expedient alliance of 1778, France had no interest in a strong America. French benevolence would last no longer than was convenient to French goals.

Proximity to Washington put Hamilton in a position to influence the **United States Constitution** once independence was won. Intellect and tireless drive did the rest. During the revolutionary war, Hamilton witnessed firsthand the inadequacies of the Continental Congress in furnishing supplies and soldiers. With Washington, he developed strong opinions favoring energetic central government. In 1780, Hamilton married Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of a major Hudson Valley landowner, and, once demobilized, began a successful Manhattan law practice and represented New York at the **Second Continental Congress** in Philadelphia. Hamilton led the Federalist side in the constitutional debates, accounting for two-thirds of *The Federalist*, a series of 85 newspaper essays written together with James **Madison** and John **Jay** on the fundamental principles and constituent institutions of government that represent both the first major work of political theory produced in America and the blueprint for the Constitution. The coherence of Hamilton's ideas and the force with which he articulated them did much to secure ratification of the Constitution.

Hamilton then served as secretary of the treasury under President George Washington (1789–1797) and worked to establish a strong national bank, assume the debt of the individual states, and clear the national debt left over from the war. He advocated assertive central authority, and his *Report on the Subject of Manufactures* made the case for protective tariffs for the manufacturing sector. He also strove to place American relations with Britain on an amicable and mutually profitable basis as quickly as possible. This led him to oppose American support for the revolutionary cause in France for prudential as much as ideological reasons and to support the Jay Treaty of 1794, which reestablished trade relations with Britain. Hamilton was an empiricist and pragmatist in the English tradition, for whom it did not follow that independence from Britain meant the rejection of all things British. Of events in France, he wrote to Lafayette in October 1789 that “I dread the reveries of your Philosophic politicians who appear in the moment to have great influence and who being mere speculatists [sic] may aim at more refinement than suits either with human nature or the composition of your Nation.” Although Hamilton appreciated on another level France's mastery in power politics—a game he believed the United States must equip itself to play—he rightly saw British dominance as the international reality to be reckoned with over the next century. This perspective led to conflict with equally prominent figures of the founding generation, such as Thomas **Jefferson** and James Madison, who held that the American republic owed ideological fraternity with the **French Revolution**. Hamilton ridiculed their attachment as “womanish” and argued that, whatever “suitable return” the United States owed France for help in the struggle for independence, it did not include “hating and wrangling with all those whom she hates.”

Jefferson and other Anti-Federalists also bitterly opposed Hamilton's designs for strong central government on the grounds that a government actively promoting industrial capitalism would inevitably be corrupted by the same. Some Anti-Federalists took Hamilton's admiration of the British system as the mark of a closet monarchist. Hamilton was nothing of the sort, but he neither subscribed to the

classical liberal idealism of Jefferson nor cringed at statements evincing a vast ambition for the United States. Conflict with a great naval power such as Britain would endanger the navigation and trade upon which the growth of the republic depended; the United States, he argued, was “the embryo of a great empire” and the powers of Europe would happily crush the American experiment if it were so imprudent to hazard a premature contest of arms. Hamilton also looked with envy on Britain’s capacity to mobilize wealth on a scale sufficient to support a large navy and wage war at great distance from home. It was his influence above all that led the United States to establish a system of public debt resembling Britain’s, and Hamilton also eventually overcame Jefferson’s opposition to the establishment of the Bank of the United States, modeling its charter on the Bank of England. These endeavors were designed to build national strength and political unity. In the short term, Hamilton deemed it imperative that the republic avoid any overseas commitments beyond “occasional alliances,” a sentiment evident in Washington’s Farewell Address, which Hamilton coauthored. The speech is often cited as the first article of American isolationism in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, abstinence from European affairs was for the purpose of building up national strength for the day when, in Washington’s words, the United States would be able “to bid defiance, in a just cause, to any earthly power.”

Hamilton nonetheless used his influence to help his rival Jefferson to win the presidency over Vice President Aaron Burr, whom Hamilton distrusted personally and politically. He also supported Jefferson in the Louisiana Purchase, deeming it important to American security that European power be progressively eliminated from the North American continent and eventually the hemisphere. In this attitude, he anticipated the Monroe Doctrine, most especially in the advocacy of a “non-transfer policy” on European colonies in the Americas. In his own time, many of Hamilton’s ideas on the requirements of American government ran counter to—in many cases, rather, ahead of—the spirit on the times in a young republic only recently torn from British control. Many of those ideas stood the test of time and the American experience better than those of Jefferson, in particular the role of national government in regulating and expanding the opportunities for national industry and commerce; the preference for the instruments of warfare such as a large navy and a standing professional army; and, in time, the advocacy of free trade and open seas as vital national interests of the United States. It is fair to say that the United States evolved as a commercial and military power on Hamilton’s plan but also that successive governments defended Hamiltonian policies with Jeffersonian rhetoric.

Hamilton died young and suddenly at the age of 49. Among his weaknesses was a tendency toward intrigue that aroused the suspicions and passions of the political rivals he routinely outmaneuvered. Aaron Burr, who hated Hamilton for having barred him from the presidency in favor of Jefferson in 1800, was again thwarted by Hamilton in his pursuit of the governorship of New York in 1804. Hamilton viewed Burr as personally ambitious to a dangerous extent in much the same way as Jefferson had come to regard Hamilton. Hamilton did indeed see the United States as destined to become a commercial and military power, but one to be ruled by the vigorous Whig structures of government he had advocated from the outset and worked so hard to establish, rather than a demagogue like Burr, whom he suspected of wanting to take New York out of the Union. When Burr lost the election, his political career was effectively over. He promptly challenged his nemesis to a pistol

duel over derogatory remarks Hamilton had made during the campaign. Hamilton fired wide, but Burr did not, and Hamilton was slain. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### **Hancock, John (1737–1793)**

Born in Braintree, **Massachusetts**, John Hancock, a mercantile shipper, revolutionary statesman, and patriot, was the son of John Hancock, a Congregational minister, and Mary Thaxter Hawke. Upon the death of his father when he was eight, Hancock lived with his childless paternal aunt and uncle Lydia and Thomas Hancock, attending Boston Latin School and graduating from Harvard College in 1754. During the Seven Years' War (known in America as the French and Indian War; 1756–1763), he aided his adoptive uncle's mercantile-shipping business, which traded in whale oil, wines, and general merchandise often under government contracts. Upon his return from a visit to London in 1761, Hancock took over control of the business and inherited the firm in 1764. He resented what he regarded as the unjust British taxes and policies of the **Sugar Act** (1764), the **Stamp Act** (1765), the **Townshend Acts** (1767), and the **Tea Act** (1770) and resisted the enforcement of the **Navigation Acts** generally at a time when Britain desired to tighten their application following their salutary neglect during the war in an attempt to collect revenues in the colonies.

Hancock entered politics as a Boston selectman (1765–1774) and as a member of the Massachusetts General Court (1766–1774), generously distributing part of his personal fortune to patriotic causes. He was protected by the **Sons of Liberty** when his ship the *Liberty* was impounded for smuggling by customs collectors. He received honorary master's degrees from Yale and Princeton in 1769 and honorary LL.D. degrees from Brown and Harvard in 1788 and 1792, respectively.

Hancock was seen as a popular resistance leader against British tyranny and was called upon as an orator to memorialize those who had fallen during the **Boston Massacre** of March 5, 1770. Hancock supported the uprising against the British East India Company that culminated in the **Boston Tea Party**, even, according to some witnesses, dressing as a Mohawk and taking part in the raid on the ships himself. He spoke against the **Coercive Acts**—the **Boston Port Act**, the **Massachusetts Government Act**, the Act for the Impartial Administration of Justice, the **Quartering Act**, and the **Quebec Act** leveled against Boston that sought to secure payment for the destroyed tea and to enforce British laws. The closure of the port of Boston hurt Hancock financially and the General Court became a provisional local government in Watertown in opposition to British General Thomas **Gage**'s forces sent to police the colony. Regarding this as an army of occupation, Hancock led resistance to Gage as president of the Provincial Congress. Elected to the Second **Continental Congress**, Hancock and Samuel **Adams**

journeyed to Lexington as leaders of the revolutionary opposition and were warned by Paul **Revere**'s ride that the British were on their way to arrest them as rebels and confiscate revolutionary supplies. Under the **Administration of Justice Act**, the British had sought to bring Hancock and Adams to trial in England for their rebellious crusading. After the action at Lexington on April 18, 1775, Hancock and Adams escaped to Philadelphia, where Hancock was elected president of the Continental Congress. To share his triumph, he married Dorothy Quincy, with whom he would have two children.

Hancock was a deft president of the Congress, overseeing its functions through committees, its selection of George **Washington** as **Continental Army** commander, and the signing of the **Declaration of Independence**. Hancock signed the document first as presiding officer and wished his signature to be large enough so that King George could read it without his glasses. Additional major decisions that Hancock oversaw at the Congress involved preparing for defense and war production; printing continental currency; organizing departments to deal with Indian affairs; establishing a system of military hospitals; adopting responses to Lord **North**'s Conciliatory Resolution; coordinating purchases of military weapons abroad; building a navy; intercepting British supply ships, fortifying the Hudson River; adopting regulations concerning prisoners of war and ships captured on the high seas; selecting Silas Deane, Benjamin **Franklin**, and Thomas **Jefferson** as agents to France to transact commercial and political business; adopting resolutions concerning privateering; and organizing recruitment and payment of the Continental Army. Hancock and the Congress coordinated military strategy with General Washington, mobilized the militias, recruited foreigners to aid the war effort, and sent commissioners to **Austria**, **Spain**, Prussia, and Tuscany.

Hancock was so committed to the revolutionary cause during the British occupation of Boston under Gage that he was reputed to have said, "Burn Boston, and make John Hancock a beggar, if the public good requires it." In October 1777, Hancock returned to Boston on business after the British had evacuated the area and occupied New York. In his absence, Henry Laurens was elected president of the Continental Congress, and Hancock increasingly took part in state affairs. Hancock was a member of the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1780 and, following adoption of the state constitution, was elected governor, serving until 1785. He was reelected after Shays's Rebellion and quieted the economic upheavals caused by postwar financial problems. He had generously contributed to the revolutionary war effort and assisted the poor and needy through charitable donations from his personal funds.

As further testament to his popular leadership, he was elected president in absentia of the United States in Congress Assembled in November 1785 but resigned in May 1786 due to illness. Hancock was assisted in performing his duties respecting the **Articles of Confederation** by David Ramsay and Nathaniel Gorham, who alternately served as chairman. He resigned in June 1786. Recovering his health, Hancock, as a delegate to the Massachusetts special ratification convention, where he again served as president, supported the ratification of the **United States Constitution**, drafted in Philadelphia in 1787. His pivotal speech in favor of ratification swayed members of the Convention to accept the historic document by a vote of 187 to 168. Hancock continued to be exceptionally popular, and his leadership was further lauded with an LLD from Brown in 1788 and from Harvard in 1792. Hancock was annually reelected governor of Massachusetts from 1787 and continued to

serve in that function until 1793. Ever strong minded and always politically adroit, Hancock was a brilliant figure during the periods of the Revolution, the Confederation, and the Constitution, around which lesser lights coalesced to affect republican policies and principles. *See also* Lexington and Concord, Actions at.

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BARBARA BENNETT PETERSON

### Hanriot, François (1761–1794)

A populist during the **French Revolution**, Hanriot was a rabble rouser who became commander of the Paris **National Guard** during the Jacobin period as a loyal supporter of Maximilien **Robespierre**.

Born on December 3, 1759, at Nanterre (Ile de France), his parents were poor, and his first job was working with a *procureur*, a position he lost through dishonest conduct. He then took up a clerkship in Paris but was dismissed when he did not turn up for work when revolutionaries burned the barriers of the *octroi* (municipal customs posts) on the night of July 12–13, 1789. Hanriot then lived as a pauper before discovering his talent as an orator.

Hanriot became closely associated with the revolutionaries, raising and then commanding the *sans-culottes* in the Jardin des Plantes suburb of Paris. He took part in the storming of the Tuileries Palace on August 10, 1792, and the subsequent **September Massacres**. Following the events at the Tuileries, Hanriot was elected commander of the *sans-culottes* section of the Paris National Guard.

In May and June 1793, Hanriot played an important role in the overthrow of the **Girondins**, and on May 31 he was appointed provisional *commandant-général* of the Paris National Guard by the general council of the Paris Commune. When, on the following day, a member of the **National Convention** wanted to dissolve the pro-Jacobin Committee of Twelve, Hanriot moved against the opponents of Robespierre. On June 2, he surrounded the Convention with some 80,000 supporters and forced the Convention to order the arrest of 29 Girondin deputies. This resulted in Hanriot being elected the permanent commander-in-chief of the National Guard, a position he held during the **Reign of Terror** that followed.

When Robespierre was overthrown in July 1794 during the **Thermidorian Reaction** and taken prisoner, Hanriot tried to rescue him. When that failed, he fled but was captured. He and Robespierre were guillotined on July 28, 1794. *See also* Committee of Public Safety; Jacobins.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Hébert, Jacques (1757–1794)

Jacques Hébert pushed the leaders of the **French Revolution** in ever-more radical directions. As the editor and chief writer of the popular newspaper *Père Duchesne*, Hébert enjoyed great authority among the Parisian working class. Whether the views

he expressed were genuinely his own or whether he cynically articulated what his audience of *sans-culottes* readers wanted to hear, Hébert had an effect on the course and character of the French Revolution between the time he and his paper rose to prominence, after November 1790, and his execution in 1794.

Born to a provincial bourgeois family, Hébert arrived in Paris in 1780. In the 10 years before he started to publish *Père Duchesne*, he lived in impoverished obscurity. The character known as Père Duchesne, at first a sailor and later a merchant of stoves, had appeared in plays and novels since at least the seventeenth century. Various anonymous writers had already introduced him through pamphlets and plays into the milieu of the Revolution by the time that Hébert made the personage his. In Hébert's hands, he became a means to convey ultra-revolutionary opinions in the language of the popular classes. Although far from great literature, the paper succeeded brilliantly because it was easily read aloud (most of its audience was illiterate), used popular jargon and imagery, and resonated with the outlook of the Parisian *sans-culottes*.

As a journalist and as an activist, Hébert participated in the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of the Republic. A representative to the Commune of Paris, he led efforts to transform roughly 2,000 churches into Temples of Reason. During his period in the **National Convention**, he promoted the **Jacobins** and attacked the **Girondins**. Hébert and his followers planned demonstrations by Paris workers in September 1793 that culminated in the National Convention's decision to create the **Committee of Public Safety** as a revolutionary executive.

Hébert and *Père Duchesne* contributed to the demonization of **Marie Antoinette** that fed popular demands for her execution. By printing assorted libel that accused the former queen (and mother of the heir to the throne) of crimes ranging from treason to incest with her son, Hébert destroyed her right to the protections ordinarily enjoyed by a mother, let alone a woman. The newspaper proclaimed that "the greatest of all joys" had been felt by Père Duchesne when Marie Antoinette became the victim of the guillotine.

Hébert expressed the fervent nationalism of the French revolutionaries, who believed that their nation had accepted an historic mission to eliminate tyrants from the European continent and to spread liberty. Given that almost all of France's opponents were monarchies, the rabid anti-royalism of *Père Duchesne* gained even more force and substance after the execution of **Louis XVI**. Hébert worried about the apparent tolerance for royalists and counterrevolutionaries. In the midst of the war that would secure or destroy the Revolution and the Republic, he advised the *sans-culottes* to pressure their leaders to prosecute each battle and each counterrevolutionary with all the ferocity they could muster.

In contrast to the evil royals and churchmen, the *sans-culottes* who appeared in the pages of *Père Duchesne* embodied honesty, hard work, and a willingness to sacrifice themselves for a great cause. Hébert won readers and supporters through his repeated evocations of the worker who was content with merely "a four-pound loaf in his bread box and a glass of red wine" and who endured snubs from lazy aristocrats. *Père Duchesne* evoked the fraternal relations that prevailed among fellow revolutionaries while urging them to denounce and raid the homes of nobles and moderates. The *sans-culottes*, Hébert suggested, had a crucial role to play in the Revolution as exemplars of virtue. As the heads of their households, the *sans-culottes* had to ensure that their children would "always be good citizens" and would "love

the Republic above all else.” He proclaimed, “The people as a whole is always pure; it may be misled, but its intentions are good.”

Although Hébert and his allies had done much to bring the Jacobins and the Committee of Public Safety to power, their incessant demands for ever-more radical economic measures, including attacks on even small-scale merchants, prompted **Danton** and other Jacobins to reject the **Hébertistes**. In March 1794, Hébert urged another uprising in response to food shortages, but he received virtually no support. The Committee of Public Safety ordered his arrest on March 14. Along with 17 of his followers, he was found guilty and executed. Jacobin control did not long outlast him, however, as it lost its *sans-culotte* base and collapsed in July 1794. *See also* Newspapers (French).

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

## Hébertistes

The Hébertistes promoted a radical agenda during the **French Revolution** in line with that advocated by their inspirational and sometime leader Jacques-René **Hébert**. The names of those affiliated with the Hébertistes varied with time and the particular stage in the Revolution. Generally, men who opposed Maximilien **Robespierre** but supported the **Reign of Terror** as a means to promote a popular revolution may earn such an appellation. Many were executed or else deported as a consequence of their activities during the Terror, as were Jacques Nicolas **Billaud-Varennes** and Jean Marie **Collot d’Herbois**.

Together, the Hébertistes led the revolutionary Commune of Paris after August 10, 1792, and also provided leadership in the Club des Cordeliers. Thus, they occupied positions that enabled them to exercise influence on the character of the Revolution. They formulated demands on behalf of the *sans-culottes* that included political measures against suspected counterrevolutionaries and a socioeconomic program.

They participated in the August 23, 1792, *levée en masse*. Hébert, Pierre Gaspard **Chaumette**, Billaud-Varennes (later a member of the **Committee of Public Safety** and eventually an opponent both of Hébert and of Robespierre), and Collot d’Herbois (also a future member of the Committee of Public Safety) helped to organize the September 4 popular insurrection that followed it. The Hébertistes enjoined workingmen to prepare to make the Terror “the order of the day.” On September 5, Chaumette, representing the Commune of Paris as a “guest” of the **National Convention**, gave an important speech that clarified the perspectives and goals of the *sans-culottes*, whom the Hébertistes claimed to represent. He identified European tyrants and French traitors as the cause of bread shortages and other problems, as they wanted to crush the French people by “forcing it shamefully to exchange its liberty and sovereignty for a morsel of bread.” He further averred that “New lords no less cruel, no less greedy, no less insolent than the old have risen



upon the ruins of feudalism.” The conflict at that moment boiled down to one between the rich and the poor, though he preferred to describe the poor as the nation and the people rather than as an economic group.

The petition made by the Hébertistes and their popular supporters demanded the organization of a revolutionary army from among the *sans-culottes* for use in the countryside against greedy farmers who withheld food and as a more general means of defending liberty at home. The Convention ceded to these demands, despite its wariness about unleashing militants upon the countryside. The Hébertiste view of the war also became that of the Convention and then the Committee of Public Safety: no negotiations or diplomatic relations with monarchies, paired with a broadening of war objectives to include a vague quest to spread freedom throughout the Continent. In addition, the Hébertistes supported the dechristianization effort that culminated in the late 1793 creation of the Cult of Reason.

Several Hébertistes were foreign-born men who had accepted French **citizenship** in order to demonstrate their support for the Revolution. Prior to 1789, Jean-Baptiste Cloots (Anarcharsis) (1755–1794) was an independently wealthy, nobly born Prussian philosopher who contributed to the *Encyclopédie* and who promoted an aggressive anticlericalism. After rallying to the Revolution immediately after the fall of the **Bastille**, he became a member of the Jacobin Club, the National Convention, and the Hébertistes. The self-proclaimed “orator of human kind” and “citizen of humanity” spoke on behalf of various radical causes during the Revolution. Given his earlier **anti-clericalism** and his self-description as “the personal enemy of Jesus Christ,” he had no difficulty endorsing dechristianization, and he happily celebrated the Cult of Reason. He wrote for various periodicals, including the *Moniteur* and the *Patriote Français*, in which he articulated his intense antipathy toward monarchy. Along with Hébert, he recommended that the French revolutionaries seek to overthrow kings across the European continent. Cloots believed that such a movement would culminate in the establishment of a universal republic, to be formed through the federation of individual European republics.

Cloots’s foreign birth proved to be his Achilles’ heel. The acute fear of foreign collaboration in a counterrevolution pervaded politics in the mid-1790s and did not differentiate among foreigners. In fact, Cloots had been awarded French nationality by legislative decree. Nonetheless, he was arrested by the Convention as a foreigner. Robespierre rejected the notion that a man born into the German **nobility** could ever merit acknowledgment as a French patriot. Further, Cloots’s participation in the cult of Reason had become a liability after the Committee of Public Safety opted in favor of the cult of the Supreme Being. He was executed with other Hébertistes on March 24, 1794. Cloots’s story reveals the ambiguous situation of foreigners who not only accepted the Revolution but actually embraced it enthusiastically. It also highlights the dilemmas faced by the Hébertistes as they encountered foes more powerful than themselves.

The association of one Hébertiste with another warranted the execution of all of them. Chaumette’s friendship with Cloots elicited accusations that he was a foreign agent. Perhaps more significantly, he had attracted the enmity of Robespierre for turning the Commune of Paris into a disturbingly powerful and autonomous force in the Revolution. He was guillotined along with Cloots and the others after having been found guilty of “destroying all morality” and of having been paid as an agent by the British.

After having helped the **Jacobins** and the Committee of Public Safety to power, the Hébertistes in turn became the objects of criticism from Danton and from Robespierre. Their inability to sustain popular mobilization on behalf of their radical agenda left them unprotected when the committee decided to have many Hébertistes arrested. *See also* Cordeliers Club; French Revolutionary Wars.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

### Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831)

Hegel was a proponent of German idealism and one of the most systematic philosophers who attempted to elaborate a comprehensive and systematic ontology from a “logical” standpoint. Hegel was born in Stuttgart on August 27, 1770, in the family of a revenue officer of the Duchy of Württemberg. He studied at the Stuttgart Gymnasium and in 1788 entered the Stift Theological Seminary at the University of Tübingen. There he developed friendships with the poet Friedrich Hölderlin and the philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling.

During the **French Revolution**, as an enthusiastic supporter, Hegel participated in a support student group in Tübingen. After completing his studies at the seminary, Hegel decided not to enter the ministry and in 1793 became a private tutor in Bern, Switzerland. Together with Schelling, Hegel wrote *The First Program for a System of German Idealism* in 1796. In 1797, Hölderlin found Hegel a position as a tutor in Frankfurt, but in 1799 Hegel’s father died and left him enough money to leave tutoring. In 1801 Hegel went to the University of Jena, where he studied, lectured, and collaborated with Schelling on the *Critical Journal of Philosophy*. Hegel published his first philosophical work, *The Difference between Fichte’s and Schelling’s System of Philosophy*, at the end of 1801. While in Jena, Hegel also completed his first draft of *The Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), which considered human history as an idealistic self-development of an objective Spirit. Later that year after the defeat of the Prussian army at the Battle of Jena, Hegel saved a copy of *The Phenomenology* from the fire set by French soldiers in his house.

Hegel became editor of the Catholic daily *Bamberger Zeitung* in 1807–1808. Dissatisfied with this position, he moved to Nuremberg to serve as headmaster of a gymnasium. During the Nuremberg years, Hegel married Marie von Tucher, daughter of the mayor of Nuremberg. Hegel continued to work on *The Phenomenology* and published *The Science of Logic* (1812, 1813, 1816). In 1816, Hegel accepted a professorship in philosophy at the University of Heidelberg. There he published his comprehensive *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences* (1817, 1827, 1830), which included a version of *The Science of Logic* together with *Philosophy of Nature* and *The Philosophy of Spirit*. Two years later he was invited to teach at the University of Berlin, where he taught on aesthetics, the philosophy of religion, and the philosophy of history with great success. In 1829 Hegel was elected rector of the university. He stayed in Berlin until his death in 1831.

A systematic thinker, Hegel aimed at introducing a system that would allow for a philosophical understanding of the present, the past, and the future. According to Hegel, reality is Absolute Mind, Reason, or Spirit, which manifests itself in history. Because reality is rational, it acts in accordance with the laws of reasoning that can be understood. Nature itself can be studied rationally because it manifests the dialectical activity of Spirit.

According to Hegel, the history of philosophy thus reveals the development of Spirit in the pursuit of its own unification and actualization. The history of philosophy becomes a progression in which each successive stage is the result of a resolution of the contradictions inherent in the preceding movement. In this developmental scheme, the French Revolution, the first real introduction of freedom, is a new occurrence in history. With its radical nature, it culminates in the **Reign of Terror**. But because history progresses by learning from mistakes, the experience of the Revolution would eventually lead to a new stage: the creation of a constitutional state with the government organized around rational principles and ideals of freedom and equality.

Hegel maintained that all human history is a progression to freedom that can be achieved if the desires of individuals are integrated into the unified system of the state where the will of one is replaced by the will of all. This view on the dialectical development of history divided Hegel's followers into left- and right-wing Hegelians. The right-wing Hegelians emphasized the compatibility between Hegel's philosophy and Christianity, especially Protestantism. Politically, they advocated conservatism and the unity of the state. The left-wing Hegelians' (the Young Hegelians) interpretation of Hegel's philosophy leads to atheism and liberal democracy. Marxism stemmed from the left-wing Hegelian to develop the "scientific" materialist approach to society and history. *See also* Kant, Immanuel.

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NATALIE BAYER

### **Henry, Patrick (1736–1799)**

Lawyer, colonial and revolutionary statesman, and governor of **Virginia**, Patrick Henry was born to Scottish planter John Henry and Sarah Winston Syme in Studley, Virginia. Henry was educated in local schools and tutored by his father, who had attended King's College, University of Aberdeen. At 15, he became a mercantile clerk before opening his own country store and at 18 marrying Sarah Shelton, who brought to their marriage 300 acres and slaves from her father. They would have six children, and Henry, with encouragement from Thomas **Jefferson**, decided on a career in law to provide for his family, passing the bar in Hanover County in 1759 and handling 1,185 cases in a three-year period. Henry became well respected for winning the case of the Parsons' Cause in December 1763 when he defended Louisa

County and the taxpayers' interests against local Anglican clergymen who had sued to receive additional remuneration. Each parson in the past had received 17,280 pounds of tobacco annually, which they then sold at market value. But the county changed the rules and no longer gave the tobacco but authorized a monetary salary based on the former amount of tobacco being sold at two pence a pound. The parsons objected to their salaries being commuted to a fixed money payment because the price received for tobacco on the market had greatly increased and they wished to reap additional rewards. Henry argued that the parsons' plea was so outrageous that they should receive a mere one pence. He won his case and chided the churchmen for their avarice. The public loudly applauded this decision, making Henry a prominent political figure.

Henry was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1765 as the **Stamp Act** was levied on the colonies and challenged as illegal. He led the opposition among the Burgesses, securing the adoption of part of his seven **Virginia Resolves** on May 30, 1765. These resolves proclaimed that all liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities held in England were held also by the colonists; that taxation was the right of the people themselves, either directly or through their representatives; that this right had been recognized by the Crown; that the General Assembly of the colony of Virginia had the exclusive right to lay taxes upon its populace, and therefore the inhabitants of Virginia would not be bound by any other levies imposed by the Crown; and that any person who attempted to do so was an enemy of Virginia. The Virginia Resolves placed Virginia firmly in opposition to parliamentary taxation and requested that **George III** respect colonial rights. The **Stamp Act Congress** held in New York in October 1765 used the Virginia Resolves as the basis for their arguments to mount their opposition, adopting similar resolutions and denouncing the British use of admiralty courts instead of civilian courts. Henry further elevated his reputation by defending Americans' liberties in cases argued before the General Court involving the **Townshend Acts**, the **Tea Act**, and the **Navigation Acts**. His dramatic, extemporaneous, and riveting oratorical style hypnotized his listeners. Henry supported the **committees of correspondence** as they sprang into action, supporting Boston after the **Boston Tea Party** and the imposition of the **Coercive Acts**.

He was elected to the First **Continental Congress**, held September 1774, where he urged the recognition of colonists as "Americans" seeking to present a united front against Britain's harsh imperial policies, not as distinct citizens of individual regions (i.e., "Virginians," "Pennsylvanians," or "New Yorkers"). He served on the most important committees, including those that drafted a declaration of rights and grievances, investigated parliamentary abuses of American rights, and drafted statements of colonial rights and the position of the colonies within the Empire. Sarah died in 1775 as the crisis mounted. Henry took solace in politics and action and was elected to the second Virginia convention, held in Richmond in March 1775. Here Henry rose to new heights of leadership as he advocated immediate preparedness for possible war with Britain to protect American rights. He reiterated that over the past 10 years the conduct of the British ministry had been to use "implements of war and subjugation" to disregard colonial liberties. Now Americans should prepare themselves for confrontation rather than reconciliation. It was time to stand up and fight rather than to submit in humble supplication, and he concluded this famed speech of March 23, 1775, with the elegant plea "Give me liberty or give me death!" The colonial stand was made on Lexington Green on April 18, 1775, and following

this event, Virginia's royal governor **Dunmore** gave the order to seize powder and weapons in the Williamsburg arsenal. Henry led troops to confront Dunmore, demanding payment for the weapons cache. Henry used his talents for political persuasion at the Second **Continental Congress** in May 1775 and then briefly became commander of the provincial Virginia regiments later incorporated with the **Continental Army**. Returning to politics, Henry attended the provincial convention held in Williamsburg in May 1776 and supported a resolution calling for independence for the colonies from Britain. This call for independence was echoed by the Virginia delegates in the Second Continental Congress.

The Williamsburg convention drafted a new state constitution and a declaration of rights. In July 1776, Henry was elected Virginia's first governor under the new constitution and served three consecutive terms until June 1779 and was reelected again, serving from November 1784 to November 1786. In October 1777, Henry married Dorothea Dandridge, with whom he would have 10 children. Henry raised troops and war materials in Virginia to support General George **Washington's** army and was interested in defending the Ohio Valley against the British. Upon leaving the governorship for the first time, Henry was reelected in 1780 to Virginia's House of Delegates, where he supported Thomas Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom but otherwise favored using state tax funds to continue to pay churchmen and supported the intertwining of church and state.

Henry declined to join the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, as he was wary of centralized national government that would supplant states' rights. However, he was later elected to the special state convention called to ratify the new **United States Constitution** upon its completion and spoke out against ratification, fearing consolidated government. Nevertheless, Virginia's convention delegates voted 89 to 79 to accept the new Constitution. At a time when many in Virginia were turning to the Jefferson-Madison Anti-Federalist clique, Henry was drawn to the Federalist leadership of President Washington, who offered him posts as secretary of state, attorney general, justice of the Supreme Court, and minister to Spain, all of which he declined, preferring to stay active in local politics. He retired from the legislature in 1790 but had just been reelected again in March 1799 when he died. Henry lived on a large estate known as Red Hill in Charlotte County and spent his last years mentoring young politicians who, like himself, came from prosperous circumstances but possessed the common touch. *See also* Lexington and Concord, Actions at.

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BARBARA BENNETT PETERSON

### **Hérault de Séchelles, Marie Jean (1759–1794)**

French revolutionary and member of the **Committee of Public Safety**, Hérault de Séchelles differed from the rest of his colleagues on the committee since he came from an ancient Norman family and his grandfather, René Hérault, had served as a lieutenant general in the Paris police, while his father had risen to be a colonel

in the army before being killed at Minden in 1759. Hérault de Séchelles was born in Paris and received a good private education. He showed a talent for writing and published *Eloge de Suger* in 1779. After studying law, he was admitted to the bar at the Châtelet of Paris, the city's civil and criminal court, in 1777. Introduced to the court by his cousin Madame de Polignac, he became known as *le beau Séchelles* for his handsome appearance and wit and caught the fancy of Queen **Marie Antoinette**, who helped him become *avocat-général* of the Parlement of Paris in 1785.

Despite his upbringing and career success, Hérault de Séchelles welcomed the **French Revolution** and participated in the attack on the **Bastille** in July 1789. He served as the judge for one of the *arrondissements* of Paris in late 1789 and was sent on a mission to Alsace in early 1791. Upon his return to the capital, he became *commissaire du Roi* at the Court of Appeal (cour de cassation), and in September 1791, he was elected a deputy for the department of the Seine to the **Legislative Assembly**, where he sided with the radical Left and emerged as one of the leading members of the assembly. Serving on the Diplomatic Committee, he presented the famous report that stated the need to declare the nation in danger (*la patrie en danger*). During the turbulent days of August through September 1792, he served as vice president (August 20–September 2, 1792) and president (September 2–September 16, 1792) of the Legislative Assembly. His eloquence made its mark in the various proclamations that he wrote, including the one on the Allied capture of the fortress at Longwy, which precipitated the **September Massacres**.

In September 1792, Hérault de Séchelles was elected to the **National Convention** by two *départements* but opted to represent Seine-et-Oise. He sat with the Montagnards and served as president of the Convention (November 1792) and as a member of the Committee of General Security. In late 1792, he was sent on a mission to organize the conquered province of Savoy and was absent during the trial and execution of **Louis XVI**, which he nevertheless supported. On his return to Paris, he supported Georges **Danton** and was elected to the first **Committee of Public Safety** in May 1793. He helped organize the Jacobin coup against the **Girondins** on June 2 and was elected for another term as president of the Convention in August 1793. He drafted most of the new republican Constitution of 1793. As a member of the Committee of Public Safety, he concerned himself with diplomacy and served on a mission to Alsace in late 1793. As Jacobin in-fighting intensified, Hérault de Séchelles remained loyal to the Dantonists and opposed Robespierre's faction. His epicurean lifestyle, noble origins, and cynicism aroused distrust among many and led to unfounded accusations of treason. As a result, Hérault de Séchelles was suspended from his duties on the Committee of Public Safety. In March 1794, he was arrested and tried along with Georges Danton, Camille **Desmoulins**, and others. He was executed on April 5, 1794. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Jacobins; The Mountain; Parlements.

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## Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel (1753–1811)

Don Miguel Hidalgo was the main agitator for Mexican independence from the Spanish and is revered in Mexico to this day as one of the country's greatest heroes.

Miguel Gregorio Antonio Ignacio Hidalgo y Costilla Mandarte Villasenor y Lomelí was a Mexican of Spanish ancestry and was born on May 8, 1753. His parents were Cristóbal Hidalgo y Costilla, an administrator in the hacienda of Corralejo in Guanajuato, and Ana Maria Gallaga. He was the second of five children and was educated in a Jesuit college, as was his older brother. However, in 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from Spanish colonial territory, and Miguel Hidalgo went to the College de San Nicolás Obispo in Michoacán (modern-day Morelia). He studied philosophy, theology, and the liberal arts and gained a degree in arts and then completed a degree in theology at the Real y Pontífica Universidad de México, the most important university in New **Spain**. In 1776, he was ordained as a deacon and was ordained a priest two years later.

Initially Miguel Hidalgo returned to the College de San Nicolás Obispo, where he gained the nickname "the Fox," to teach philosophy, theology, and Latin. However, he had some unorthodox theological views, and this forced the authorities to post him to Valladolid, in the east of the country. Although his views were certainly the main reason, the church was also concerned about his mishandling of church funds, his involvement in gambling, and his fathering of two children; he would father another soon after his move. By this time, Hidalgo had a large private income, owning three haciendas, and was able to make large donations to establish a school at the next parish to which he was posted.

In 1807 Hidalgo was denounced by the Tribunal of the Inquisition for speaking out against the Spanish monarchy and also challenging Roman Catholic orthodoxy. He was also to be accused of possessing banned books. His denunciation was also probably connected to the fact that he encouraged some of his parishioners to produce their own wine, a practice that challenged the Spanish monopoly on wine production. He was also involved in the cultivation of silk worms and apiculture. None of the indictments against him were proceeded with, and Hidalgo continued with his new agricultural ideas, with much support from the people of his parish.

The invasion of Spain by French troops in 1808, and the replacement of King Ferdinand VII by Joseph Bonaparte, led to a major catharsis in Spanish America. Few people supported the new king, and many remained loyal to Ferdinand VII. Others felt that it might be time to sever the political ties across the Atlantic, and for Mexico, and other colonies, to become independent.

To this end Hidalgo became involved with an independent group at San Miguel, near Dolores. However, with the colonial authorities rapidly supporting the restoration of Ferdinand VII, Hidalgo found himself betrayed, and several of his confederates were arrested. Instead of fleeing, however, the priest decided to raise the flag of rebellion. On the morning of September 16, 1810, Hidalgo managed to secure the release of the pro-independence prisoners before gaining the support of the local Spanish garrison. He rang the church bell at Dolores, urging his parishioners to join a revolution against Spain. The uprising quickly spread throughout New Spain, gaining support from two quite different constituencies. One consisted of the *criollos*, Mexicans of Spanish descent, such as Hidalgo himself; the second comprised

the campesinos, the peasant class, which included very large numbers of Indians. The banner that Hidalgo raised bore an image of the Virgin of Guadeloupe, symbolizing to many rebels the religious justification for the revolt.

It did not take long for Hidalgo to raise a force of several thousand men. With it, he captured Guanajuato and other major cities to the west of Mexico City. Hidalgo's men often looted shops owned by Spanish merchants after seizing a city or town and were even responsible for the killing of numbers of Europeans. As the fighting became more savage, especially after the taking of Guanajuato, bloody reprisals followed. These excesses by Hidalgo's men tended to alienate many of the more conservative people in Mexico who favored independence but were worried about a potential revolution.

Spanish authorities were slow to launch a counterattack. The church excommunicated Hidalgo and his supporters, and the Tribunal of the Inquisition reopened their case against him. When Hidalgo finally led his men to Mexico City, he faced a force of royalist militia under the command of Torquato Trujillo. Although Hidalgo's men prevailed and reached Cuajimalpa—from where they could see the capital—Hidalgo decided not to attack the city, demanding instead that the viceroy surrender. Hidalgo did not believe his force capable of laying siege to Mexico City, especially as his forces were unpopular in the area and could not rely on local support. Indecision caused desertions from his army, and faced by a renewed Spanish force, Hidalgo was forced to fall back to Valladolid. On November 25, 1810, he lost control of Guanajuato and on January 17, 1811, was defeated at the bloody battle of Calderón.

At this point, Hidalgo appears to have decided to head for the United States to seek sanctuary there, along with his leading lieutenants. The plan failed, however, when on March 21, 1811, Hidalgo and some of his commanders were captured and taken to Chihuahua. There Hidalgo's three lieutenants—Ignacio Allende, José Mariano Jiménez, and Juan Aldama—were executed on June 26. The authorities had to delay Hidalgo's execution for administrative reasons. As he was a clergyman, the church had to formally defrock and excommunicate him, which they did on July 29, making way for his execution the following day. The four men were decapitated, and their heads were then placed on the four corners of the Alhóndiga de Granaditas in Guanajuato as a warning to other revolutionaries. Although he was not able to lead his men to victory, Hidalgo has come to symbolize Mexico's struggle for independence. *See also* Mexican Revolution.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Hispaniola

The island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean, now divided into Haiti and the Dominican Republic, was initially occupied by the Spanish when Christopher Columbus landed there on his first voyage in 1492. On his second voyage in 1493, he moved his base to another spot, and in 1502 Fortaleza Ozama was built on what became Santo Domingo. This ensured that the Spanish administration was based



on the south coast of the east of the island. During the seventeenth century, French settlers started to land on the west coast, and in 1771 it was necessary to demarcate a border, as the French and their slaves now outnumbered the Spanish and their slaves.

Both the French and Spanish parts of Hispaniola were slave societies, with a small number of wealthy whites, and a large number of black slaves working on sugar plantations. One of those who lived in the French colony, which was called Saint-Dominique, was **Josephine** de Beauharnais, who would later marry **Napoleon Bonaparte**.

There had been a number of small unsuccessful slave revolts throughout the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. They were harshly put down, and in 1758, when his rebellion was crushed, Makandal, a legendary black slave, was executed. **The French Revolution** stimulated the slaves to action, and in August 1791 there was a massive revolt in Saint-Dominique. The man who emerged as the leader of the rebellion was **Toussaint l'Ouverture** (usually known simply as Toussaint), the son of an educated slave who had been legally freed in 1777. In the retribution that resulted from the first days of the rebellion, Toussaint helped his former master escape. Many others were not so lucky.

The Spanish in the east of Hispaniola decided to support the rebel slaves, but in September 1793 the French abolished slavery. In October 1795 the Spanish ceded their part of the island to **France** and agreed to resettle all their citizens within a year. Many, however, had no wish to move to Cuba, and the French were more concerned with suppressing the rebellion. In January 1801 Toussaint led his men into Santo Domingo and abolished slavery throughout Hispaniola. His two greatest supporters were Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henri Christophe. Toussaint was subsequently betrayed to the French and taken to France, where he died in April 1803.

Back in Hispaniola, the Republic of Haiti was proclaimed on January 1, 1804—the first black republic in the Americas, and the second republic there (after the United States). In September 1805, Dessalines proclaimed himself Emperor Jacques I of Haiti but was assassinated two years later. In 1811 Christophe took over Cap-Haïtien, on the north coast of Haiti, which he renamed Cap-Henri. He then proclaimed himself king and ruled for the next nine years. The hopes of many of the former slaves in Haiti quickly evaporated. The eastern part of the island declared itself independent on November 30, 1821, and although it was occupied again by Haiti from 1822 to 1844, became independent thereafter as the Dominican Republic. *See also* Haitian Revolution; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### **Holbach, Paul Heinrich Dietrich, Baron d' (1723–1789)**

Author, **philosophe**, and Encyclopedist, Baron d'Holbach was born into a German family in Edesheim but was raised in Paris by his uncle Franciscus Adam d'Holbach. He studied at the University of Leiden in 1744–1749 and inherited a considerable fortune after the death of his uncle and father-in-law. Known for

his lavish dinners, Holbach hosted many prominent intellectuals of the age, among them the Encyclopedists Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, and Jean Le Rond d'**Alembert**; the philosopher Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger; the critics Friedrich-Melchior Grimm and Jean François Marmontel; the historian abbé Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal; and the naturalist Charles-Georges Le Roy. Holbach's dinners for his coterie continued for 30 years between early 1750 and 1780 and served as the occasion for the meeting of important intellectuals. Holbach proved himself a prolific writer, producing a large number of articles covering politics, science, religion, and other topics for the famous *Encyclopédie*. His atheistic views were revealed in the *Christianisme dévoilé* (1761), which attacked Christianity, and **religion** in general, as opposed to the moral advancement of humanity. In 1770, he published *Le système de la nature*, which presented more radical ideas.

Holbach believed that nature consisted only of matter and motion and argued in favor of mechanistic metaphysics. He supported the notion of naturalistic ethics, noting that each person seeks happiness and self-preservation. His criticism of religion, especially of Catholicism, was based on his conviction that religion was the source of vice and unhappiness.

Holbach's political theory presented a notion of the just state, or "ethocracy," as he described it, which was founded on general welfare. Holbach elaborated on this idea in several of his works, notably *La politique naturelle* (1773), *Système social* (1773), *La morale universelle* (1776), and *Ethocratie* (1776.) Like Rousseau, he worked on the theory of a social contract, which consisted of two stages. In the first stage, individuals unite to obtain personal and proprietary security, while in the second, society concludes a contract with a sovereign power (a king or an elected body) to secure the general welfare of its members. In Holbach's view, the first-stage contract, between individuals in society, can never be broken, while the second-stage agreement, between society and a sovereign power, can be withdrawn if the government fails to secure the general welfare—a view similar to that of John **Locke**. As a result of this view, Holbach was often regarded as an advocate of revolution, which he was not. Instead, his argument suggested that when government fails to maintain the welfare of its citizens, the latter will be guided by passion and a sense of self-preservation, which will lead to revolution. His ideas, therefore, were to be understood not as advocating revolution, but rather as offering advice so as avoid it.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Holland

See Netherlands, United Kingdom of the

## Hopkins, Stephen (1707–1785)

Stephen Hopkins was a **Rhode Island** politician and signer of the **Declaration of Independence**. Born in Providence and largely educated by his Quaker mother,

Hopkins became a leading merchant in the province and first entered local office in 1735. He was allied with the powerful Brown family, attended the Albany Congress, founded the radical *Providence Gazette*, 1762, and was the first chancellor of Rhode Island College (now Brown University). Hopkins served as Speaker of the Rhode Island Assembly seven times and was elected governor of the province for nine one-year terms between 1755 and 1768.

One of the earliest opponents of Grenville's imperial policy, he published in 1764 *An Essay on the Trade of the Northern Colonies*, which attacked the **Sugar Act**. He also published the more important *The Grievances of the American Colonies Candidly Examined*, which questioned the British concept of parliamentary sovereignty and its extension to the colonies. Hopkins believed that only the colonial assemblies themselves could levy internal taxes in America, and he suggested that sovereignty in the Empire should be divided between the assemblies and **Parliament** in a federal association. As the imperial crisis continued, Hopkins became more radical, and as Rhode Island's chief justice he refused to sign a court order to apprehend the individuals responsible for burning the *Gaspee*, a grounded British revenue cutter, in 1772.

At the outbreak of the **American Revolution** Hopkins was 60, but he was an active member of the First and Second Continental Congresses. As chairman of the naval committee, he helped create the Continental Navy and was one of the two Rhode Island delegates who signed the **Declaration of Independence** in 1776. Hopkins also served as the Rhode Island delegate to the committee that drafted the **Articles of Confederation**, and although he did not serve in **Congress** after September 1776, he continued to serve in the Rhode Island state legislature until 1779. Hopkins died in Providence in July 1785. *See also* Albany Plan of Union; Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; Pamphlets (American); Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

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RORY T. CORNISH

## Hopkinson, Francis (1739–1791)

Francis Hopkinson was an American composer, revolutionary politician, and possibly the designer of the Stars and Stripes. Born to English parents in Philadelphia, he was politically well connected (his cousin was the bishop of Worcester) and was a graduate of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania). His family connections led to his appointment as the collector of customs at Salem in 1763 and his later appointments as collector of customs at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1772, and as a member of the New Jersey council in 1774. Better known as a poet and a composer than a royal official, Hopkinson became an ardent American patriot, and in 1776 he resigned his Crown appointments.

In 1774, Hopkinson published *A Pretty Story*, an allegory on how a wicked stepmother (**Parliament**) and her steward (Frederick North, Lord **North**) disrupt the peace of the family farm. In 1776, he published *A Prophecy*, which predicted the inevitability of American independence, and was elected a delegate to the Second

**Continental Congress**, consequently becoming a signer of the **Declaration of Independence**. Holding various offices during the **American Revolution**, Hopkinson, a lawyer by profession, served on the committee that drafted the **Articles of Confederation**. In 1787, President George **Washington** appointed Hopkinson a judge for the United States court for eastern Pennsylvania.

During the Revolution, however, Hopkinson's most important role was as a republican publicist. The composer of many popular patriotic ballads, including "The Battle of the Kegs," the most celebrated patriotic song of the Revolution, Hopkinson also staged in 1781 a patriotic oratorio, "The Temple of Minerva," in Philadelphia to celebrate the Franco-American alliance and the victory at **Yorktown**. A talented craftsman, he also helped design many heraldic national and state emblems, including the Great Seal of the United States. In 1780, Hopkinson claimed sole responsibility for the design of the Stars and Stripes, a claim Congress refused to acknowledge in 1781, as, it was thought, many individuals had been consulted over the design. There can be no doubt, however, that Hopkinson played a leading role in the flag's eventual form.

A strong Federalist, Hopkinson supported the ratification of the **United States Constitution** and on July 4, 1788, he stage-managed the massive Federal procession in Philadelphia that celebrated its ratification. His son Joseph Hopkinson, a congressman, composed the song "Hail Columbia." Hopkinson died in Philadelphia in May 1791. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Signers of the Declaration of Independence; Symbols (American).

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RORY T. CORNISH

## Hostages Law of

*See* Law of Hostages

## Hôtel des Invalides

The Hôtel des Invalides, also known as Les Invalides, is a complex of institutions that specifically relate to the French nation's military history and are located in the now centrally situated Seventh Arrondissement of Paris. Initiated by King Louis XIV in November 1670 for the purpose of housing aged and unwell soldiers, the Hôtel des Invalides originally served as both a hospital and retirement home for French soldiers, although in later years it has become a burial place for military heroes.

Designed by Liberal Bruant (1635–1697) and completed in 1676, the Hôtel des Invalides stands as a fine example of French classical architecture. With a front measuring almost 200 meters and its numerous courtyards, including the Cour d'Honneur (Court of Honor), Les Invalides creates an imposing environment consisting of a range of buildings with connected open spaces within which thousands of soldiers were once housed and military parades took place. The complex was expanded after 1676 by the addition of a chapel designed by Bruant and the Baroque

master Jules Hardouin Mansart (1646–1708), and construction continued into the 1680s thanks to Mansart’s Church of St. Louis, a private place of prayer for the royal family. With its centrally placed pediment, the Church of St. Louis not only skillfully merges with the overall aesthetic of the earlier buildings but also has a larger vertical scale than the surrounding edifices, which allows it to visually dominate the overall complex of buildings, especially when seen from the nearby open area known as the Esplanade des Invalides. With its majestic interior, the church somewhat unsurprisingly became used as a burial place for persons considered of military significance to the nation, including those from the time of Louis XIV and those from the post-revolutionary era, like Claude Rouget de Lisle (1760–1836), writer of the French national anthem, “Le Marseillaise”; **Napoleon**, his brothers, and some military officers from that time; and the young Napoleon II.

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IAN MORLEY

### Hôtel de Ville de Paris

The Hôtel de Ville de Paris (City Hall of Paris) refers to the administrative government of Paris. The city has a long history of self-government, beginning in the twelfth century when King Louis VI granted a charter to local water merchants. By giving the merchants a certain degree of autonomy in return for their assumption of responsibility for the city, including its amenities and, significantly, its safety, Louis’s grant initiated a long period of city government in one form or other. Housed in an edifice now standing in the Fourth Arrondissement in the Place de l’Hôtel de Ville (Place of the City Hall), the City Hall has had a turbulent history since its inception that has included severe damage to the City Hall Building during the 1871 Paris Commune. Nonetheless, the City Hall as an institution has expanded greatly since its inception, particularly during the nineteenth century, when Paris expanded in political and cultural depth, industrial strength, and demographic size. Since the declaration of the Third Republic in 1870 at the Hôtel de Ville de Paris, the City Hall has become an emblem of **republicanism** and has consequently been widely perceived in both Paris and the nation at large as symbolizing many of the values of the **French Revolution**.

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IAN MORLEY

### House of Representatives (United States)

One of the two chambers of the United States **Congress**, the House of Representatives is a legislative body in which each state is represented proportionally according to its population. In 1787, the **Articles of Confederation** established a unicameral Congress, but it proved to be ineffective and was modified at the **Constitutional Convention** in 1787. The future structure of the U.S. Congress proved to be a divisive issue, as the state delegations disagreed on many issues. Thus, in his Virginia Plan, Edmund **Randolph** proposed a bicameral Congress, in which people would participate in the

direct election of the lower chamber, which would then elect the upper chamber. This plan benefited states with large populations and was naturally supported by **Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Massachusetts**, all of which stood to gain from it.

Opposing this plan, William Paterson drafted the New Jersey Plan, which provided for a unicameral Congress with equal representation for the states. Eventually, the delegations reached what became known as the Connecticut Compromise, according to which states would be represented based on their population (and three-fifths of the slaves) in the House of Representatives (which was what populous states wanted), but equally in the Senate (as smaller states wanted). After the Constitution came into force in March 1789, the first House of Representatives began work on April 1, 1789.

At first, it was proposed that there would be one representative for every 40,000 inhabitants and, thus, a House of 56 members was anticipated; eventually, this number was modified to 65. James **Madison** argued that the number of House members should be doubled in order to reflect the nation's diverse interests, but this was opposed by other members on the grounds that such a plan would be expensive and the size of the House would reduce its effectiveness. On the last day of the Convention, Rufus **King** of Massachusetts and Daniel Carroll of **Maryland** proposed altering provisions so that there be no more than one representative for every 30,000 citizens. This was adopted unanimously after George **Washington** himself made a speech on its behalf and was eventually reflected in Article 1, Section 2, Clause 3, of the Constitution.

Following the first census in 1790 and the addition of **Kentucky** and Vermont, the size of the House of Representatives increased from 65 to 106. Virginia was represented by 19 members, Massachusetts by 14, Pennsylvania by 13, **New York** and **North Carolina** by 10, Maryland by 8, **Connecticut** by 7, **South Carolina** by 6, **New Jersey** by 5, and New Hampshire by 4. The smallest delegations came from **Georgia** (2), **Rhode Island** (2), and Delaware (1). Eventually, Congress capped the size of the House of Representatives at 435 members.

The Constitutional Convention also debated the length of terms for members of the future House of Representatives and considered proposals for annual, biannual, and triennial elections. Eventually, the Convention settled for two-year terms, which are specified in Article 1, Section 2. At two years, the term of a House member is the shortest of any official specified in the Constitution, as presidents are elected for four years and senators were granted six-year terms. The decision was justified by the delegates' desire to keep the House members "close to the people." Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution specifies that "The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers." The Speaker of the House thus was regarded as the second most powerful official in the United States. The Constitution specifies that the House may punish members for "disorderly behavior" and expel them by a two-thirds vote.

Under Article 1, Section 2, Clause 1, of the Constitution, the qualifications of voters for the U.S. House of Representatives is the same as those "qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature." This provision was the result of a compromise between the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, who failed to agree on universal voting qualifications due to disagreements about "freeholders," that is, to those with a certain amount of property. Thus, the individual states were allowed to make their own arrangements on this

issue. The franchise was largely reserved for white males, but suffrage was eventually extended to African American men (the Fifteenth Amendment), women (the Nineteenth Amendment), and 18-year-olds (the Twenty-sixth Amendment), while the Twenty-fourth Amendment eliminated the poll tax, which a number of states had employed to restrict the voting rights of African Americans.

The Constitution specifies that “All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives,” which prevents the Senate from initiating bills imposing taxes. The Senate does not have the power to originate appropriation bills authorizing the expenditure of federal funds. The early federal period was marked by frequent disagreements between the House and the Senate over the delimitation of powers. This struggle also reflected the growing conflict between the more populous North, which dominated the House, and the South, which enjoyed an equal footing in the Senate.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Hume, David (1711–1776)

David Hume was a Scottish philosopher and historian. He was a leading member of the Scottish **Enlightenment** but was rejected for university positions because of religious authorities’ concerns about his agnosticism. In his own time, Hume was best known for his essays and his six-volume *History of England* (1754–1762). However, today he is remembered mostly for his philosophical works such as *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40), *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), and *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1758).

As a philosopher, Hume was skeptical of humankind’s ability to find ultimate rational proofs for its ideas. He thought that truth was learned only by experience, not by pure reason. Hence, he is properly called an empiricist rather than a rationalist. In the branch of philosophy called epistemology (the study of how we come to have knowledge), an empiricist is someone who believes that knowledge begins with our sensory inputs. Rationalism, which Hume rejected, is the opposing belief that knowledge comes from our ability to discover logically self-evident truths by reason alone.

More important than reason and logic, according to Hume, is the simple human ability to find persistent patterns in the raw data of our sensations. We are able to find the orderly patterns of nature by using three simple powers of perception: the ability to recognize *similarity*, *proximity*, and *repetition or persistence*. Of these, the third is the most important. Hence, for Hume, the true patterns of nature are those that persist. Thus, in his version of empiricism, long-term experience is the ultimate key to knowledge.

The idea of long-term experience also led to Hume’s most important contribution to political thought, the belief that the source of our best moral and political principles is not reason but *custom*. Reason can tell us how to get what we want, but



David Hume. Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.

it cannot tell us what we should want. Our wants, wrote Hume, come from human nature and from socialization, but our moral principles come from the traditions that represent the long-term learning of our culture. He followed earlier empiricists in using the word “passions” to describe the built-in desires and aversions of human nature. However, he added the idea that second-order passions could be learned through long-term experience. Through social experimentation over generations, humans learn from the experiences communicated to them by their predecessors. In this way, social institutions such as the rules of morality and the administrative units of the state emerge over time. In turn, we learn to love morality and social civility. These are second-order passions derived from long-term social experience.

Thus, in Hume’s political ideology, each society consists of the traditions of morality and order that give pattern and meaning to people’s lives. Hence, Hume was one of the founders of modern conservatism, the anti-revolutionary movement that rejects radical political change in favor of incremental social evolution. However, because Hume rejected religious beliefs as superstitions, his traditionalism represents only one of the prevailing components of contemporary conservatism.

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### Huntington, Samuel (1731–1796)

Samuel Huntington, the president of the Second **Continental Congress**, was born on July 16, 1731, in Scotland, **Connecticut**, to Mehetabel and Nathaniel Huntington. He was an avid reader of law books in the local libraries and was admitted to the bar of Connecticut in 1758. Huntington began a flourishing law practice in Norwich. His career in politics and in the judiciary progressed rapidly: he became a member of the provincial assembly in 1764, justice for the peace and king's attorney for Connecticut, and a member of the Superior Court in 1773.

In October 1775, Huntington was elected a delegate from Connecticut to the Second Continental Congress a few months after the outbreak of the **American Revolutionary War**. He attended the Congress in Philadelphia in January 1776; took an active part in its deliberations, among them decisions to abrogate various acts of **Parliament** and to impose a boycott on British goods; and signed the Declaration of Independence in July 1776. Presiding over the Continental Congress from September 28, 1779, Huntington persuaded the 13 states to ratify the **Articles of the Confederation** on March 1, 1781, thereby making the United States an effective reality five years after it declared its independence. Huntington was the president of the United States in Congress Assembled from March 1, 1781 to July 9, 1781, and was succeeded by nine presidents until George **Washington** became the president of the United States of America in 1787. Huntington served as lieutenant governor and chief judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut between 1784 and 1786. He became governor of Connecticut in 1786 and remained in office until his death at his home in Norwich on January 5, 1796.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### Hutchinson, Thomas (1711–1780)

Thomas Hutchinson, who reached the peak of his public career as the appointed governor of **Massachusetts**, was the best-known colonial supporter of the British government in the years leading to the **American Revolution**. The son of a distinguished Boston family, Hutchinson enjoyed all the perquisites of power in pre-revolutionary America. He accumulated a large number of government offices, he vigorously defended London's policies in public, and he clung to the view that political leadership should be exercised cooperatively by the established elite in both American and British society. As a prime spokesman for acceding to British wishes, Hutchinson became a widely vilified figure as the Revolution approached. He went into exile in 1774 and spent the remainder of his life as an increasingly marginal figure in British life.

Born in Boston on September 9, 1711, Hutchinson was a descendant of an old New England family. Beyond an enviable lineage, the young man also inherited a substantial family fortune based upon shipping. The numerous offices held by older members of his family encouraged young Thomas, who entered Harvard at the age of 12, to consider devoting much of his own energy to public life.

In 1737, Hutchinson began his political career as Boston's representative to the Massachusetts Assembly. As a member of the Assembly and subsequently as a judge (despite his lack of formal legal training), Hutchinson quickly joined a political establishment loyal to the Crown. In 1758, he was appointed the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. By that time, he had distinguished himself in negotiating on the colony's behalf with Indian tribes as well as the neighboring colonies of **Connecticut** and **Rhode Island**.

As Hutchinson's reputation grew, he became widely identified as a member of the so-called court party. This was a group centered on the governors of the colony of Massachusetts, officials who were appointed in London. To leaders from lower levels of society, such as Samuel **Adams**, Hutchinson symbolized an entrenched semi-aristocracy that identified its continued well-being with loyalty to measures imposed by London. Thus, Hutchinson found himself attacked both for his policies and as a high-profile representative of an old political order now under challenge.

The growing chasm between the home country and its obstreperous North American colonies after 1763 increased Hutchinson's difficulties in his own society. He was quietly critical of British measures to tax the colonists without their consent. In private letters, he objected to the **Stamp Act** and the subsequent **Townshend Acts** as gross errors on the part of the British government. In public, however, he defended the actions of the Crown's ministers. A key consideration for Hutchinson was the belief that Britain's North American colonies could not survive without the protection of the home country and its government. He soon paid a heavy price for his statements. In August 1765, Boston's protests against British policy turned violent. After a crowd wrecked the house of the colony's governor, they turned to destroy the mansion of Hutchinson, the lieutenant governor.

Hutchinson became acting governor of Massachusetts in 1769 and took over the post officially the following year. Thus, in late 1773, when the issue of the tea tax reached a critical stage, he was the principal representative of British authority on the scene. Hutchinson opposed the **Tea Act**, recently passed by **Parliament**, but as a royal appointee, the conservative Bostonian knew that he had to enforce its provisions. At the same time, acutely aware of the violence that unloading boxes of newly taxed tea would arouse, Hutchinson delayed requiring that the tea be unloaded. But neither would he order the ship carrying the tea to leave the harbor. When a crowd dressed as Indians took over the ship and threw the tea in the harbor, colonial public opinion found Hutchinson to be both ineffectual and hostile to the rising revolutionary tide.

Hutchinson's public image had already been disastrously scarred earlier in the crucial year of 1773. Benjamin **Franklin** obtained copies of private letters that Hutchinson had dispatched to ruling circles in Britain starting in 1768. Six of these were published in June, and these indicated that the Massachusetts leader had encouraged ministers in London to crack down harshly on opposition in the colonies. Hutchinson specifically accepted suspending long-established liberties the settlers in America enjoyed.

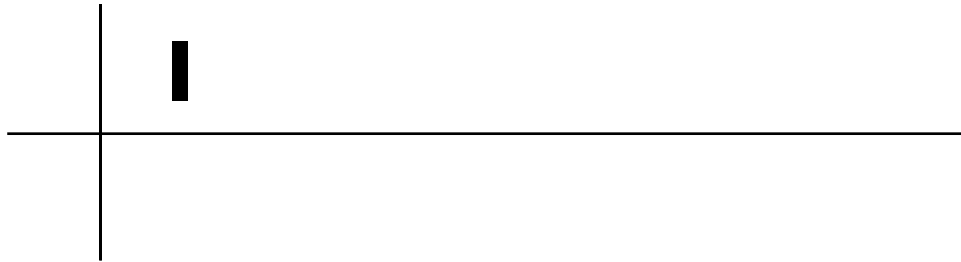
By now Hutchinson was an exhausted man in his early sixties, widowed for more than a decade. He had abandoned any expectation that he could restore stability in an increasingly tumultuous colony like Massachusetts. Hoping to exonerate himself with the authorities in London, and also to win a badly needed pension, Hutchinson left Boston with two of his children in 1774 and was succeeded as governor by General Thomas **Gage**. The New England patrician never saw his homeland again.

The final six years of Hutchinson's life delivered a number of severe blows to this once privileged high official. Initially, the ruling circles of British society greeted him with enthusiasm, and Hutchinson had an audience with King **George III**. In time, however, Hutchinson found himself increasingly ignored by the British elite. He was even vilified in **Parliament** for the mistakes he had made that helped to bring on the Revolution. On the other side of the Atlantic, Hutchinson's American opponents continued to see him as a hated personification of the old order. His property, including a beloved suburban retreat he had built in Milton, just outside Boston, was confiscated. His personal life was further darkened by the loss of his youngest daughter, Peggy, who had accompanied him to England and passed away there of consumption at the age of 23. Tired and embittered, Hutchinson died in London on June 3, 1780. *See also* Boston Tea Party.

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NEIL M. HEYMAN





## *Idéologues*

The term *idéologue* was applied to a group of French republican philosophers and economists who sought to revive the liberal spirit of the **Enlightenment** against the intellectual relics of the pre-revolutionary regime. Prominent among them were Antoine-Louis-Claude, comte Destutt de Tracy (1764–1836); Germain, the comte de Garnier (1754–1821); and Jean-Baptist Say (1767–1832). De Tracy and Say represented a French strain of liberal economics akin to the British Manchester school yet concerned to a greater extent with theory and with the “science of ideas” that Destutt de Tracy referred to as *ideology*.

De Tracy’s main work was the series *Eléments d’idéologie*, published between 1801 and 1815, which developed further the ideas of the philosopher and psychologist Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–1780), himself an admirer of John **Locke**. De Tracy believed that the task of ideology was to understand human nature and to rearrange the social and political order in accordance with the aspirations of humankind scientifically revealed. For his part, Say served as the editor of *La Décade Philosophique* and attempted to blend Condillac’s theory of utility with Adam **Smith**’s cost theory of supply.

The laissez-faire spirit of economics expounded in Say’s *Treatise on Political Economy*, published in 1803, met with the disapproval of **Napoleon**, who demanded a revision to conform to the protectionist and regulatory requirements of a national war economy. When Say refused, Napoleon ousted Say from his post in the Tribunalate and denounced De Tracy, Say, and their colleagues as *idéologues* whose vague and abstract doctrines could only undermine the rule of law—a pejorative implication of impractical philosophical rigidity that the term has retained ever since. The insult was appropriate to many of the *ideologues*, but not, it seems, to Say himself. He left Paris, applied his theory to a cotton factory that he established in the Pas-de-Calais, and became very wealthy.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### Impartiaux, Club des

The Club des Impartiaux was a group of deputies in the **National Assembly** who fought to maintain the executive power of the French monarchy. Allied with other centrists against the radical **Jacobins**, the Club des Impartiaux later became the Society of Friends of the Monarchical Constitution before the National Assembly ordered its closure in March 1791.

The club was founded in January 1790 by the moderate royalist Pierre Victor, Baron **Malouet**. Malouet distinguished himself and soon became a spokesman for liberal nobles in the National Assembly. Despite his sympathy for the **Third Estate**, Malouet opposed attempts to strip **Louis XVI** of his powers. Malouet allied with other liberal nobles in the National Assembly, notably **Lafayette**, but his staunch royalism soon broke up these alliances.

The club was widely unpopular, despite its attempts to curry favor with the public by distributing free bread. It attempted to shrug off some of its tarnished reputation by changing its name to the Society of Friends of the Monarchical Constitution. As the Jacobins gathered power, Malouet and his allies found themselves increasingly isolated. In March 1791, a mob attacked the club's headquarters. Shortly thereafter, the National Assembly ordered the club dissolved. *See also* Political Clubs (French).

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### India

The ideals of the **French Revolution** have served as a frame of reference to many people living under foreign domination, and its impact was not confined to Europe alone. In the course of the Revolution, the ruler of the state of Mysore, Tipu Sultan (1749–1799), resisted British rule. In 1778, he had sent an embassy seeking military help to **France**. Tipu himself had been trained by French officers employed by his father, Haider Ali (1722–1782). **Napoleon** had written to Tipu in 1798 announcing his intention to march overland from Egypt to India so that the subcontinent could be liberated from British rule. Napoleon's defeat in Egypt, however, dashed Tipu's hopes of receiving any French aid, and Tipu himself was finally defeated at Seringapatam on May 4, 1799.

By way of mimicking aspects of the French Revolution in his own kingdom, Tipu had started a Jacobin Club in his court and styled himself as Citizen Tipu. Moreover, on May 14, 1797, the French tricolor was hoisted in Mysore and a toast made to France in the presence of French officers. Tipu even planted a “republican” tree outside his palace. Deeply influenced by the concepts of **liberty, equality, and fraternity**,

Tipu even envisioned the establishment of a republic, a notion that came to naught as a result of the British conquest of his kingdom. *See also* Jacobins.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Intolerable Acts

*See* Coercive Acts; Massachusetts Government Act

## Ireland

Although Ireland retained a separate parliament and executive throughout the eighteenth century, it could not be regarded as an independent kingdom with the same monarch as England, Scotland, and Wales. Irish politics were dominated by the British executive and **Parliament** at Westminster, and so the Dublin parliament could not control its own legislative processes. The Irish legislature could only prepare Heads of Bills, that is, draft legislative proposals that needed to be submitted first to the Irish Privy Council and then to the British Privy Council. In both countries, the Privy Councils could approve, reject, or amend these proposals, and the Irish parliament could do nothing but decide whether to proceed with the proposals that had been approved or amended. To compound this subordination to Westminster, in 1720 the British parliament passed the Declaratory Act that gave Westminster the right to pass laws (though not taxes) that applied to Ireland. The Irish executive was also subordinated to British interests. The head of the Irish executive, the lord lieutenant, was almost invariably a British peer, and he was expected to serve British interests. The lord lieutenant appointed Englishmen to some of the highest offices in church and state and expected even the leading Irish politicians to support British interests in return for the rewards of office and titles. Many of the most powerful men in Ireland, almost all of them Anglo-Irishmen and members of the established Protestant Church of Ireland, were prepared to manage the Irish parliament as the lord lieutenant directed so long as they were rewarded with high office.

Not surprisingly, this political system was deeply resented. The Catholic majority could do little about it because they were denied many civil liberties by the penal laws and they had no political rights because they were denied the vote and the right to sit in the legislature or serve in the executive. The Scots-Irish, who were mainly Protestant Dissenters, were about as numerous as the Anglo-Irish settlers and outnumbered them in Ulster, but they too labored under serious disadvantages. Not enough of them possessed the vote to be able to return many MPs (members of Parliament) to the Irish House of Commons, and all of them were excluded from holding office in the state by the Test Act of 1704. Both houses of Parliament therefore were dominated by the Anglo-Irish propertied elite. Some members of this elite, however, did resent British influence on Irish politics. Their resentment had three main causes: there was not enough Crown patronage to reward every Irish peer and MP, this Crown patronage did not always go to Irishmen, and some of these Anglo-Irishmen had a pragmatic or a principled objection to specific British policies pursued by the Irish executive.

Occasionally in the earlier eighteenth century this resentment had provoked a Patriot opposition to some of the policies pursued by the Irish executive, but it was not until the era of the **American Revolution** that the Patriots were able to make significant political gains. The American crisis seriously weakened British authority within Ireland, and effective American protests against the British parliament inspired the Irish Patriots. American patriot protests against the sovereignty of the Westminster parliament reminded Irish Patriots of the arguments along the same lines that had been advanced in 1698 by William Molyneux's celebrated pamphlet, *The Case of Ireland Justly Stated*. Molyneux's pamphlet was reprinted in 1770 and 1780. In 1779 Charles Francis Sheridan rejected William **Blackstone's** claim that the Westminster parliament was the sovereign authority in all the king's dominions. Patriot arguments began to fill the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Hibernian Journal*, both published in Dublin. The Patriot opposition in Parliament, while still a minority, gained renewed vigor under the able leadership of such politicians as Henry **Flood**, Henry **Grattan**, and the Earl of Charlemont. In Dublin, James Napper Tandy led the city's corporation in support of the Patriot cause. British disasters in the **American Revolutionary War** greatly assisted the Irish Patriot cause. Ireland was denuded of troops needed for the war effort, and the government had no alternative but to accept the support offered by armed Volunteer corps to meet any possible invasion attempt. The first part-time Volunteers corps was raised in Belfast in March 1778. By 1780 there were about 60,000 Volunteers, and they began to look favorably on the causes advocated by the Patriot opposition. In October and November 1779 Henry Grattan and the Volunteers, inside Parliament and on the streets of Dublin, respectively, demanded free trade for Ireland. In November the Irish parliament voted a money bill for six months only as a warning to the executive of the financial problems they could create for the Irish state. In 1780 the British agreed that Ireland should be allowed to trade with the British colonies on the same terms as British merchants, and the Irish parliament was persuaded to repeal the Test Act of 1704 in order to placate the Scots-Irish.

In February 1782, the Volunteers elected delegates to meet at a convention in Dungannon, where they agreed to support the political resolutions drawn up by the Patriots. On April 16, 1782, Henry Grattan, with unanimous support in the Irish House of Commons, proposed a series of resolutions designed to secure legislative independence for Ireland. On May 17 the Westminster parliament repealed the Declaratory Act of 1720 and amended the old law so that the Irish legislature did not need to draft Heads of Bills requiring approval from the Irish Privy Council before these proposals could be presented as parliamentary bills. Grattan was satisfied with these concessions, but Henry Flood pressed for a Renunciation Act whereby the Westminster parliament would explicitly renounce that it possessed the constitutional right to legislate for Ireland. In April 1783, the Westminster parliament passed such an act. The lord lieutenant also conceded that the Irish parliament should meet every year, instead of every second year, in order to conduct business. This raised the prestige and influence of the Irish parliament.

The leading Irish Patriots were delighted with these political concessions and were prepared to call a halt to their campaign. Some of the Volunteers, however, had a more radical agenda and wished to pursue measures of parliamentary reform



that would make the Irish House of Commons more representative. A few even considered granting the franchise to Catholics. The Patriot leaders were alarmed at such proposals and feared alienating the propertied classes. They did not desire complete independence, like the American patriots, because they did not think the political system in Ireland could stand without British support against an invasion from abroad or a Catholic revolt at home. Grattan and the others thought they had secured complete legislative independence, but their gains were not as great as they believed. They had not curbed the power of the Irish executive, which soon showed that it could still largely dominate the legislature. The British Privy Council could still approve, reject, or amend Irish legislation, and the royal veto was sometimes used (whereas it was never used against Westminster legislation). The Catholics had been granted some relief from their civil disabilities by acts passed in 1778 and 1782, but they were still denied the vote and any right to sit in the legislature or serve in the executive. The Irish parliament was still dominated by the Anglo-Irish propertied elite.

The Irish Patriots had rather more political influence than before, and they did defeat prime minister William **Pitt's** proposal for a commercial treaty between Britain and Ireland in 1785. But in the dramatically changed and highly charged political atmosphere of the 1790s, they found their influence much reduced, and they were increasingly sidelined as most Irishmen were sharply polarized by their reactions to the **French Revolution** and the great war that broke out in 1793. Initially, the French Revolution encouraged moderate reformers to hope for further gains, and it persuaded the British government to make concessions to the Catholics. A Catholic Relief Act removed restrictions on Catholics in the legal profession, and in 1793 Catholics were given the parliamentary franchise on the same basis as Protestants. At the same time the constitutional activities of the **Society of United Irishmen** were based on the optimistic assessment that further gains could be made. The growing violence and the Terror in France and the outbreak of war soon put an end to these hopes. A conservative reaction and a militant Protestant backlash developed, and the Irish government responded to the demands for radical change at home with a reinforcement of the Protestant Ascendancy. The Convention Act of 1793 sought to suppress all those seeking to alter the establishment in church and state. The Dublin Society of United Irishmen was dispersed in May 1794. The defenders of the Protestant Ascendancy ensured the rapid recall of the liberal lord lieutenant, Earl Fitzwilliam, in January 1795 and welcomed his replacement by the conservative Earl Camden. Militant Protestants in Ulster formed the Orange Order later that year. In 1796 the Insurrection Act increased the powers of local magistrates so that they could impose curfews, search for arms, and arrest idle and disorderly persons. The army and the newly raised Yeomanry were used to disarm the United Irishmen and the Catholic Defenders in 1796–1798 and to make hundreds of arrests.

This draconian response did not entirely crush the United Irishmen or the Catholic Defenders. In 1794–1795, the United Irishmen were transformed into a secret, mass-based, and oath-bound conspiracy that was ready to achieve its ends by force of arms. It recruited large numbers, including many Catholic Defenders who were prepared to join them in destroying British influence in Ireland and the authority of the Protestant Ascendancy. Whereas the United Irishmen were preoccupied with creating a democratic republic, however, the Defenders were more

interested in improving the socioeconomic conditions of the Catholics. Whereas the United Irishmen sought political rights for all Irishmen, the Defenders were a sectarian force committed to pursuing social and economic changes for the benefit of Catholics. It was therefore a loose alliance of convenience. The United Irishmen in exile sought to enlist French military support for an insurrection, but the major French expedition in late 1796 failed, and thereafter the French were unwilling to launch another attempt until the United Irishmen had first risen in rebellion.

The United Irishmen planned to rebel on May 23, 1798, but shortly before that date many of its leaders were arrested. The plan to capture Dublin at the outset of the rebellion failed and the rebellion elsewhere was less organized, coordinated, and disciplined than the United Irishmen had planned. Fierce fighting took place in Wexford and surrounding areas, and in Antrim and Down. The rebellion was marked by fierce fighting in pitched battles and by barbarous acts committed by both sides as militants fought a sectarian war and wreaked revenge on their opponents. It was soon crushed, though small-scale banditry continued for many months. The French arrived too late, in the wrong place, and in insufficient numbers to save the rebellion from collapse. Thousands died during the rebellion, thousands were punished afterward, and there was massive material damage. The United Irishmen and the Defenders were destroyed as effective organizations and the militant Protestants triumphed, aided by British forces. Grattan and the Irish **Whigs**, and the Catholic clerical hierarchy and moderate Catholic reformers, were little more than observers of this terrible tragedy.

The British government was convinced that the political system in Ireland needed to be changed. Pitt, supported by Henry Dundas and the Duke of Portland at home and by Cornwallis (the new lord lieutenant) and Viscount Castlereagh in Ireland, decided that the only viable solution to the desperate situation in Ireland was to pass an incorporating Act of Union that would abolish the separate Irish parliament and, instead, give the Irish representation in the Westminster parliament. Pitt believed that this would improve the strategic position of the British Isles in the war against France, would produce better government and increased prosperity in Ireland, and would enable the Catholic question to be addressed. Since the Catholics were a large majority in Ireland, any attempt to give them political equality alarmed the militant Protestant minority. Pitt believed it would be possible to admit Catholics to the legislature and executive of the United Kingdom because there they would be in a clear minority. Thus, Pitt proposed that the Act of Union be followed by a Catholic Emancipation Act giving the Catholics access to the Westminster legislature and to office in the state. The Union was easily accepted by the Westminster parliament, but it met stiff resistance in the Dublin parliament. The Union bill was defeated in 1799 in Dublin, where it was opposed by radicals such as William Drennan, by Henry Grattan and the Whigs on national and Patriot grounds, and by some staunch defenders of the Protestant Ascendancy who feared the Westminster parliament would make too many concessions to the Catholics. Only determined efforts in 1800 involving the carrot and the stick ensured that the Union was passed. It came into force on January 1, 1801.

The Act of Union granted the Irish 100 MPs in the House of Commons at Westminster and 28 peers and 4 bishops in the House of Lords. It also conceded complete free trade and reasonable terms on taxation and the national debt. But Pitt

failed to persuade **George III** to accept Catholic Emancipation, and he resigned in protest. Thus, the Union created a new political system in which the Catholics, a large majority in Ireland, were denied equal political rights. The Catholics in Ireland were so disorganized and demoralized by the crushing of the rebellion of 1798 that they were unable to mount an effective campaign of their own to secure Catholic emancipation until the 1820s. Long before then many Catholics had given up believing that the Union parliament at Westminster could give them justice. *See also* Britain; French Revolutionary Wars.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### Isnard, Henri Maximin (1758–1825)

A modest merchant-manufacturer from Grasse, Isnard was elected to the **Legislative Assembly** and then the **National Convention** to represent his native department of the Var. His radicalism led him to demand severe punishment for refractory priests and abolition of the monarchy in 1792. Yet he followed a typical Girondin trajectory, subsequently falling foul of erstwhile Jacobin colleagues in the Convention and becoming increasingly unpopular with the Parisian crowd. Though he voted for the king's death, his support for the creation of **revolutionary tribunals** and the **Committee of Public Safety** was mainly a means of restoring order in the capital and curbing the power of the Commune.

As president of the Convention in May 1793, Isnard made his celebrated denunciation of the overweening influence of Paris: "I tell you in the name of the whole of France that if these perpetually recurring insurrections ever lead to harm to the parliament chosen by the nation, Paris will be annihilated, and men will search the banks of the Seine for traces of the city." The bluster was in vain, yet he was not arrested on June 2 with other **Girondins** when the Convention was purged as a result of *sans-culotte* pressure. It was clearly prudent to withdraw, and Isnard went into hiding. He reemerged after the **Thermidorian Reaction** a fierce anti-Jacobin and resumed his career as a deputy for the Var. When his term of office expired in 1797, he returned to his business in the Var and later rallied to **Napoleon** Bonaparte, becoming a baron of the Empire in 1813. Despite welcoming Napoleon during the Hundred Days, this bourgeois who had briefly risen to prominence under the Revolution was allowed to live his final years in peace. *See also* Jacobins; *Sans-Culottes*.

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MALCOLM CROOK

## Italy

During the age of revolution, Italy was not a single united country, but rather a collection of small states sharing a common language and culture, but politically, socially, and economically distinct. Unlike **France**, **Spain**, and **Britain**, Italy—along with Germany—did not experience the emergence of a centralized nation-state in the late medieval and early modern periods. In Italy's case, this was due to the fact that during the Renaissance, Italian city-states like Venice, Genoa, and Florence were leaders in trade and culture. The strong economic power of these individual city-states acted as a barrier to effective state consolidation on the Italian peninsula, with each one tending to balance out the territorial ambitions of the others.

While this arrangement kept Italy at the forefront of commerce and culture during the Renaissance, it proved a serious hindrance when monarchs in other European states began to consolidate centralized power and build powerful national armies. The presence of the Vatican on Italian soil also contributed to this situation as the **papacy** created its own mini-state around Rome, ostensibly in order to remain independent from any other state authority.

The position of the Italian city-states suffered decline with the discovery of the Americas and the beginning of a vibrant trans-Atlantic trade dominated by the emerging powers of Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and the **Netherlands**. The cross-Mediterranean trade with the Islamic world and points East—which the Italians dominated—declined in importance, as did Italy's economic and social position relative to the rest of Europe.

Italy would therefore enter the age of revolution not only as a nation in economic and social decline, but as a nation that was not even politically unified under one government. As the power of the centralizing European states expanded in the two centuries leading up to the **French Revolution**, the individual Italian mini-states would fall under the strong influence of foreign powers, particularly Spain, France, and **Austria**.

Moreover, with commerce on the decline and proving ever more risky in the competitive international environment, many Italian merchants began to invest in land. While land was a safer investment, this policy contributed to a certain retrenchment in Italian social life. While elsewhere in Europe economic life was becoming less tied to the land, the opposite was actually occurring in Italy, further leading to its overall decline. Nevertheless, in the mid- and late eighteenth century, Italy did begin to undergo a process of economic change and political reform in the context of the wider European **Enlightenment**. Many Italian intellectuals of the period contributed to Enlightenment thought and encouraged Italian states—or their foreign benefactors—to institute political reforms and improve the productivity of agriculture. For most of the latter half of the eighteenth century, Europe's Great Powers left Italy in peace, as their attentions were focused elsewhere. Nevertheless, Spain, France, and Austria continued to maintain strong influence in many parts of the peninsula. Their desire to keep Italians pacified often led them to implement limited Enlightenment

reforms. During this period, domestic intellectuals subscribing to progressive ideas, working with foreign rulers keen to keep the peninsula quiet, contributed to a degree of resurgence on the Italian peninsula in administrative and economic affairs.

Nevertheless, the indigenous balance of power on the peninsula and the desire of the Great Powers to prevent the emergence of another rival meant that Italy remained politically divided into a number of separate political entities, each with a different political structure and affected to varying degrees by Enlightenment reform. In the north (Lombardy)—dominated largely by Austrian influence—the Republic of Venice dominated the region at the head of the Adriatic Sea, while the duchies of Milan, Modena, and Parma controlled the central region. To the west, on the border with the France, the Kingdom of Sardinia—which consisted of the Piedmont region and the island of Sardinia itself—was growing in strength and influence under the House of Savoy and enjoyed a favorable strategic position between France and Austria. On the western coast, the Republic of Genoa controlled access to the Ligurian Sea and the island of Corsica until it sold it to France in 1768. In the center of the peninsula, the grand duchy of Tuscany consisted of the territory around the Renaissance centers of Florence, Siena, and Pisa. South of Tuscany, the pope controlled the central position of the peninsula directly, stretching all the way up the east coast to Bologna. In the south, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, better known as Naples, was among the largest of the Italian states and was closely associated with the Bourbon monarchy in Spain. Several other small republics and duchies completed the map of the Italian peninsula of the day.

For the most part, the northern regions of the peninsula—with the exception of Piedmont—experienced the most far-reaching administrative and economic reforms in the pre-revolutionary period. A new middle class that provided the social bases for reform was beginning to emerge. In the south, while several important Enlightenment thinkers emerged, the feudalistic structure of society served to hold reform back. In the papal region, church control of social and intellectual life remained strong.

Despite the importance of the Enlightenment in Italy, it would enter the age of revolution as a divided nation, economically and socially behind much of the rest of Europe. Nevertheless, by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, Italian society itself had grown restless. A new class of incipient merchants and investors—a nascent bourgeoisie—had developed, and they had an interest in political reform. Many intellectuals had become imbued with revolutionary ideas and many wished to emulate the French and create a revolution in Italy that would sweep away the vestiges of the old order and unite the peninsula. The popular classes—many pushed into poverty by economic changes—were likewise restive, and many saw the spread of revolution to Italy as their only hope for a better life.

However, the ensuing period of pan-European warfare that followed the French Revolution—pitting revolutionary France against successive coalitions of Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—would have drastic consequences on Italy that would come to shape the peninsula's destiny in the modern era.

When the French Revolution broke out, most Italian rulers—fearful of revolution in their own realms—aligned with the Great Powers to prevent the spread of revolution. When the **French Revolutionary Wars** broke out in 1792, the revolutionary armies were able to make some initial headway into Italy and occupy Piedmontese territory. However, they were unable to advance further until **Napoleon** Bonaparte

assumed command of French forces on the Italian front in 1796. By the following year, Bonaparte had defeated the Piedmontese and driven the Austrians out of Italy with the treaty of Campo Formio.

During this period, the French conquerors reorganized Italian political life and set up a number of new republics and states based primarily on the administrative model of the French **Directory**—the moderate committee that ruled revolutionary France from 1795 to 1799. In doing so the French redrew political boundaries in Italy to their own convenience, often dissolving states and creating new ones when they proved problematic. In carrying out this policy, the French served to delegitimize the existing separation of Italy into different states in the eyes of many Italians and gave fuel to the Enlightenment ideas of the cultural and linguistic unity of the Italian people and fuel to a burgeoning sense of Italian nationalism.

For the most part, these new republics were governed by moderate administrations willing to implement France's will in Italy, including raising troops and taxing the local population. Still, Italian intellectuals sympathetic to the radical ideas of the Jacobin period of the **French Revolution** remained important figures in Italian society. These intellectuals championed administrative, economic, and social reforms and ultimately held out hopes of creating a united Italian state. In general, they supported French foreign policy during this period. Nevertheless, under the Directory, the French Revolution itself shifted to a more moderate phase. Many French leaders, although sympathetic to the goals of the Italian revolutionaries, opposed an outright revolution in Italy for diplomatic reasons in a time of great international tension.

Many Italian **Jacobins** began to grow weary of the French due to their hesitations in promoting a full-scale revolution in Italy. Napoleon's decision to award Venice to Austria was taken by many Italian revolutionaries as a symbol of France's willingness to compromise revolutionary principles in favor of diplomatic expedience. In 1799, the situation reached a breaking point. War between France and the other European powers resumed, and the anti-French coalition sought to overthrow French dominance in Italy. Moreover, the Italian people—angered by French exploitation and their antichurch positions—were on the verge of revolt.

In Naples, the French-dominated Parthenopean Republic's half measures to abolish feudalism, coupled with high taxes, provoked a peasant uprising that was supported by the church. Facing an Austrian advance in the north, the French withdrew, forcing the republican leaders to face the crowds on their own. Although the republic resisted, the result of the uprising was the temporary restoration of a Bourbon kingdom in Naples.

In 1799, Napoleon seized control of France itself and quickly turned his attention toward reasserting French dominance in Italy. In 1800, he defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo in northern Italy and eventually forced them to recognize the French dominance of Italy in the Treaty of Lunéville in 1801. Napoleon once again redrew the map of Italy, annexing most of Piedmont and the west coast of the peninsula directly to the French Empire and creating the Kingdom of Italy in the north and the Kingdom of **Naples** in the south, both wedded to French policy. Once again, by shifting the boundaries of the various Italian states—and, in this case, reducing them to only two—Napoleon was giving Italians a taste of what national unity could mean.

Although many of the reforms of the revolutionary period were enacted in Italy during this time, the peninsula remained in a subservient position with respect to

France, and domestic goals often took a backseat to the interests of French foreign policy. Taxation remained high and Italy continued to supply troops for France's European war effort. Moreover, the imposition of Napoleon's Continental System, which forbade trade with Britain, seriously retarded the growth and development of Italian industry at this time.

As the **Napoleonic Wars** dragged on in the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century, Italy remained under French dominance, with the exception of Sardinia and Sicily, whose monarchs continued to rule with British support. While many Italians welcomed the political and administrative reforms the French brought, they also grew weary of war, taxation, and economic stagnation. The agricultural lower classes were in particular put off by French policies, which favored the landowners. Nevertheless, many Italians gained a deepening sense of national consciousness as a direct result of the experience of state consolidation that the French brought to the peninsula, a consciousness that would form the basis for Italian unification in the second half of the nineteenth century.

With Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812, which contributed greatly to his eventual military defeat, abdication, and exile two years later, Italian leaders would make an attempt to assert independence in hopes of gaining the recognition of the Great Powers before a different foreign power could assert domination once again. In the north, the Kingdom of Italy sought to elect an independent king and gain British recognition. However, the British refused, and the area once again passed to Austrian control. In the south, Napoleon's brother-in-law and celebrated marshal, Joachim Murat—whom Napoleon had made king of Naples in 1808—tried to exploit the situation to lead a peninsula-wide movement for Italian unification. However, Murat's diplomatic and military miscalculations, as well as his failure to appease domestic unrest by not offering a constitution, led to his defeat, exile, and eventual execution in 1815, ending the first concrete movement for Italian unification in failure.

At the Congress of **Vienna** following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, the Great powers essentially returned Italy to the status quo ante bellum, returning the old deposed monarchs to their thrones and reviving the Papal States. Italy would remain a divided nation for another half century. Nevertheless, the sense of unity and nationalism and the political and economic reforms that took place during the age of revolution were not completely extinguished by the postwar settlement. New classes that saw their fate as dependent on the construction of a unified Italian state and national culture had emerged in Italian society. While it would take another half century for the goal of Italian unity to finally come to fruition, the basis for Italian nationhood was clearly laid in its experience during the age of revolution. *See also* Concordat; Pius VI, Pope; Pius VII, Pope.

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# J

## Jacobins

The Jacobins were the most powerful political club of the **French Revolution**. Developing a broad network of clubs stretching throughout the major urban cities, villages, and communes of **France**, the Jacobin movement came to dominate revolutionary politics. Organized by this broad base, the Jacobins not only wielded considerable influence over public opinion but developed the club network as a tactical means to influence the National Assemblies. Numerically a minority, the movement was able to use the clubs to secure considerable political power, which they came to exercise within the **National Convention**, instituting the **Reign of Terror** as the political tool for securing their own increasingly radical vision of the Revolution. Between 1793 and 1794, under the leadership of Maximilien **Robespierre**, the Jacobins controlled the new Republic, developing a distinctive system of revolutionary government that was overthrown by the **Thermidorian Reaction**. From its origins as a club for representatives of the **National Assembly** through its development as a club network and its subsequent control of the Republic, the Jacobins constantly transformed themselves. While certain continuities existed in the structure of the club, its membership changed considerably, and it moved from a club that represented a broad revolutionary consensus toward a more restrictive, orthodox, and radical movement that developed a distinctive ideological definition of the Revolution. The Thermidorian Reaction overthrew the Jacobins, closing the clubs and putting its leaders to death, but Jacobinism would come to define a specifically French variant of revolutionary **republicanism** that had a lasting legacy throughout the political struggles of the nineteenth century.

The Jacobin movement originated as a political club, and the club remained the fundamental institution from which the Jacobins developed their ideology and influence over revolutionary politics. Initially, the term “Jacobin” was a nickname for a political club that emerged in Paris in 1789. The label referred to the members of the Société des **Amis de la Constitution** (Society of the Friends of the Constitution), who began to meet in the Jacobin convent of Paris beginning in November of 1789. Emerging out of the Breton Club, a meeting place for provincial deputies at the

outset of the **Estates-General**, the Jacobin Club was established in Paris shortly after the National Assembly moved from Versailles to Paris. Formed by roughly 15 or 20 former members of the Breton Club, the society began as a meeting place for deputies of the National Assembly. The club was not founded as an oppositional group, and its original members represented a broad group of Patriots who supported the Revolution and viewed the club as a means to support the work of the Assembly. Its primary purpose, as outlined in its first formal constitution, was to discuss in advance the questions to be decided by the Assembly, to work for the establishment and strengthening of the constitution, and to correspond with other societies of the same kind throughout France. The club brought together both moderate and radical elements, while it socially comprised a group that included liberal aristocrats and well-to-do bourgeois. In this early phase, many of the most prominent deputies and leaders of the National Assembly, including such men as Honoré **Mirabeau**, the Marquis de **Lafayette**, Antoine **Barnave**, and Robespierre, were counted as members of the Jacobin Club. At the same time, the club became a focal point for many of the most talented and vocal revolutionary journalists, including Camille **Desmou-lins** and Jean-Pierre **Brissot**, and the relationship between the club and the press would constitute an important means through which the Parisian club reached out to the provinces and founded a network of affiliates.

Beginning in early 1790, the Jacobins developed a network of clubs throughout France, while the Paris club served as the largest club and the central hub of the network. The development of the Jacobin network was central to its power and influence, but although the network stretched throughout every department, it was not geographically uniform. For example, there were considerably more clubs in the south than in any other region. Furthermore, over the next four years the club network was prone to considerable change, both expanding and contracting in response to the changes in revolutionary politics. Many provincial clubs closed down for brief periods only to reopen according to a perceived need, such as when King **Louis XVI** was overthrown and when the Republic was proclaimed. Attendance in these clubs also fluctuated, peaking during elections and periods of great agitation and waning during other periods. The struggles of the capital, such as when the **Feuillants** split from the Jacobin Club, greatly influenced the network. This was even more acute during the struggle between the **Girondins** and Jacobins, when the so-called federalist revolt forced many provincial clubs to choose between the two factions of the capital. During the Reign of Terror, owing to the importance of clubs for revolutionary government, the Jacobin network was at its peak, estimated as numbering as many as 5,000 clubs across France, while the practice of purification finally made the network extremely uniform and cohesive.

The Jacobin Club developed a highly formalized organizational structure along with a highly ritualized club culture. The constitution of the club defined a structure that included a president, who was elected every month; a secretary who kept minutes; a treasurer; and committees who oversaw a variety of tasks, including elections, correspondence, and the administration of the club. Membership was highly contested, and it required not only nomination by a member but the presentation of the candidate to the whole membership. Members were expected to conform in principles and character to the central moral values of the club, and their conduct was examined unceasingly. These values were expressed in the oaths that were taken, as well as in the hymns and chants that often accompanied the meetings. Members

carried cards that confirmed their conduct, and the club developed a system of purification, especially important during the Terror, which expelled members for anything that was deemed contrary to the club's moral vision of a proper Jacobin.

Despite fluctuations in membership, the social composition of the Jacobin Clubs remained principally elite, differentiating the club from Paris's more popular sections and the **Cordeliers Club**. The Jacobins charged a relatively high entrance fee and dues, unlike the Cordeliers, the other major political club of Paris, and it originally organized itself as a rather exclusive club. Initially its members were exclusively deputies to the National Assembly who convened at the club in the evening to discuss strategy and to coordinate parliamentary business. In time, the club expanded to include non-deputy members, including prominent writers, scholars, journalists, and influential bourgeois who also paid an entry fee and high dues. It was not until October 1791 that the Paris club opened its sessions to the public, a practice that was quite common at the Cordeliers and even among provincial Jacobin Clubs. The introduction of a public gallery transformed the club, giving the orators who spoke at the club a broad public audience, and providing the Jacobins with the means, along with the printed word, to influence the popular movement. In time, the relationship between the Jacobin Club and the *sans-culotte* movement became central to the Jacobin strength and ability to dominate the **National Convention**. The composition of the club was distinctively middle class, owing to its high dues, and even though the Jacobin movement would experience considerable change and transition through the Revolution, it never lost its primarily middle-class character, despite the eventual reduction in dues and the increase in the number of artisans as members. As a result, in the period from 1789 to 1791, the Jacobins developed the basic structure of their network, survived the first major schism in their membership, and developed the basic institutional structures and regulations of club life.

However, between 1789 and 1791 the broad consensus that exemplified early Jacobinism eroded, and the club slowly divided between moderate supporters of the Revolution and those who favored a more radical and democratic revolution. The first sign of such a division in the revolutionary movement was the exit of Lafayette from the Jacobin Club to form his own club, the Society of 1789. More seriously, in the summer of 1791, after the flight of the king, the Jacobin Club experienced its first major schism when a large number of moderate members who favored the policy of supporting the king left the club and formed the Feuillant Club. This schism very nearly destroyed the Jacobin movement, as the Feuillants were initially successful at attracting a sizeable portion of both the membership and the provincial affiliates. Despite this early success, the Jacobins regained much of their membership and affiliates, largely through the effective leadership of Robespierre, and by the end of 1791, the Jacobin Club was not only the strongest club in the capital and the provinces but now represented a distinctively radical movement that opposed all calls for ending the Revolution along moderate lines.

The creation of the first **Legislative Assembly**, following the ratification of the Constitution of 1791, brought more conflict within the Jacobin movement and led to a further radicalization. Within the Legislative Assembly, only a minority of the deputies were Jacobin, but the efficient organization of the movement and the strength of the network of clubs meant that these deputies had considerable influence. This was exemplified when the king was forced to name many prominent members as ministers, leading to a period of a so-called Jacobin Ministry. Not only

did the Jacobin movement increasingly agitate against the king, but the movement itself became very divided as both Brissot and Robespierre struggled to secure the leadership of the movement. The issue that most divided these two men, and the movement, was the decision to declare war on **Austria**. This was the policy that Brissot favored, and the Jacobin ministers managed to convince the king, the Assembly, and the Jacobins to support a declaration of war. However, the struggle between him and Robespierre would culminate in the bitter factional struggle of the National Convention that further divided the movement between a radical group who followed Robespierre and a more moderate position exemplified by Brissot. The Jacobins responded to the crisis of the war with hesitation and moderation, opting in the summer of 1792 to remain aloof from the radical protests being made by the Parisian sections against the king. The Jacobins played no role in the petition movement that called for the dethronement of the king, nor did they participate in the uprising of August 10, 1792, that overthrew the monarchy.

With the convocation of the National Convention, the Jacobins remained an organized but efficient and vocal minority who sought to shape a radical definition of the Republic against the moderate impulses of the majority of the deputies. It was at this time that the society officially changed its name to the Society of the Jacobins, Friends of Liberty and Equality. The Convention became the site of the bitter factional struggle between the Jacobins and the Girondins as each republican group vied for the support of the majority of deputies who belonged to neither faction. This conflict was central to the debates that surrounded the king's trial, to the debates on establishing a republican constitution, and to the question of what emergency measures were appropriate for securing the resources needed for the war and what measures should be adopted to fight counterrevolutionary forces. The Jacobins approached these problems by outlining a radical egalitarianism that conflicted with the moderate views of the Girondins. The Jacobins opposed the trial and any notion of an appeal to the people, called for a broadly democratic constitution, and were willing to accept the role of popular violence in combating counterrevolution. This final issue was critical. The two groups shared very contrasting views of the Parisian *sans-culottes* and the sectional movement. Unlike the Girondins, the Jacobins openly supported the *sans-culotte* movement, including its appeal to popular violence, and they used the support of this movement to secure control of the counterrevolution and the Convention. The Jacobins were willing to accept many of the *sans-culottes'* demands regarding the economic and social policy of the Republic. Additionally, the Jacobins shared the *sans-culottes'* appeal to the centrality of swift, inflexible justice toward all enemies of the Republic.

The struggle between the Jacobins and the Girondins came to a climax in late May 1793. The Jacobins called for an insurrection against the Convention and, aided by the *sans-culottes*, purged the Girondin leaders from the Convention; the Girondin leaders were eventually tried before the **revolutionary tribunals** and put to death. The victory over the Girondins not only secured the Jacobin mastery of the Convention but solidified the movement. Following the insurrection, all the clubs put their members through an examination, and this process of regeneration purged from the network any members who openly sympathized with the Girondins or had shown any signs of supporting the Girondins. Henceforth, all moderates were removed from the club network, which created a structural and ideological orthodoxy that would define a more uniform Jacobin movement throughout 1793.

With the purge of the Convention, the Jacobins controlled the Convention and the **Committee of Public Safety**, using this power to construct the system of terror and revolutionary government that administered the new Republic. The Jacobins quickly finalized a republican constitution, but they did not put the constitution into effect, arguing that the country must be ruled by a revolutionary government until the end of the war and the suppression of all counterrevolutionary forces. Outlining this new form of revolutionary government, they placed extraordinary powers with the Committee of Public Safety. From June 1793 to June 1794, the Jacobin dictatorship ruled the Republic and the club network became a semi-official branch of the revolutionary government. The clubs became the central local institutions that executed the **Law of Suspects**, monitored municipal authorities, and served as the Jacobin instrument for ensuring that the decrees of the Convention were executed throughout France. The Jacobins strove for absolute uniformity and conformity, sending deputies to the provinces as **representatives on mission**; these representatives were given unlimited and extraordinary powers to enforce the will of the Convention regarding requisitioning supplies for the various French armies, detaining suspects, and purging clubs and municipal governments of anyone who challenged the Jacobin vision of a Republic of Virtue.

The Jacobin movement came to represent a distinctive vision of the Revolution and the Republic. From 1789, the Jacobin movement was always defined by its commitment to the Revolution, but the definition of the Revolution changed. Throughout 1793 the Jacobins demanded the moral transformation of the citizen as part of the founding of a new Republic. Appealing to the centrality of patriotism and republican virtue, the Jacobins believed that the Republic could only be secured if the citizen were morally transformed into a republican citizen. The demand for such a moral transformation was central to the two main practices of the Terror. First, the Jacobins used terror to kill, to arrest, and to threaten those citizens who resisted this moral transformation, or, according to the Jacobins, were incapable of transforming themselves into proper republican citizens—notably aristocrats. Secondly, the Terror included a widespread cultural program that organized a broad republicanization of France. This cultural program not only involved large architectural projects but financed contests for the creation of art to depict republican values and contests for drafting almanacs, catechisms, and civic manuals that would be used in a new system of public education to instruct the citizen about the values of the Republic and the demands of republican **citizenship**. One of the central purposes of the club network became the propagation of these republican values into the villages of France.

The Jacobin Terror eventually produced considerable resistance both inside and outside the Convention. In order to maintain their control, the Jacobins continued to purge the Convention, attacking Georges **Danton** and his followers, including Desmoulins. The Jacobins also began suppressing popular revolutionary groups outside the Convention who threatened their position, including Jacques-René **Hébert** and his Hébertiste supporters. In time, the Jacobins attacked the *sans-culottes*, specifically the sectional movement of Paris. On July 27, 1793, Robespierre, Louis Antoine **Saint-Just**, and Georges **Couthon**, the recognized leaders of the Jacobin dictatorship, were denounced in the Convention and arrested. Under the very laws the Jacobins had constructed to ensure their own control, the leaders were immediately guillotined without trial and the **Thermidorians** toppled the Jacobins.

Shortly thereafter, the Paris club was closed and the club network was dismantled. Throughout the **Directory** a small Jacobin movement survived, but never again did the Jacobins reach the heights of control and influence of 1793.

As France reverted to monarchical rule in the Restoration, the Jacobins were transformed into symbols of revolutionary republicanism, democracy, and egalitarianism, and the revolutionaries of the 1830s and 1840s would look back to the Jacobins as their model. This legacy would remain, and in Europe, Jacobinism has come to define a specific form of revolutionary politics and republicanism that has had tremendous influence on the radical and revolutionary politics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; The Mountain; Political Clubs (French).

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BRODIE RICHARDS

## Jamaica

Jamaica is an island located south of Cuba and west of Haiti with an overwhelmingly African population and an economy historically based on sugar cultivation that has been independent since 1962. The island was first discovered by Europeans during Christopher Columbus's second voyage to the Caribbean in 1494. Jamaica was captured for **Spain** in 1508 by Juan de Esquivel. The English captured the island in 1655 and maintained administrative control over it until August 6, 1962.

The Spanish had paid little mind to the island and only partially cultivated its resources before the English gained possession. The last of England's acquisitions in the New World, Jamaica would become an integral hub for the slave trade and an invaluable resource for sugar cultivation. By 1770, Jamaica surpassed all the other British colonies combined in sugar production. By 1790, Jamaica had become the most trafficked outpost for the slave trade. The Spanish slaves still on the island, referred to later as Maroons, became an integral part of both the British economic successes on the island and the gradual release of authority on the island to natives. The first Maroon War, between 1725 and 1740, was a severe strike against British authority and led to a 1739 treaty separating Maroon communities from other slaves. Subsequent slave insurrections in 1760 in the St. Mary community and the threat of insurrection in 1776 demonstrated the loose hold the British had over its possession.

The period of European revolution and Caribbean unrest from the time of the **American Revolutionary War** and ending with the reign of **Napoleon** in 1815 was a quieter period in Jamaica, though this did not mean that all was well on the island. The second Maroon War, between 1795 and 1796, was led by the Trelawney Maroons and resulted in a slim but humiliating victory for the British. This uprising was caused by a rapid influx of African slaves into Jamaica, ensuing famine and

disease, and the influence of the Saint-Domingue uprising against the French. The last insurgent was caught in March 1796, but the British were weakened by guerrilla warfare in Jamaica. *See also* Haitian Revolution; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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NICHOLAS KATERS

## Jansenism

Jansenism was a revival of Augustinian theology led by the Flemish theologian and bishop of Ypres, Cornelis Jansen (1585–1638), which contended that many of the theologians of the Catholic Counter-Reformation Council of Trent (1545–1563) lapsed into Pelagianism by emphasizing human responsibility and a works-based righteousness over God’s intervention in the conversion process. Jansenism became pervasive within European Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth century and remained prominent into the nineteenth century before dwindling in importance and adherents in the twentieth century. Jansenists believed in original sin, human depravity, irresistible converting grace, the election to salvation of a limited number of people, and the necessity of divinely enabled holy living characterized by extreme piety and the rigorous maintenance of divinely ordained morality.

Jansenism’s emphasis on personal piety rather than religious ritual and intense moral introspection, prayer, and confession before receiving the elements in the Eucharist contrasted with the ritualized practices of the contemporary Roman church in general and the more tolerant Jesuit morality in particular. Though Jansenism claimed itself true to Catholicism as taught and practiced by Augustine and asserted that salvation was possible only within the Roman church, its opposition to ritualism and the Jesuits led in part to the suppression of the Jesuits and the desacralization of the French church and monarchy before and during the **French Revolution**.

Jansen was himself never condemned by the church, in part because he died before publishing his views and in part because of his claimed fidelity to the church. However, Jansen’s doctrines, especially the five propositions ascribed to him in France by Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (Saint-Cyran), theologian and philosopher Antoine Arnauld, and scientist and philosopher Blaise Pascal (*Provincial Letters*, 1660) were condemned by Pope Innocent X in his papal bull *Cum Occasione* (“With Occasion,” 1653). A so-called second Jansenism promulgated by Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719) was condemned by both King Louis XIV, who closed and razed the Jansenist spiritual center at Port-Royal-des-Champs in 1709, and Pope Clement XI in his papal bull *Unigenitus* (“Only-Begotten,” 1713). The Jansenists increasingly allied themselves with the Gallicans (believers in the supremacy of secular authority over papal authority in France and in the French church) and together with **Enlightenment** humanists and the public in general forced the Jesuits to leave France (1765).

The Jansenism that survived the antireligious fervor of the French Revolution did so outside France, specifically in **Spain**, **Italy**, and **Austria**, and was less Augustinian and more Calvinistic in its theology, was Gallican in its view of the relationship of the church and state, and favored a Presbyterian form of church government over the centralized administration of bishops and popes. *See also* Gallicanism; Religion.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Jay, John (1745–1829)

John Jay was born on December 12, 1745, in New York City and quickly displayed natural intelligence and a shrewd sensibility. When he was 14 years old, he was admitted to King's College (now Columbia University), where he received a classical education, which served him well in both law and politics. He was admitted to the bar and briefly served as the first chief justice (1789–1795) in **New York** (seat of the Supreme Court from 1789 to 1791). Ironically, though he broadly supported the Patriot cause, Jay refused to sign the **Declaration of Independence** because he still harbored some hope of a peaceful reconciliation with **Britain**.

Casting aside initial reservations, Jay served in a number of national positions during the early federal period. He served as president of the **Continental Congress** in 1778 and was embroiled in controversies over foreign policy and the role that **France** and **Spain** should play in the **American Revolution** and its aftermath. A year later he became envoy to Spain and attempted to secure Spanish recognition of the United States in order to bolster the position of the new nation in the international community. Together with John **Adams** and Benjamin **Franklin**, Jay was one of several American diplomats who in 1783 negotiated the Treaty of Paris, which ended the **American Revolutionary War**. Between 1784 and 1789 he served as secretary of foreign affairs for the Confederation government and recognized the inherent weaknesses of confederation.

Jay was not a member of the **Constitutional Convention** but was a strong proponent of ratification and contributed five essays to the **Federalist Papers**. He argued that there was a direct connection between a strong national government and successful foreign policy. He was offered the position of secretary of state by President George **Washington**, but due to poor health and prolonged absences during the Revolution and Confederation period, he did not accept the position. Instead he accepted the more sedentary role of first chief justice of the **Supreme Court**, where he served until 1795, when he was elected governor of New York. In 1794 Jay traveled to Europe in an effort to settle the lingering issues between the United States and Britain. The blighted Jay Treaty was largely ineffectual and prompted political divisions in the United States.

He retired from public life in 1801 and died on May 17, 1829. *See also* Articles of Confederation.

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JAMES T. CARROLL



### Jeanbon Saint-André, André (1749–1813)

André Jeanbon Saint-André, a member of the **Committee of Public Safety**, demonstrated both technical expertise and ideological fervor in organizing the French revolutionary navy. Born in Montauban, he served in the merchant marine before becoming a Protestant minister in 1773 and adding “Saint-André” to his name to avoid persecution in Catholic France. A leader of Montauban’s Jacobin Club, Jeanbon was elected in 1792 to the **National Convention**, where he joined the radical deputies of the **Mountain** and voted as a regicide in the trial of **Louis XVI**. The Convention named him to the Committee of Public Safety in June 1793, and in October the committee dispatched Jeanbon and Pierre-Louis **Prieur de la Marne** to the port of Brest to regain control of the Republic’s navy. Jeanbon restored order and asserted the revolutionary government’s authority, in the context of the **Reign of Terror**, and mobilized a fleet capable of engaging the (British) Royal Navy in battle on June 1, 1794. He was imprisoned in 1795 as a terrorist but later held diplomatic posts under the Republic and served as an administrator under **Napoleon**. Jeanbon died of typhus in Mainz in 1813. *See also* Jacobins.

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WILLIAM S. CORMACK

### Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826)

Thomas Jefferson’s life and political career spanned the **American Revolution** and early years of the new republic. Arguably no other figure of the founding generation exerted as much intellectual influence over the nation’s political birth and subsequent development.

Jefferson was born on April 13, 1743, at Shadwell plantation in what would later become Albemarle County, **Virginia**. His parents were Peter Jefferson, a planter and surveyor, and Jane (formerly Randolph) Jefferson, daughter of a prominent Virginia family. He was educated at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, where he studied law after completing undergraduate studies in mathematics, philosophy, and French under the direction of William Small, a Scot and the only layman on William and Mary’s faculty of Anglican clerics. He married Martha Wayles Skelton, a widow, in 1772. After briefly practicing law, he was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1769, where he served as representative for Albemarle County until 1776. With the deepening of hostilities between the American colonies and **Britain**, Jefferson prepared a draft of instructions for the Virginia delegates to the First **Continental Congress** in 1774, which was published in pamphlet form as *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* to some acclaim. Jefferson himself was elected the youngest delegate from Virginia—along with George **Washington**, Patrick **Henry**, Benjamin Harrison, Richard Henry **Lee**, and Edmund Pendleton—to the Second **Continental Congress** in 1775. There he prepared in the summer of 1776 the original draft of the **Declaration of Independence**, which was approved with minor revisions and amendments by the Congress. After the initial objections of **Pennsylvania**, Delaware, and **South Carolina** were overcome, the Declaration passed

unanimously (with **New York** abstaining) on July 4, 1776, and served to launch the American colonies in their revolt against Britain.

The Declaration of Independence is without question Jefferson's greatest and most enduring contribution to American political thought. There he famously established, in the document's first paragraph, the sovereignty of the colonies and their standing as a free and equal nation in the eyes of the world. His assertion that the colonies were "one people" was vital in shaping the consciousness of the colonists as engaged in a common struggle against the British Empire, even though the document carefully left open the possibility that after the revolutionary break with Britain they might very well become "Free and Independent States." The Declaration's first paragraph also makes it clear that the American Revolution was to be a fundamentally political revolution—concerned with changing forms of government, rather than remaking society in its entirety—and that this revolution would be civil, insofar as a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" required the colonists to submit the reasonable causes of their grievances to the scrutiny of the world.

The document's more celebrated second paragraph outlines the general principles of liberty, equality, and popular government upon which the American Revolution was premised. According to the Declaration, it is the case that governments derive their "just powers" only "from the consent of the governed"; that "all men are created equal"; that as human beings they are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; and that "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends," the people have the right to abolish that government and to form another more conducive to their "Safety and Happiness." The rhetoric of the Declaration functions at two levels: the universal and the particular. On one hand, the Declaration outlines the colonists' complaints about the specific abuses and injustices committed by **George III** and his ministers, asserting the rights of the colonists in the context of the traditional rights of Englishmen. On the other hand, the document can be read as a universal statement of the "self-evident" "truths" of natural rights and the legitimacy of political revolution applicable in all times and places. It is this universalistic thrust that has made the document a lodestone for popular revolutions throughout the world. Despite the fact that Jefferson's original condemnation of the role of George III in perpetuating the slave trade was omitted, and the document as ratified is silent on the question of slavery, its universal postulates of human equality and natural rights would prove to be, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "one tough nut to crack" for subsequent tyrants and defenders of slavery.

After serving in the Virginia House of Delegates and two terms as governor of Virginia, Jefferson was elected a delegate to **Congress** from the state of Virginia in 1783 under the **Articles of Confederation**. Shortly afterward he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Europe in 1784, eventually replacing Benjamin **Franklin** as minister to **France** in 1785. He followed the vagaries of the fledgling American government under the Articles of Confederation and the drafting and ratification of the new **United States Constitution** from abroad, although his correspondence with James **Madison** and subsequent commentary make clear his general support for the Constitution. After his return from France in 1789 he reluctantly accepted an appointment as secretary of state under George Washington's first administration, resigning in the winter of 1793 after protracted disagreements with Alexander **Hamilton** over foreign treaties and the constitutionality of a national bank, to which

Jefferson objected strenuously. In the election of 1796, Jefferson was chosen to be John **Adams's** vice president after receiving the second-largest number of electoral votes. While still Adams's vice president, Jefferson secretly collaborated with Madison in 1798 to draft the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions opposing the Alien and Sedition Acts as an unconstitutional violation of individual rights. In 1801, a tie vote between Jefferson and Aaron Burr among state electors was settled by Congress in Jefferson's favor on the thirty-sixth ballot, and Jefferson became the third president of the United States and the first to be inaugurated in the new capital of Washington, D.C.

During his first term in the presidency Jefferson struggled mightily to solidify the economic and diplomatic status of the United States, restoring fiscal health to the nation while maintaining a commitment to his vision of limited government. Nonetheless, and crucially for the long-term power and security of the United States, Jefferson took advantage of France's precarious situation in 1803 to acquire the Louisiana Territory from **Napoleon** for the relatively trivial sum of \$15 million. The Louisiana Purchase consisted of almost 800,000 square miles of land in the Mississippi River Valley and the Midwest, effectively doubling the size of the United States. The high points of Jefferson's two terms as president are this purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition. The low point was perhaps his signing of the unpopular Embargo Act in 1807, which suspended all foreign trade. After the inauguration of Madison as the nation's fourth president in 1809, Jefferson returned to Monticello, his home in Virginia built atop an 867-foot mountain on land inherited from his father. He remained in the state of Virginia until his death.

Jefferson's long-term vision for American society was every bit as important as his directly political contribution to the building of the new nation. He was above all else a thinker of profound and uncommon sagacity. In 1812 Jefferson took up his lapsed correspondence with his estranged friend John Adams at the latter's initiative. In this famous series of letters, Jefferson and John and Abigail **Adams** debated the role of an aristocracy in the United States. Jefferson extolled the meritocratic principles of a "natural aristocracy" of genius and talent that must, in his terms, be "raked from the rubbish annually." Some provision for the advancement of natural "virtue and talent" must be discovered in order to counteract the noxious influence of the "Pseudo-*aristoi* of wealth and birth" loathed by Jefferson but defended by Adams. Virginia's passage of bills putting an end to primogeniture and entail were important steps toward eliminating the influence of this so-called tinsel aristocracy, but Jefferson was disappointed that his proposed system of common schools, which would once and for all have "laid the axe to the root of Pseudo-aristocracy," was not adopted by the Virginia legislature.

In his later years, Jefferson devoted himself with even greater energy to the cause of public education in the state of Virginia. His preoccupation with public education dated back to his scheme for reforming the curriculum of his alma mater, the College of William and Mary, as well as his thoughts on the need for public education and common schools sketched out briefly in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–1782). Here and in his proposed Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge (1778) Jefferson reasoned that because "even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny," some means must be found "to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large" so that "they may be enabled to know ambition under all its

shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes.” To this end Jefferson proposed dividing each of the counties of Virginia into “hundreds” or districts where a common school would be built to educate all the children of the state in the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic at public expense, followed by a system of grammar schools where the best and brightest of these students would be educated before advancing to the state college or university. The chartering of the University of Virginia in 1819 after Jefferson’s strenuous work on its behalf marked the culmination of this vision of the integral role of public education in a republic. Under his oversight and planning, the University of Virginia opened to students in 1825.

Another cornerstone of Jefferson’s political theory was the value of religious toleration, which he addressed most directly in his Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom (1777, 1779), which was finally adopted by the state of Virginia in 1786. Modeled on the theories of religious toleration advanced by John **Locke**, Jefferson famously argued that “it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket, nor breaks my leg.” State-sponsored **religion** or church establishment, he argued, can be conducive to nothing other than persecution or hypocrisy. In keeping with his deism, Jefferson prepared what became known as the Jefferson Bible, a collection of the moral teachings of the New Testament from which any stories that conflicted with reason were removed. Jefferson styled himself an **Enlightenment** thinker and a philosopher-statesman. Newton, Bacon, and Locke were his three intellectual heroes. He was acquainted with many of the leading **philosophes** of eighteenth-century France and followed closely the latest debates in natural philosophy, including the 28-volume *Encyclopédie* compiled by Denis **Diderot**. He was sympathetic—unlike many other leading American thinkers of the era—to the cause of the **French Revolution**, having personally attended the first meeting of the **Estates-General** in Paris in 1789. Throughout his diplomatic and political career he consistently fought against the pro-British and anti-French bias of many of the leading Federalists. Indeed Jefferson’s republican commitments led him to the conclusion that a society might need to undergo a revolution every generation or so to maintain its republican stock of morals.

This question of the requirements of republican virtue was a long-standing preoccupation of Jefferson’s. In contrast to Alexander **Hamilton**, whose *Federalist* essays envisioned a low but solid foundation for a government where institutional design and enlightened self-interest functioned as a surrogate for virtue, Jefferson focused directly on the need for moral character and civic virtue. Although he proclaimed during the ratification debates that he was “neither federalist nor anti-federalist,” and that if he “could not go to heaven but with a party, [he] would not go there at all,” his own political orientation and sympathies ultimately lay more closely aligned with the latter. The Anti-Federalist emphasis on the need for virtue and their solicitude for the threat centralized government posed to local liberties became cornerstones of the platform of the Republican Party whose leader and presidential candidate Jefferson became.

Jefferson’s writings feature a distinctively classical republican ideal of what the new republic might become. This is as much a socioeconomic as a political vision of America’s future. Indeed, for Jefferson the social and political are intimately linked. His model of political economy was that of a predominantly agrarian nation of yeoman farmers whose austerity, independence, and purity of morals would

allow them to stave off the corruption Jefferson believed historically inevitable for all popular governments. “Those who labor in the earth,” Jefferson noted, “are the chosen people of God . . . whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue.” Agrarian virtue and an austere avoidance of luxury and debts are reasons why “corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age or nation has furnished an example.” This vision of political economy was in strict contrast to that of Alexander Hamilton, who supported an urban, industrialized market economy centered on wage labor, manufacturing, and a mobile immigrant workforce. Although Jefferson came reluctantly to accept later in life the necessity of immigration and domestic manufactures, he remained wary of the caustic effects of wage labor on republican morals. Likewise, he worried about the influx of European immigrants into a republican society like America. He conjectured that they might bring along with them the monarchical or licentious “principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in youth,” which would serve to dilute America’s republican genius.

Jefferson’s views on race and slavery have become increasingly controversial in recent years. Despite his steadfast commitment in the abstract to the idea of natural rights and his lifelong concern about the morally and politically degrading aspects of slavery, Jefferson was himself a slaveholder who freed only five of his own slaves upon his death. Although he was committed to the proposition of the equality of all human beings, Jefferson speculated that there were physical differences between blacks and whites, and that one solution to the abolition of slavery might be the repatriation of free blacks to Africa. Revelations of illegitimate children fathered with his slave Sally Hemings have further tarnished Jefferson’s reputation on this score.

Scholars continue to debate the intellectual origins of Jefferson’s political thought. Some point to the patently Lockean liberal provenance of the Declaration’s rights-based language; others note Jefferson’s “classical republican” preoccupations with virtue, luxury, and corruption that run throughout his public and private writings, while still others focus on the alleged influence of the common sense philosophy of the Scottish moralists. What seems clear is that Jefferson was a consistent and eloquent spokesman for the cause of liberty and reason in human affairs. Only the dissemination of the rights of man throughout the world could propagate the truth that “the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God.”

Jefferson died on July 4, 1826—the same day as his long-time correspondent and sometime political nemesis John Adams—exactly 50 years to the day after the ratification of the Declaration of Independence. Reflecting on his sense of his own life and priorities, he instructed that the following accomplishments be recorded on his tombstone: “Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom & Father of the University of Virginia.” See also *The Federalist Papers*; *Slavery and the Slave Trade*.

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RICHARD BOYD

### Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor (1741–1790)

Joseph II, the enlightened Holy Roman emperor, was born in Vienna to Empress Maria Theresa and the Holy Roman emperor Francis I. Joseph II succeeded Francis as emperor in 1765. He was made the co-regent by his mother, who had ruled the Habsburg Empire since 1740. In 1777, Joseph went to France to meet his sister, **Marie Antoinette**. He was received by the Encyclopedists and predicted the downfall of the Bourbon monarchy. Joseph implemented numerous reforms after the death of his mother in 1780, having been greatly moved by the miserable condition of the peasantry during his younger years. Personal convictions based on the ideas of the **Enlightenment** were the prime motives that lay behind his reforms.

Within the framework of an enlightened despotism, Joseph reduced ecclesiastical privileges, created a bureaucracy based on merit, and abolished serfdom and feudal dues in 1781. He was influenced by the **Physiocrats** on the issue of financial reforms, and he permitted peasants to acquire land from the **nobility** by paying a reasonable amount, marry whom they wished, and change their place of residence. During Joseph's reign, free food and medicine were distributed to the needy, and hospitals, orphanages, and mental asylums were built.

In foreign policy, Joseph was aligned with Tsarina **Catherine II** of Russia, and various plans of his were obstructed by **France**, **Prussia**, the **Netherlands**, and **Britain**. Ill and distraught at the failure of some of his reform plans, Joseph died on February 20, 1790. Joseph's death and the threats posed by the French Revolution resulted in the abrogation of many of his reforms by his successor, Leopold II. Although ridiculed by the clergy and nobility, the so-called revolutionary monarch, a devoted patron of the arts, was loved by the common people for his attempt at achieving social security and equality. *See also* *L'Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### Josephine, Empress of France (1763–1814)

Empress Josephine, vicomtesse de Beauharnais, was the first wife and consort of Emperor **Napoleon I** of **France**. Her inability to produce an heir gave Napoleon an excuse to divorce her. Josephine's considerable social contribution to Napoleon's court facilitated a large degree of his success. She acted as hostess for him and set the fashions and the decorating styles of his era. He would likely not have reached the exalted heights of his career without her assistance.



Empress Josephine, the first wife of Napoleon I. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

Josephine was born Marie-Rose de Tascher de la Pagerie on June 23, 1763, in Martinique, West Indies, to Joseph-Gaspard Tache de La Pagero, an impoverished plantation owner, and his wife, Rose Claire. The paternal family traced its noble lineage to the Loire valley in the twelfth century. The maternal side also had noble ancestry. Josephine was called Yvette as a child. She had two sisters: Catherine, who died at age 14, and Minette. Her childhood on the plantation allowed for close contact with plants and animals, with which she surrounded herself throughout her life. Josephine's formal education consisted of four years of convent schooling at Dame de la Providence at Fort-Royal in Martinique. She took the teachings to heart and learned the rigid rules of social etiquette: deportment, hostessing, letter writing, and the other necessary accoutrements of her class. She left the convent at age 15.

Yvette's pleasant personality was her greatest strength. She was kind, naturally warm hearted, and sweet tempered and possessed an acutely accurate intuition. She was not classically beautiful but her graceful demeanor was alluring to those who met her. Her melodious voice and Creole accent added to the glamour she exhibited, even at an early age. She retained these traits during all her subsequent travails.

To help the family fortune, Rose, as she became known, was married at age 15 to a family acquaintance from Martinique, the vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais (1760–1794). They moved to Paris in 1779. The unhappy couple was incompatible

and unsuited to one another. They produced two children, Eugène-Rose (1781–1824) and Hortense (1783–1837). Beauharnais abandoned Rose, leaving her to find resources to raise their children. During the **Reign of Terror**, Beauharnais was arrested and found guilty on the basis of his failure to defend Mainz and because of his suspect aristocratic background. He was guillotined in 1794.

Rose was also arrested and endured horrific conditions during her three months in prison. Prior to these events she had been very popular as an eminent socialite in Paris. Fortunately, she had established a huge network of friends and contacts, who arranged for her release. As was common to the times, Rose survived by becoming a mistress to a succession of leading political figures, which resulted in her increasingly widening political connections. Some of her liaisons were financially beneficial, though some of her business connections were corrupt. Rose's greatest failing was that she led a financially extravagant lifestyle and was seldom out of debt.

Rose met Napoleon Bonaparte in Paris in 1796. He was awkward and gauche in Parisian society, usually wore disheveled and ragged clothing, and was very self-conscious about his short stature and Corsican origins. He had little use for women but was searching for a rich heiress to marry. Their relationship was based on friendship. Rose became Napoleon's social mentor, teaching him how to dress properly and to speak less belligerently. By giving him the confidence to overcome his lowly Corsican stature, Rose raised his self-esteem. He enjoyed her stately deportment, social finesse, and advantageous connections.

The 25-year-old Napoleon married 32-year-old Rose in a civil ceremony on March 9, 1796, in a blatant attempt to advance his career and gain access to a fortune he discovered she did not possess. He changed her name to Josephine. Although his family vehemently opposed the union, Josephine's huge network of connections made her an asset to his lofty ambitions. The expedient union benefited both; it offered her children some security, and she enjoyed being the center of attention.

Josephine was responsible for Napoleon obtaining command in Italy, where he gained brilliant military victories for France. Marital fidelity was anathema in the upper echelons of French society, and Josephine proved no exception. She had an affair with Hippolyte Charles (1773–1837), a dashing officer. In retaliation, an enraged Napoleon also engaged in extramarital sexual dalliances, which he continued throughout the marriage. Napoleon threatened to divorce her in 1799 but the couple reconciled at Eugène's urgings.

Josephine's widespread popularity was an advantage when she offered Napoleon staunch support on the night of November 9–10, 1799, when he overthrew the **Directory**. Her role as *hostess extraordinaire* heightened his importance, for Josephine single-handedly revived the stagnant social life of Paris by throwing massive balls and parties. Her refined tastes transformed the style of society while Napoleon acted as **First Consul**.

Shortly before Napoleon became emperor, Pope **Pius VII** decreed that the couple would marry in a religious ceremony; they complied. Napoleon crowned himself on December 2, 1804, and made Josephine empress. She rose to the task by performing her onerous royal duties flawlessly. Josephine's style was greatly admired, she played a superb role at formal ceremonies, and her numerous functions were impeccably staged. In short, she charmed the French public with her attentive and warm personality.

The misogynist Napoleon retained his grudge against Josephine's infidelity and used psychological warfare against her for the remainder of their marriage.



He flaunted his own affairs, forced her to travel wherever and whenever he commanded it—despite the debilitating migraines and other frailties Josephine suffered—and demeaned her by often ignoring her in public.

Napoleon believed it was his destiny to create a dynasty and realized he could sire children after one of his mistresses bore him a son. Openly searching for a new wife while still married to Josephine, he finally divorced her on January 10, 1810, though she was allowed to retain her title of empress. Napoleon continued to look after her children, but he forced her into isolation and retirement at the Château de Malmaison, their country residence, in spite of which the two remained friends.

Josephine remained popular after the divorce. Even after Napoleon's defeat in 1814, she received numerous visitors from all levels of society, from the Russian tsar, **Alexander I**, to her numerous friends, who had not abandoned her. She also occupied herself with her massive garden, her animals, and her grandchildren. Shortly after Napoleon's abdication, Josephine contracted a cold that quickly turned into pneumonia. She died at Malmaison on May 29, 1814, and was genuinely mourned by the French people. Upon his death on May 6, 1821, Napoleon's last word was "Josephine."

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## *Journées*

The acknowledged key events of the **French Revolution**, commonly referred to as *journées*, were central to a process by which revolutionaries became aware of the historical character of the Revolution in progress. From the meeting of the **Estates-General** to the storming of the **Bastille**, the **September Massacres** to the taking of the Tuileries and the declaration of the Republic, *journées* were occasions during which the balance of power shifted, often dramatically, and often with a high level of popular involvement. Previously synonymous with warfare, the term *journée* was adapted during the Revolution to refer to a diverse range of events, which increased in quantity as the Revolution progressed and were often known simply by their dates. *Journées*, for instance July 14, 1789, or August 10, 1792, were frequently commemorated, and even reenacted, in public in the form of revolutionary festivals held on the anniversary of their occurrence. Image making too was central to the establishment of a *journée* in the popular imagination, and publications such as the successful and long-running historical print series *Les tableaux historiques de la Révolution française* found a ready market by breaking the complexities of the Revolution down into a series of digestible scenes.

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RICHARD TAWS

## Juries

A jury is a trial method in which the facts of a case are decided by a group of individuals selected from the community, instead of by the judge or other legal professional. Juries are an integral part of Anglo-American common law, especially in the United States.

The concept historically originated in England prior to the Norman Conquest, when disputes, whether criminal or civil (at the time, no distinction was made), were settled at a trial presided over by a judge appointed by the king or local lord, with assistance and information provided by a group of locals who knew the parties involved. It was one of the few aspects of Saxon law the Norman French kept after the Norman Conquest, and it developed into what the lower classes considered an important protection against arbitrary judicial processes.

The system was taken to North America with the English colonists and was considered by them to be a cornerstone of the judicial process. One of the major disputes of the American colonists with **Parliament** concerned the decision to move smuggling and some other criminal trials from the colony in which the crime was committed to London. This added excessive expense for the accused and (more to the point) took the case away from his friends and acquaintances, who were likely to acquit, and put it in the hands of Londoners, who were likely to convict.

Colonists considered juries so important because of the practice of jury nullification. Jurors knew that if a criminal law was unjust, they could refuse to enforce it by acquitting a defendant who had obviously committed the crime for which he was accused.

Jurors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries routinely refused to convict defendants under the Alien and Sedition Acts, which made criticism of the government a crime. Later in the nineteenth century, jurors would refuse to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the legal system increasingly discouraged this kind of intervention by ordinary juries. In 1895 the **Supreme Court** held that trial courts were not required to inform jurors of their power to refuse to convict or to convict on lesser charges if they believed a conviction on the facts proved at trial would be unjust. In the years since, American courts have interpreted the decision as a prohibition on informing jurors of their right to “check” laws they felt were unjust through acquittals.

Nevertheless, the system remains an integral part of the jurisprudential philosophy of the United States. A typical criminal case jury consists of 12 members; their verdict must be unanimous in order to secure a conviction. Jury procedures in civil cases vary from state to state but generally involve juries of 6 to 12 individuals, and verdict requirements ranging from 10 of 12 to unanimity.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

# K

## **Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804)**

Immanuel Kant was one of the most influential philosophers in history. A creator of critical philosophy, he postulated that the laws of nature and the laws of morality are grounded in human reason, the idea that laid the foundations of much of the philosophy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Kant was born in Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, on April 22, 1724. At the age of eight he was sent to a Pietist gymnasium. When Kant was 16, he entered the University of Königsberg to study philosophy. Not having any financial support, Kant had to leave the university in 1746 and work as a tutor for the next eight years. During this time he completed his first work, *Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces* (1746, published 1749), in which he attempted to mediate between the Cartesian and Leibnizian theories of physical forces.

Kant returned to the university as a lecturer in 1755. By this time he had published several works, including *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens*, which was based on the hypothesis that the solar system originated out of a nebular mass by mechanical means, and his doctoral thesis, *A New Explanation of the First Principles of Metaphysical Knowledge*. At first, he lectured on logic, metaphysics, ethics, and physics, adding physical geography, anthropology, pedagogy, and natural right later. In the early 1760s, he wrote a number of works on philosophy: *The False Subtlety of the Four Syllogical Figures* (1762), *Attempt to Introduce the Concept of Negative Magnitudes into Philosophy* and *The Only Possible Argument in Support of a Demonstration of the Existence of God* (1763), and *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764).

In 1770, Kant was appointed professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Königsberg, the position that he occupied until just a few years before his death. In relation to this appointment, he wrote the *Inaugural Dissertation*, which raised several central themes that he would develop in his mature work, including the distinction between the faculties of intellectual thought and sensible receptivity.

Kant's next 10 years, however, are often called his silent decade. He spent this time working on *Critique of Pure Reason* (1801), an expansion of his dissertation. Although now universally accepted as one of the greatest works in the history of philosophy, *Critique* was at first largely ignored because of its length and scholastic

style. Recognizing the need to revise the treatise, Kant wrote the *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics* (1783), a summary of the *Critique's* main ideas.

During the 1780s Kant wrote a series of important works, including the 1784 essay "Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?" *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785), and *Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science* (1786). He continued to develop his moral philosophy, writing *Critique of Practical Reason* (the second *Critique*) in 1788 and *Metaphysics of Morals* in 1797. The third *Critique*, *Critique of Judgment*, was written in 1790. Kant also wrote extensively on religion, politics, and history during this period. When Kant retired from his university position in 1797, he devoted his time to writing *The Transition from the Metaphysical First Principles of Natural Science to Physics*, which was left unfinished when Kant died in 1804.

The problems of moral self and human autonomy are at the core of Kant's philosophy, and his characterization of freedom as an idea of reason is among the most controversial aspects of his moral philosophy. In his political philosophy, Kant aims at first explaining the possibility and actuality of freedom, the absence of natural necessity, in human action; second, developing an account of autonomy as the source of human value and dignity; and third, juxtaposing this account with the external imposition posed by religion.

The notion that people are free because they can form, regulate, and direct the maxims of their conduct informs Kant's analysis of the relations among human reason and moral autonomy, political action, and social change. Freedom in the "positive" sense becomes for him both the goal of any political community and the basis for the creation of the measures that restrict the behavior of individuals and states. Another dimension of the idea of autonomy is the problem of rights and duties. Kant builds the "negative" argument by postulating that a person's freedom acts as a barrier between the person and any unwarranted invasion from authority or from other individuals. Coercion is justified only if it is directed at preserving external freedom that does not interfere with the external freedoms of others. Thus, the government's role is the protection of the freedom of the individual to the extent compatible with the freedom of other citizens. Kant's idea of freedom, on one hand, establishes the basis for legitimate power and, on the other, offers criteria for legislative action.

Kant's enthusiasm for the **French Revolution**, the **American Revolution**, and the issues connected with Irish separatism is well known. Marx called Kant's philosophy "the German theory of the French revolution" and perceived the revolutionary content of Kant's thought in that he asserted the independence of the individual in the face of authority. But the fact that Kant approved of the ideals of liberty and equality does not mean that he also approved of the means of revolution. He denied any right to pursue violent revolution for several reasons. First, during revolution there is no time for the reform of principles. Second, a desire for greater happiness does not constitute a legitimate reason for the overthrow of a state. Kant posed the question: can people revolt to remove illegitimate constraints to their freedom? If a constitution grants a legal right to rebel against authority, it means it does not create the authority after all and would thus be contradictory. So by denying a legal right to rebel, Kant does not explicitly deny a moral right to rebel, which provoked nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophers' debate on the nature of Kant's moral and political philosophy. His insistence on obeying the law obscured the liberal component in Kant's system, and

even a charge of authoritarianism has been leveled against him. *See also* Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich.

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NATALIE BAYER

### Karamzin, Nikolai Mikhailovich (1766–1826)

Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin, the Russian writer, poet, publisher, and historian, was born on December 12, 1766, into a family of provincial gentry. At 14, Karamzin went to Moscow to attend Moscow University and study languages, literature, history, and philosophy. After graduation, he briefly served in the army, but in 1785 he left his military career behind to become one of the first professional men of letters in Russia.

Karamzin spent his formative years in the Moscow circle of Russian Freemasons led by writer and publisher N. I. Novikov and Professor Schwarz. During 1785–1789 he began publishing his own literary magazines and was actively involved in translating activities of his circle. Under the guidance of his German and Russian friends, including poets M. Kheraskov and J. M. Lenz, Karamzin was taught that literature served a social function of educating the nation and that the author could mold the reading public's opinion.

In 1789 Karamzin went to Europe on a 13-month journey that played a major role in his development as a thinker. Sponsored by Freemasons from the Novikov-Schwarz circle, he visited various German states, **France**, **Britain**, and Switzerland. His journey, meetings, and impressions are reflected in his semi-fictional account published under the title *Letters of a Russian Traveler* (1791–1801). In this work Karamzin emphasized that despite all the differences between Russia and western Europe, Russia had participated in the **Enlightenment** as a part of Western civilization. The critics hailed Karamzin as a “Russian Sterne” for the *Letters*.

Upon his return, the 23-year-old Karamzin started the *Moscow Journal* (1797–1801), which published original stories and translations from English, German, and French. Karamzin's best-known works, *Poor Liza* and *Natalia the Boyar's Daughter*, appeared in this magazine and initiated the so-called Karamzin period of Russian literature. The foremost channel of nascent Russian Sentimentalism, the *Moscow Journal* was closed down by the authorities when Karamzin involved himself in sensitive political affairs in 1792. In his ode on N. I. Novikov's arrest, Karamzin publicly asked **Catherine II** to end Novikov's prosecution and release him from prison. This did not help Novikov's cause and only brought about the final demise of the *Moscow Journal*.

From the mid-1790s, Karamzin immersed himself in the study of Russian folktales. He also published poetic almanacs and edited collections of translated works of ancient and modern authors. In 1802 and 1803 Karamzin edited the famous journal *European Messenger*.

An admirer of all things English, Karamzin was also known as a Russian Gibbon for his unfinished 11-volume history of the Russian state (1818–1824) and critical *Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia* (1810–1811). In his historical writings, Karamzin returned to the origins of the Russian state and the beginnings of the Romanov dynasty and displayed his admiration for Tsar Ivan the Terrible. Both works received high acclaim from Tsar **Alexander I**, who made Karamzin a state historian. His conservative views and attacks on projects of constitutional reform formed the basis for the official ideology of the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. Karamzin died on June 15, 1826.

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NATALIE BAYER

## Kentucky

Kentucky's political and social evolution ran the course from a loose group of settlements to a privately run proprietorship to a county to a state. In the mid-1760s settlers from **Pennsylvania** and **Virginia** moved into this western region, which eventually led to a conflict between Pennsylvania and Virginia known as Lord Dunmore's War. The confusion became compounded in 1775, when the Transylvania Company began issuing land grants. Additionally, the company sponsored the first efforts at creating a political entity: while keeping executive power for itself, it sponsored a small-scale legislature.

Later that year a Transylvania representative went to the **Second Continental Congress** but was not recognized because of Virginia's claim. The next year, Virginia recognized the county of Kentucky, which sent two representatives to the Virginia House of Burgesses.

After the war, conventions gathered several times to discuss separation from Virginia as an independent nation (negotiations with Spain were conducted) or as a state. Similar activity in western **North Carolina**, in the state of Franklin, later to be Tennessee, was setting a precedent for the separation of a region as a separate political entity. Kentucky became the fifteenth state of the Union on June 1, 1792. *See also* Murray, John, Earl of Dunmore.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### King, Rufus (1755–1827)

Born in **Massachusetts**, Rufus King, an American lawyer, politician, and diplomat, served both that state and **New York**. After fighting at **Lexington and Concord** and Bunker Hill, he returned to his studies, became a lawyer, and practiced in Massachusetts. He was a member of the Massachusetts state legislature from 1783 to 1785. Overlapping part of this service, he served in the **Second Continental Congress** from 1784 to 1787. He supported the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory.

Very active in the **Constitutional Convention** in 1787, he was part of the committee that worked on the final draft (with **Gouverneur Morris** and Alexander **Hamilton**). He was also a member of the important Committee for Postponed Matters. Although his efforts to get Massachusetts to ratify the **United States Constitution** were successful, he failed in his attempt to become a senator. Moving to New York State, he became a state legislator in 1788 and the following year became one of New York's senators. He served in the **Senate** as a Federalist from 1789 to 1796 and returned to that position in 1813 until 1825. King ran for the office of vice president in 1804 and 1808 and ran for the presidency in 1816 as the last Federalist candidate, an election in which he carried only 3 states against James Monroe's 19. King was neither a deep political thinker nor an ideologue, but a practical man of talent committed first to independence and then to the idea of a strong, centralized national government. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War; The Northwest.

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ROBERT N. STACY





L

### **Lacombe, Claire, (1765–c. 1798)**

Claire Lacombe was an actress, political activist, and founder of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women during the **French Revolution**.

Lacombe was a provincial actress who performed in theaters in Lyon and Marseille before and during the French Revolution. She arrived in Paris at the beginning of 1792 and became an active participant in various revolutionary uprisings, including those on August 10, 1792, and May 31 through June 2, 1793. With fellow activist Pauline **Léon**, Lacombe frequented meetings of the **Cordeliers Club** and other fraternal societies beginning in 1790. In February 1793, they founded the militant all-female Society of Revolutionary Republican Women. The society, which had a membership of approximately 170, was preoccupied with subsistence issues, improved occupational education for women, and the implementation of the Constitution of 1793, which had been suspended during the **Reign of Terror**. Members were primarily working-class women. Lacombe was also involved with the left-wing Enragé group led by Jean-Théophile Leclerc, whose ideas influenced her own. The Society of Revolutionary Republican Women was short lived. It was closed by the orders of the **Jacobins** during a crackdown on left-wing groups on October 20, 1793.

Arrested on March 31, 1794, Lacombe was sent to Saint-Pélagie prison, where she remained until her release on August 18, 1795. Upon release, she returned to her acting career. She was last heard from in 1798, when she returned to Paris from acting in provincial theaters. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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LEIGH WHALEY

### **Lafayette, Marie Joseph Paul Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de (1757–1834)**

Born on September 6, 1757, Marie Jean Paul Joseph Roche Yves Gilbert du Motier, the Marquis de Lafayette, was a wealthy liberal French aristocrat who was involved

in three revolutions, including both the **American Revolution** and the **French Revolution**. His father was Michel Roche Gilbert du Motier, also the Marquis de Lafayette, and his mother was Marie Louise de la Rivière; their combined family connection with the French state went back centuries. Lafayette's classical and military education imbued him with pronounced liberal ideas. His family wealth allowed him a place at court, where he made good connections. He was married at age 17 and soon had three children.

Lafayette was intrigued by the American **Declaration of Independence**, which reflected his liberal thoughts. Indeed, Lafayette, who supported American independence, took unapproved leave to go to America to fight the British. The Continental Congress made him a major general with the condition that he cover his own expenditures. He met George **Washington**, with whom he soon developed a father-son relationship. Lafayette was involved in the Battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777, and on November 25 of the same year he defeated a force of Hessians at Gloucester Point. In 1778, Lafayette supervised a remarkable retreat at Barren Hill, near Philadelphia, on May 20; fought at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28; and served under the command of General John Sullivan in Rhode Island on July 21. Lafayette made an 80-mile, eight-hour journey on horseback from Newport to Boston on August 29 to help in the retreat of the American forces.



Marie Joseph Paul, Marquis de Lafayette. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

Upon his return to Paris, King **Louis XVI** appointed Lafayette a colonel of dragoons. Lafayette recommended sending 6,000 French troops to help Washington. He returned to America on April 27, 1780, while Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, the comte de Rochambeau, arrived in Rhode Island on July 19, 1780, with French troops. Washington gave Lafayette command of 2,000 light infantry on August 7, 1780. Washington, Rochambeau, and Lafayette met on September 20, 1780, to establish their strategy. The paucity of supplies was the bane of Washington's armies, but Lafayette used his own financial resources to rectify this scarcity for his troops.

Lafayette's role in the defeat of the British was crucial. On March 15, 1781, British general Charles Cornwallis moved into Virginia with 4,000 troops. Lafayette's forces were reinforced by Baron Friedrich von Steuben. Lafayette then reached Yorktown and quickly established an efficient spy network that was crucial for the Americans. Once Washington and Rochambeau reached the area, Cornwallis was surrounded, which led to his surrender on October 19. Lafayette had spent \$200,000 to help fight the British. Upon his return to France in 1782, he was hailed as a hero.

Lafayette visited America in 1784 and later toured Germany, where he became engrossed in the movement for the abolition of slavery. His plan to emancipate the slaves on his Cayenne plantation greatly impressed Washington and Thomas **Jefferson**.

The liberal-minded Lafayette hoped to resolve problems coming to the fore prior to the French Revolution by implementing representative government with a constitutional monarchy. He served as a member of the **Assembly of Notables** in 1787 and was one of the signatories to the document that recalled the **Estates-General** on May 5, 1789, after a 175-year absence. Lafayette served as commander of the newly established **National Guard** from July 25, 1789, until October 8, 1791, with responsibility to protect the royal family. He rescued the royals when they were threatened by a crowd at Versailles on October 7, 1789, and brought them to Paris. He ordered the royal family's return to Paris when they were fleeing to **Austria** and caught at **Varennes** on June 20, 1791. He later regretted that decision.

On July 11, 1789, Lafayette proposed a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and chose the tricolor flag still used today. Lafayette's liberal tendencies were clearly revealed when he insisted that arbitrary punishment be abolished and advocated religious toleration, trial by jury, a popular franchise, freedom of the press, the abolition of slavery, and the abolition of noble titles. He founded the Feuillant Club in 1789. He proved far too liberal for the radical **Jacobins** and for his own safety retired to a private life on September 18, 1791. Declared a traitor because he wanted a restored but limited monarchy after its overthrow on August 10, 1792, he escaped to Liège, **Belgium**, but was taken prisoner, held first in Magdeburg and then for four years in a dungeon in Olmutz, **Austria**, where he endured insufferable cruelty. His family voluntarily joined him in his incarceration in 1795.

**Napoleon** secured Lafayette's release on September 23, 1797, as a stipulation in the Treaty of Campo Formio. Once again retired, Lafayette had lost his wealth during the Revolution, but he rejected all offers of help from both Napoleon and the United States government.

True to his liberal principles, Lafayette voted against Napoleon's advocacy of the establishment of a consul for life, and he vehemently objected to the new imperial title. Lafayette did not support Napoleon's return to power during the Hundred Days in 1815, instead calling for the emperor's second abdication on June 2, 1815.

Lafayette held a liberal seat in the Chamber of Deputies from 1818 until 1824 and was also leader of the opposition.

At age 68, Lafayette, along with his son, made a return visit to the United States, visiting 24 states in 14 months. A grateful **Congress** repaid him the \$200,000 he had spent to finance his military exploits and provided him with 24,000 acres of land. Lafayette was reelected as a liberal to the Chamber of Deputies in 1827, a position he held until his death. He commanded the National Guard during the 1830 Revolution and was instrumental in placing King Louis Philippe on the French throne as a constitutional monarch. Lafayette died in Paris on May 20, 1834, and received an impressive funeral. He was buried in Le Jardin de Picpus cemetery in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine beside his wife, Adrienne, who had died on December 24, 1807. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Feuillants; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### *La Lanterne*

The French word for lamppost, *la lanterne* became a symbol of popular justice in the early days of the **French Revolution**. It symbolized the assertion of power over life and death by the French people, with or without the assent of legitimate authority.

During the violence of the Revolution's early days, mobs captured despised officials and hanged them from lampposts in the streets of Paris. These acts were embraced by revolutionary radicals, and "A la lanterne" (To the lamppost) soon became a radical slogan. While the **National Assembly** moved to suppress mob justice, the phrase remained popular in rhetoric and popular culture.

The term first gained this meaning following the lynching of the universally unpopular controller general of finances, Joseph-François Foulon, on July 22, 1789. Foulon's impromptu execution took place in the first explosion of mob violence following the storming of the **Bastille**. He was hanged from a lamppost in Paris, but after the rope broke, Foulon was decapitated and his head paraded through the streets. A few days later, his son-in-law **Bertier de Sauvigny**, the intendant of Paris, was also killed by a mob. The murders became a topic of hot debate in the National Assembly. The **National Guard** was organized to quell the rioting mobs and prevent further unrest.

In 1790 the song "Ça ira" became popular after public celebrations of the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. The lyrics centered around the refrain "Ça ira," an expression of optimism, but turned dark as France's mood soured. A version of the song's lyrics included the phrase "Les aristocrates à la lanterne!" meaning "Aristocrats, to the lamppost!" During the rule of the **Directory**, "Ça ira" was played before shows in the theater. The inflammatory song was suppressed after **Napoleon** rose to power.

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### Lally-Tollendal, Trophime-Gérard, Marquis de (1751–1830)

A son of the comte de Lally, who was executed following false charges of treason, Lally-Tollendal devoted many years to the rehabilitation of his father's reputation. Lally-Tollendal gained the support of **Voltaire** and in 1778 persuaded **Louis XVI** to annul the decree sentencing his father, although the courts never proclaimed his father's innocence.

In 1789, he became a deputy of the **National Assembly** but resigned his post in 1790. Lally-Tollendal took part in the early stages of the **French Revolution**, initially supporting **Lafayette**, but his conservatism prevented him from continuing his support of the Revolution and its values. He became an opponent of **Mirabeau** and established himself as a defender of traditional institutions. He was arrested in 1792 but managed to gain refuge in England prior to the **September Massacres**. He later offered to defend Louis XVI during his trial before the **National Convention** but was refused permission to return to **France**.

Lally-Tollendal eventually did return at the time of the **Consulate** and supported the Bourbon dynasty at the Restoration. **Louis XVIII** named him a peer of France, and in 1816 he was named a member of the French Academy. Among his publications are the *Defense of the French Emigrants* and *Life of the Earl of Strafford*. The last decades of his life were devoted to philanthropic work, especially the cause of prison reform. Lally-Tollendal died in Paris on March 11, 1830.

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JEFF SHANTZ

### Lameth, Alexandre-Théodore-Victor, Comte de (1760–1829)

Alexandre-Théodore-Victor, the comte de Lameth, was a French aristocrat who served in the French army in the **American Revolutionary War** and as a leading advocate of constitutional monarchy during the moderate phase of the **French Revolution**.

Born in Paris in 1760, Lameth and his brothers fought for the colonists in the **American Revolution** under General Rochambeau's command. Lameth later served as a representative of the **Second Estate**, or **nobility**, to the **Estates-General**, which convened in May 1789. However, in June, Lameth joined the cause of the **Third Estate**, which had declared itself a revolutionary **National Assembly**. He participated in drafting the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, supporting measures abolishing feudalism, and limiting monarchical power. In September, Lameth, Antoine **Barnave**, and Adrien **Dupont** formed the so-called triumvirate, influencing delegates in the **Constituent Assembly** to prevent legislation to establish a separate legislative chamber for the nobility.

In 1791, fearing that the Revolution's continuation would endanger the monarchy and private property, Lameth and his associates covertly advised the royal family. However, **Louis XVI's** disastrous attempt at escape in June 1791 discredited the system of constitutional monarchy. To consolidate their position, Lameth and his associates withdrew from the Jacobin Club to form the **Feuillants**. The triumvirate was ineligible to serve in the **Legislative Assembly**, which convened in October.

Following war with **Austria** in 1792, Lameth served in the Army of the North. After the monarchy's collapse and the Revolution's increasingly radical shift, Lameth was accused of treason in August 1792 and fled to **Austria**, where he was interned. In 1796, Lameth settled in Hamburg. He returned to France in 1800 during the **Consulate**, serving as prefect from 1802 to 1815. During the Bourbon restoration, which followed **Napoleon's** downfall, Lameth initially attached himself to the monarchy, later becoming a member of the liberal parliamentary opposition. He wrote a history of the Constituent Assembly shortly before his death in 1829. *See also* Jacobins; Varennes, Flight to.

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ERIC MARTONE

### Lanjuinais, Jean Denis, Comte de (1753–1827)

A French revolutionary politician, Jean Denis, the comte de Lanjuinais, was a deputy to the **Constituent Assembly**, the **National Convention**, the Council of Ancients, and the Napoleonic **Senate**. Son of a lawyer in the Parlement of Rennes, Lanjuinais studied law and received his doctorate in 1772. He was a professor of canon law at the University of Rennes at the age of 21. In 1779, he was elected an advisor to the Estates of Brittany. As a leading opponent to the Breton **nobility** before 1789, Lanjuinais published a memoir extolling the virtues of equality and condemning noble **privileges**. He assisted in drafting the cahiers of the **Third Estate** of Rennes and was elected second out of seven deputies for the Third Estate of Rennes. During **the Constituent Assembly**, he signed the **Tennis Court Oath** and was a member of five committees, one of which was the Ecclesiastical Committee. Church affairs were his specialty, as he believed religion to be the basis of civil society. He was a founder of the Breton Club, which became the Jacobin Club.

In the period between the end of the Constituent Assembly and the National Convention, Lanjuinais was elected to the high court of the department of Ille-et-Vilaine. At the National Convention, he sided with the moderates during the trial of **Louis XVI**, voting for the referendum and banishment. One of the proscribed deputies on June 2, 1793, he escaped to Rennes. He was reintegrated into the Convention on March 8, 1795. He helped to draft the 1795 constitution and sat on the Council of Ancients until 1797. After **Napoleon's** coup, he was nominated to the Senate but he voted against both Napoleon's life consulate and imperial titles. He was made a count in 1808. *See also* Brumaire, Coup d'Etat de; *Cahiers de Doléances*; Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Consulate; First Consul; French Revolution; Jacobins; Parlements.

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LEIGH WHALEY

### La Rochejaquelein, Henri Du Vergier, Comte de (1772–1794)

Henri Du Vergier, comte de La Rochejaquelein, was a French commander and one of the primary counterrevolutionary leaders in the **Vendéan rebellion**. He was noted for his fervent royalist and Catholic principles as well as for his gallantry and tactical abilities.

La Rochejaquelein was born in August 1772 at the château de la Durbellière, near Châtillon. As a young man, he served in the French army and supported the king during the **French Revolution**. Following the fall of the monarchy, La Rochejaquelein joined a collection of aristocrats and peasants in the Vendée, a region in western France, to aid in a large-scale rebellion against the French revolutionary government. He rallied the self-proclaimed Catholic and Royal army, known as the whites, through his passionate and charismatic speeches. While attaining some initial victories, the poorly trained Vendéan peasants were no match for the



Henri, Comte de La Rochejaquelein. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

professional army of the revolutionary government, known as the blues. In October 1793, at the age of 21, La Rochejaquelein became the *généralissime* of the Vendéan rebels. He was killed in battle in January 1794.

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ERIC MARTONE

## Latin American Revolutions

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Spanish rule extended over most of Latin America, with Brazil in the hands of the Portuguese, and a handful of British settlements along some of the coastal regions in the Caribbean. The last major rebellion by the Indians, led by Tupac Amaru II, was put down in 1781, and the rebel leader was executed in Cuzco on May 18, 1781. However, during the age of revolutions, most of the nations of Central and South America achieved their independence, leaving only small pockets of European colonies in the Caribbean region and in Brazil.

In 1767, the king of **Spain** expelled the Jesuits from his lands, and this was to have a dramatic effect in many ways. The Jesuits had been keen educators, and their expulsion saw the closure of many progressive schools. They had also established reductions in southern Paraguay, where large numbers of Indians worked the lands and produced massive agricultural surpluses that were sold to traders in the region and elsewhere. The closure of Jesuit educational establishments was to influence the school career of Manuel **Hidalgo** in Mexico, and the end of the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay came soon after the birth of José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, whose father supervised a tobacco plantation that had been established at the suggestion of the Jesuits. Indeed, it is worth mentioning that **Voltaire** supported the ejection of the Jesuits, although he was later to change his views on this topic.

The ideas of the **Enlightenment** in Europe were well received throughout intellectual circles in Latin America. Many educated people were receptive to the views espoused by Voltaire and Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, although some had reservations about their implementation in the Americas. This was largely because political progressives in Latin America were in disagreement about slavery, and the role, if any, of the Indians in any revolutionary society. Latin America at the time was seen by many in Europe as a strange and remote area of the world, although Mexico, Peru, and modern-day Argentina were reasonably accessible to many. Voltaire himself in his book *Candide* (1759) sets part of his story in Paraguay, which was seen as an even more remote part of the continent. Potions and quack cures in British newspapers in the 1790s often referred to herbal infusions that were said to have originated in Paraguay.

In 1771, the dispute over the Falkland Islands began, and from 1776 to 1777 there was a Spanish-Portuguese war over the Banda Oriental (modern-day Uruguay). From 1779 until 1783 Spain also participated in the **American Revolutionary War**, capturing Mobile, Pensacola, and the Bahamas. Florida was given to Spain at the end of the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

The event that was to change Latin America forever was the forced abdication of King Ferdinand VII of Spain on May 10, 1808. The French had invaded the



country—it had previously been their ally—in order to attack Portugal, and then **Napoleon** decided to overthrow the Spanish monarchy and enthrone his brother Joseph Bonaparte. It was a move that Napoleon felt might be welcomed by the poor of the Iberian Peninsula. Although it might have been popular under different circumstances, the actions of the French army quickly alienated many Spaniards and were an affront to the patriotism of many of Spanish descent in Latin America.

The overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain led Spaniards in Latin America to seek to declare their loyalty to Ferdinand VII. This resulted in the proclamation by the Chuquisaca Audencia in Alto Peru of its support for the king in May 1809, followed by the formation of juntas in La Paz and Quito. It also resulted in the widespread belief that the time had come for independence for Spanish America. The first major move took place in Buenos Aires, where the situation was complicated by the fact that prior to the overthrow of Ferdinand, a British expeditionary force dispatched from Cape Colony, in southern Africa, under Admiral Sir Home Popham, had taken the city on June 17, 1806, before being ejected from it on August 12. By that time, many British merchants, aware that Buenos Aires had been taken by Popham, but not that he had lost it, had arrived on the scene with goods to sell. A second British force under General John Whitelocke took Montevideo, holding the city in July 1807 until they were forced to surrender. The ease with which the *portenos* (urban dwellers) of Buenos Aires had ejected the British encouraged many to seek independence by retaining control of the city and refusing to allow Spanish officials to reestablish their authority. The British encouraged Spanish people outside Spain to form provisional governments (or juntas) loyal to Ferdinand, but many people used legal precedents to show that, in their opinion, under the ancient principle of Spanish law, the king of Spain's dominions in the Americas had the right to govern themselves using a junta until the restoration of a legitimate king in Madrid.

The viceroy in Buenos Aires was Santiago Liniers, a Frenchman, whom Ferdinand's supporters immediately overthrew. Acting in the name of Ferdinand, a junta appointed a new viceroy, but on May 24, 1810, an armed revolt led to the establishment of another junta, which claimed that it would rule in the name of King Ferdinand until his restoration. This had been preceded by a similar action in Caracas on April 19 and was followed by the proclamation of juntas in Bogotá on July 20, Asunción on July 24, Santiago on September 18, and Cartagena soon afterward. When the restoration of the Bourbons did take place four years later, Ferdinand quickly made himself unpopular with many people in Latin America, who then rebelled against Spanish rule.

In the meantime, in Mexico, simmering discontent became concentrated in the countryside, where Hidalgo was able to use the resentment at the Spanish to lead a rebellion. Hidalgo was a priest who became the focus of discontent in the country. He quickly amassed an army of 80,000 peasants, but their looting of some towns, as well as their attacks on Europeans, alienated many moderate people. When he finally moved his forces to attack Mexico City, even Hidalgo realized that his largely untrained force would be unable to take the city, and he was forced to pull back and allow the Spanish to retake most of the country. On January 17, 1811, at the Battle of Calderon, Hidalgo's army was destroyed, and he himself was captured and later executed. Ten years later, the man who defeated Hidalgo, General Agustín de Iturbide, a Mexican-born Spanish soldier, decided to launch a rebellion himself. This followed the revolution in Spain the previous year, and Iturbide, on February 24, 1821,

declared Mexican independence, took Mexico City, and crowned himself Agustín I, emperor of Mexico on July 21, 1822. A republican movement rapidly formed around Antonio López de Santa Anna, who deposed Iturbide in March 1823 and established a federal republic on October 4, 1824. In the meantime, Central America had broken away after the overthrow of Iturbide and formed the United Provinces of Central America in July 1823.

In Paraguay, José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, a lawyer, took the initiative. The formation of the viceroyalty of the River Plate in 1776 had seen a diminution of the importance of the city of Asunción as Buenos Aires became the capital of this new entity, which covered what is now Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The result was that Francia proclaimed the independence of Paraguay on May 14, 1811, making Paraguay the third country in the Americas to gain its independence (after the United States and Haiti). Enthusiastically greeted by many people in Asunción, Francia offered a military alliance with Buenos Aires, certain that, legally, if the *porteños* replied, it would be tantamount to recognition of Paraguayan independence. This took place, but Francia's plan for a wealthy Paraguay with massive revenues generated by the cultivation of *yerba* was not to be realized, and his country remained isolated from the rest of the world for most of the period until his death in 1840. Although many writers have seen Francia as the sole cause of this isolation, it is clear that the Argentine and other authorities were as much to blame.

While Francia managed to gain independence for Paraguay peacefully and certainly was helped by his country's position, most of the rest of the Spanish possessions in America were involved in a series of wars, mainly under Simón **Bolívar**, José de **San Martín**, and Bernardo O'Higgins. All three of these individuals were born in the Americas and were to become the most prominent figures in the revolutionary wars in Latin America. There were, essentially, two major conflicts, and a number of interconnected ones. While Bolívar fought the Spanish in Colombia, Venezuela, and northern Peru, Bernardo O'Higgins and San Martín did the same in the United Provinces (Argentina), Chile, Bolivia, and southern Peru. There was also one other small conflict being waged in the Banda Oriental, where José Artigas led many locals in fighting for the Spanish people of that region against the Portuguese. Brazil annexed the area in 1816, formalizing their rule, but Uruguay was able to declare its independence on August 25, 1825; it was recognized by Brazil on August 28, 1828.

The first major military move by those seeking independence in South America was in Chile, where José Miguel Carrera staged a rebellion. At Suipacha, in Alto Peru, on November 7, 1810, the royalists were defeated by a republican force. However, on June 20, 1811, at Huaqui, the royalists were able to destroy the republican forces. Simón Bolívar took part in the next significant event. On July 5, 1811, Venezuela declared its independence, and Bolívar, who had been placed in command of Puerto Cachello, was ejected by the Spanish commander, Juan Domingo Monteverde. Francisco Miranda, leader of the revolt, was captured and taken back to Spain, where he subsequently died in prison. Bolívar fled to Dutch-controlled Curaçao but returned in May 1813. Raising an army, he defeated Monteverde at the Battle of Lastaguanes and then captured the city of Caracas on August 6. He again defeated the royalists at the Battle of Araure on December 5 and won two more battles—at La Victoria in February 1814, and at San Mateo the following month. In May 1814 he also won a significant victory at Carabobo but two months later was

defeated by General José Tomás Boves at La Puerta. In spite of his earlier successes, this final victory by the Spanish restored their rule in Venezuela, forcing Bolívar to flee to New Granada (modern-day Colombia). There he was defeated in 1815 by General Pablo Morillo at Santa Mara, which forced him again to flee, this time to Jamaica and then to Haiti. With the **Napoleonic Wars** in Europe over, the Spanish now had significantly more troops to deploy against the rebels.

On March 9, 1812, San Martín, who had been born on the Argentine-Paraguayan border, returned to Buenos Aires after having served in the Spanish army in Europe. He was heavily influenced by revolutionary ideas and also had faced discrimination by dint of his birth in the Americas. Soon after his arrival in Buenos Aires, he was to become involved in the establishment of a large republican army to combat the main Spanish royalist one, which was based in Peru. San Martín realized that any victory by the republicans was unlikely to be permanent if the Spanish could always bring more forces into battle, as they had done against Bolívar. For that reason he felt that the only way to end the war completely was to attack and capture the Spanish royalist stronghold in Peru. To do so, he needed to equip and train his soldiers for a long campaign. His so-called Army of the Andes, composed of Chileans under Bernardo O'Higgins, and Argentinians, was moved to Mendoza for training. On July 9, 1816, the United Provinces declared their independence, and their army under San Martín was ready to attack Peru.

On January 24, 1817, San Martín led his men through the pass in the Andes at Gran Cordeillera. The Spanish never expected the Army of the Andes to be able to launch an invasion through an Andean pass in winter, and on February 8, San Martín's men were regrouping in Chile to face the Spanish, whom they encountered on February 12–13 at the Battle of Chacaburo. The Spanish were not only surprised but also outnumbered, and some 500 of their 2,000 men were killed, and another 600 taken prisoner. They also lost all their artillery to the republicans. By contrast, San Martín lost only 12 dead and 120 wounded. He occupied Santiago on February 15, and in the following year, on February 12, 1818, Chile proclaimed its independence from Spain, although fighting continued along the area that is now the Chilean-Peruvian border.

San Martín knew that he had to attack Peru, and this strategy was confirmed when Spanish forces there attacked and defeated him at the Battle of Cancha-Rayada on March 16, 1818. This was a major blow to the morale of the republicans, but on April 5, at the Battle of Maipo, the royalists were defeated. By the end of the year, the republicans had also started amassing a navy for a seaborne attack on Peru. In January 1819 this was placed under the command of Thomas Cochrane, who had left the (British) Royal Navy under odd circumstances and then moved to Valparaiso, the main port in Chile. It was not until June 18, 1820, that the new Chilean navy was able to drive the Spanish from the port of Valdivia and prepare for the invasion of Peru, which was launched on September 8, 1820. On July 12, 1821, San Martín led his men into Lima, previously the principal Spanish stronghold in Latin America, and the other Spanish garrison at Callao surrendered on September 21.

In the meantime, Bolívar had returned to Venezuela in December 1816 and managed to defeat the Spanish at Barcelona, in Venezuela, on February 16, 1817. However, he was again defeated in another battle fought at La Puera on March 15, 1818. On June 11, 1819, he also launched an attack on the Spanish by crossing the Andes. Outside Bogotá, on August 7, 1819 at the Battle of Boyaca, Bolívar's forces, which

included the British Legion—British veterans of the Peninsular War—smashed the Spanish forces of Colonel Barreiro, and three days later Bolívar entered Bogotá in triumph, establishing himself as president of the newly proclaimed Republic of Colombia. Fighting continued in Venezuela, with Bolívar winning the Battle of Carabobo on June 24, 1821, and capturing the important port of Cartagena on October 1. The final victory of that part of the conflict took place at Pichincha on May 24 1822, where the Spanish under Melchior Aymerich were defeated.

On July 26–27, 1822, at Guayaquil, San Martín and Bolívar met for a confidential meeting. Much has been written about what may and may not have been discussed. It certainly appears that San Martín was disheartened by it, for he retired from further participation in the revolutionary wars, leaving Bolívar in command of the armies. Bolívar, with the help of Antonio José de Sucre from Venezuela, defeated the Spanish at the Battle of Junin on August 6, 1824, and Sucre routed them again at the Battle of Ayacucho on December 9, 1824, effectively ending Spanish attempts to reconquer their colonial possessions.

Brazil, a Portuguese colony, found itself in a very different position to the Spanish colonies. In 1807 the Portuguese court fled as Napoleon's forces reached Lisbon and established Rio de Janeiro as the seat of their government. In 1821 John VI of Portugal returned to Lisbon, with Dom Pedro, his son, remaining in Brazil as prince regent, and later crowning himself as emperor of Brazil on December 1, 1822. There was some fighting in Brazil, but the British naval commander, Cochrane, was placed in command of the Brazilian navy on March 21, 1823, and the dissensions and small-scale fighting that did take place focused largely on whether or not Brazil should achieve its independence under its own emperor, who was the son of the king of Portugal. The matter was settled in 1825 when Portugal recognized Brazilian independence. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Law of Hostages (1799)

The Law of Hostages was passed by the **Directory of France** following the revolt of Prairial on June 18, 1799. This law delegated power to provincial authorities to round up political prisoners, or hostages, and imprison them until their fate was decided. A wide range of activities were subject to the Law of Hostages, including simple political protests and organizations that were deemed a threat to the Directory's power. Quelling rebellion by holding political prisoners was only effective when provincial loyalty to the national government was widespread. Often, provincial leaders felt no compulsion to assist the Directory in the apprehension of suspects and allowed minor offenses to go unpunished as a means of expressing their own distaste for the government's Directory policy. The Law of Hostages demonstrated that the often draconian measures associated with the **National Convention**, which was replaced by the Directory in August 1795, had yet to be eradicated even as the **French Revolution** progressed through its later, more moderate, phases.

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NICHOLAS KATERS

### Law of Suspects (1793)

Decreed on September 17, 1793 by the **National Convention**, this was one of the defining laws of the **Reign of Terror**. It was debated after the invasion of the National Convention by the sections of Paris on September 5, during which the legislature was forced to make terror the “order of the day” and adopt the **Maximum**, as well as to adopt several other fairly radical measures. Its purpose was to broadly define those categories of people who should be immediately arrested and brought before the **revolutionary tribunals** for examination. Suspects were those who were deemed by their behavior, associations, speech, or writings to be friends of tyranny or federalism and thus enemies of liberty; those who could not prove where their income originated or that they were actively participating in their civic duties; those who had been refused certificates proving their patriotism; civil servants who had been suspended from their positions; nobles whose relatives had emigrated and who could not prove their devotion to the Revolution; and **émigrés** who left between July 1, 1789, and April 8, 1792, even if they had later returned during a grace period that allowed them to do so without penalty. The committees of surveillance in each community were given the task of compiling a list of suspects, issuing arrest warrants and empowering the **National Guard** to execute them, and then forwarding a list of those arrested to the **Committee of Public Safety**, a committee of the National Convention. The law supplemented an earlier law of March 10, 1793, which had created the revolutionary tribunals but had provided a much narrower definition of a suspect that did not ultimately satisfy activists. It also codified the maxim that anyone who was suspected of subversion should have to prove his or her innocence, which was later extended by the **Law of 22 Prairial**.

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LEE BAKER

### Law of 22 Prairial (1794)

The Law of 22 Prairial (June 10, 1794) intensified the **Reign of Terror** by altering the procedures of the **revolutionary tribunals** and redefining who constituted an “enemy of the people” during the bloodiest phase of the **French Revolution**. The law transformed the tribunal into four separate courts, increasing its speed and efficiency. The law reduced the possibility of acquittal by denying defense counsel to conspirators and by severely limiting the use of witness testimony. The tribunal was brought under tighter control by the **Committee of Public Safety**, and the death sentence was imposed for all offences. The law broadened the definition of an “enemy” to apply to such a wide variety of practices that even many

devout revolutionaries were accused of threatening the republic. It made possible the practice of combining offenders under one charge, and a period of mass trials followed the adoption of Prairial. The application of the law transformed the revolutionary tribunal and significantly increased the number of victims killed by the government known as the **Convention**. *See also* Fouquier-Tinville, Antoine Quentin; Law of Suspects.

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BRODIE RICHARDS

## LCS

*See* London Corresponding Society

### Lebrun, Charles-François, Duc de Plaisance (1739–1824)

A noble and a high official in the **ancien régime**, Charles-François Lebrun served throughout the revolutionary era, becoming third consul and then arch treasurer of **France** during the rule of **Napoleon Bonaparte**.

Lebrun was a prominent official under the French monarchy but fell out of favor in 1774. He spent over a decade in political exile and dedicated himself to literary pursuits. In 1789, he was elected to the **National Assembly**, where he distinguished himself as a moderate royalist. Following the formation of the **Legislative Assembly** in 1791, to which members of the National Assembly could not be elected, Lebrun became president of the department of Seine-et-Oise.

Lebrun's royalist past made him an obvious target after the **Jacobins** took power, and he was imprisoned twice. He was close to execution after his second arrest but escaped the **guillotine** when a relative stole his court records. After the fall of the Jacobins and the establishment of the **Directory**, Lebrun was freed and elected to the Council of Ancients, where he voted against the prosecution of former Jacobins and promoted reconciliation.

In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte organized the **Consulate** and selected Lebrun as third consul. Lebrun's royalism made him an excellent counterbalance to the ex-Jacobin second consul, **Cambacérès**. In addition, Napoleon made excellent use of Lebrun's financial skills. During the period of the Consulate, Lebrun participated in a number of important policy decisions, although he initiated few reforms on his own authority.

Despite Lebrun's apprehensions over the reestablishment of a titled aristocracy, he continued to serve in the government after Napoleon declared himself emperor. He was well rewarded for this loyalty; in 1804, Lebrun was made arch treasurer of France. In 1805, Lebrun served as governor-general of the Ligurian Republic, in northern **Italy**, and prepared its administration for annexation to France. He served with distinction in these capacities, and Napoleon created him the duc de Plaisance in 1808. Lebrun reluctantly accepted the hereditary fief.

In 1810, Napoleon's brother Louis was forced to abdicate his position as king of the **Netherlands**. Napoleon appointed Lebrun the governor-general of the

Netherlands and tasked him with organizing the nation into *départements* in order to prepare it for annexation to France. Lebrun governed fairly and earned the respect of the Dutch before he fled the Netherlands in fear for his life after the collapse of the French Empire.

Lebrun was able to navigate the end of the Napoleonic regime with the same agility with which he had maneuvered through the revolutionary era. He was made a peer by **Louis XVIII**. His rehabilitation was ended when Napoleon returned from exile on Elba and made Lebrun grand master of the University of Paris. After the Battle of **Waterloo** and Napoleon's final exile to St. Helena, Lebrun was stripped of his peerage. In 1819, he was restored once again, although he was too old to participate meaningfully in the House of Peers. He died in 1824.

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### Le Chapelier, Isaac-René-Gui (1754–1794)

Isaac-René-Gui Le Chapelier was the French revolutionary politician responsible for the Le Chapelier Law. A barrister in Rennes before the **French Revolution**, Le Chapelier came from a family of celebrated jurists. His father was ennobled in 1769, but Le Chapelier was elected to the **Estates-General** by the **Third Estate** of Rennes. A prominent revolutionary during the early years, Le Chapelier and the abbé **Sieyès** were leaders of the Patriot Party. Le Chapelier was one of the founders of the Breton Club, which later became the **Jacobins**. In the Estates-General, he advocated voting by head. In the **National Assembly**, he presided over the famous session on the night of August 4 when **privileges** were abolished. He was voted president of the Assembly on August 3, 1789. He voted in favor of the election of judges on May 5, 1790, and on June 9, he demanded the abolition of noble titles. As a member of the constitutional committee, Le Chapelier advocated the nationalization of church lands.

Le Chapelier is best known for the law of the same name, passed by the National Assembly on June 14, 1791. Le Chapelier was responsible for introducing this law to the Assembly. The law regulated the right of petitioning, prohibited the formation of workingmen's associations, and abolished craft guilds. The context in which the Le Chapelier law was introduced and passed was one of labor disorders and worker meetings in Paris and surrounding departments. Workers had met to discuss issues such as wages in a fashion similar to the meetings of clubs and popular societies. Guilds had recently been abolished by the d'Allarde decree on March 2, 1791, named after the deputy Pierre d'Allarde. Le Chapelier and like-minded deputies were opposed to guilds and workers' associations on the principles of individual liberty and laissez-faire economics. Le Chapelier insisted organizations such as guilds were privileged and thus contrary to the principles of the new order. The Le Chapelier legislation had a lasting effect, as trade unions were banned in France until 1884.

During the political crisis that followed **Louis XVI**'s flight to **Varennes**, Le Chapelier revealed himself as a moderate and left the Jacobin Club for the more

conservative **Feuillants**. In addition, he advocated restrictive voting rights. In September 1791, with the close of the **Constituent Assembly**, Le Chapelier returned to his native Rennes. He lived in hiding for 18 months. Although he remained a constitutional monarchist throughout his life, he nevertheless wrote to the **Committee of Public Safety** in February 1794, offering to work as a spy in England. Perhaps this was a last attempt to escape persecution. On March 1, he was arrested, after which he was transferred to Paris, condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed on April 22, 1794.

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LEIGH WHALEY

### Lee, Arthur (1740–1792)

Arthur Lee was a younger son of rich plantation owners in **Virginia** who died before he was 10 years old. He was given an excellent and prolonged education in **Britain** (at school at Eton College, and earning a medical degree at the University of Edinburgh and a law degree at the Inns of Court in London). A difficult personality, he held very strong views and spent much time on both sides of the Atlantic, associating with and, despite his overall political stance, often quarrelling with British radicals and American patriots. From 1764 until the mid-1770s he produced a stream of essays, poems, and **pamphlets** on the American crisis. These were published in both Britain and the colonies, under a variety of pseudonyms. His early publications were vituperative, but his later ones were more coolly reasoned. In Britain he cooperated with Lord Shelburne and John **Wilkes**, both critics of British government policies at home and toward the American colonies. He even became the secretary of the radical Bill of Rights Society in London. He also corresponded on politics with his brother Richard Henry **Lee** and Samuel **Adams**. He worked with Benjamin **Franklin** in London from 1771 to 1774 and cooperated with him in publishing the correspondence of Thomas Whately, which helped to unseat Thomas **Hutchinson** as governor of **Massachusetts**. He later quarreled with Franklin on personal and political grounds, because he came to believe that Franklin's patriotism was less firm than his own. Lee frequently attacked the British efforts to tax the American colonies, though he was also critical of slavery in the colonies.

He welcomed the **American Revolutionary War** and spent some years as an intelligence agent and a diplomat seeking to promote covert French, Spanish, and Prussian support for the American cause. He visited all three kingdoms and regularly worked with Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin in seeking such assistance. He did not trust either of them, and he tried to undermine the influence of both. Nor was he convinced that France was genuine in her expressions of support for American independence. His self-righteousness and suspicious personality won him few friends, though he did the American cause some service in securing foreign funds and arms. He was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1781, and



he served in Second **Continental Congress** from 1782 to 1785. Although he had been a vociferous critic of the policies of Robert Morris, he served in the American treasury from 1785 to 1789. This experience convinced him of the shortcomings of the **Articles of Confederation**, but in public discussions on the new federal constitution he was a mild Anti-Federalist. Lee failed to gain any position in George **Washington's** administration, and he retired to his plantation in Virginia. He died there, unmarried, in December 1792. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade; United States Constitution.

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H.T. DICKINSON

### Lee, Richard Henry (1732–1794)

**Virginia** signer of the **Declaration of Independence** Richard Henry Lee was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in January 1732. After journeying to England for his formal education at Wakefield Academy in Yorkshire, Lee returned to Virginia in 1752. He was immediately elected to political office as justice of the peace for Westmoreland County. He was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses just six years later.

Though a shy young man, Lee was a skilled orator and was known as the Cicero of the eighteenth century. Just a year after Lee became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he delivered one of the most important speeches of his entire career. This antislavery speech was a defining moment for the Virginia statesman; the colony now saw him as both an accomplished speaker and a natural leader. Virginians turned to Lee during the events that led up to the **American Revolution** since the politician had long been a champion of colonial rights.

Lee was one of the first leaders to initiate the process of independence from **Britain**. With the passage of the **Stamp Act** in early 1765, he eagerly aligned himself with fellow patriot Patrick **Henry**. After Lee introduced the subject to the Virginia Assembly, the body appointed him chair of a committee with the purpose of drafting an address to King **George III**, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. As chair, Lee recounted the colony's grievances against the act. The following February, Lee formed a group known as the Westmoreland Association to prevent any stamped paper from being sold in the county. He also led the group to one tax collector's house, forcing the man to surrender all his stamps and pledge that he would not collect any stamp taxes.

Lee was an early advocate of declaring independence from Britain. In July 1768, he suggested that the colonies form a correspondence group to communicate effectively about their various oppositional activities, though it was not until five years later that intercolonial communication was finally established. In March 1773, Lee joined friends Patrick Henry and Thomas **Jefferson** to form the committee of correspondence in Virginia. After introducing the idea to the House of Burgesses, the men appealed to legislatures in the other colonies to establish similar groups.

In May of the following year, **Parliament** passed an act closing the port of Boston. Lee and other colonial leaders saw the act as a means of stripping the

colonists of their rights. Upon hearing news of the impending port closure, Lee, Henry, and Jefferson developed a strategy for May 13, 1774—the day the port was to be closed—to be a day of “fasting, humiliation, and prayer.” Lee also drafted seven resolutions calling for a boycott and requesting a Constitutional Congress. Virginia’s royal governor disbanded the Virginia Assembly, but this act did not stop the colony’s delegates. They met anyway and decided that it was time to call a meeting of all the colonies. As such, the Virginia Convention met in August of that year to elect delegates to the First **Continental Congress**. Lee was the second representative chosen to represent the colony.

Meeting on September 5, 1774, Lee was an active participant to the First Continental Congress, serving on six different committees, and was an ardent supporter of a non-importation and non-exportation agreement with Britain. After considerable discussion, the Congress agreed to stop all imports after December 1774 and all exports after September of the following year.

Firmly believing that the public should be made aware of any danger they might face, Lee was reelected to the Second **Continental Congress**. In mid June 1775, when Congress began assembling troops, Lee was on the committee that appointed George **Washington** as commander-in-chief of the **Continental Army**. By April 1776, Lee strongly advocated total independence from Britain. Though he was appointed to serve on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence, Lee had to return to Virginia because of family illness and was unable to sign the document until September of that year.

Lee was active in the Congress for the next several years. In 1780, he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates. He was elected to the Second Continental Congress again in 1784 and was consequently chosen as president of that body. Though initially a radical, Lee ultimately aligned himself with conservatives. He eventually led the opposition to the proposed **United States Constitution** and was one of the document’s most enthusiastic critics during the campaign for ratification. Lee’s 35-year political career ended in October 1792 when he resigned his seat in the **Senate** because of poor health. He died two years later in June 1794. *See also* Boston Port Act; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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NICOLE MITCHELL

## Legislative Assembly (1791–1792)

The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791–September 20, 1792) led the course of events during the early phase of the **French Revolution** as a result of its legislation, political debates, and military policy. The fast-moving events, which occurred within the 11-month span of the Assembly’s life, rendered it one of the most important political bodies in revolutionary **France**. Its predecessor, the **Constituent Assembly**, had completed the task of preparing a constitution. The king, **Louis XVI** (reigned 1774–1792), had accepted it on September 13, 1791. As a result of its limited franchise and property qualifications for public office, the constitution was only partially democratic. Although the source of its mandate was the people, there was

no scope for popular participation, and as a result, within a year another legislature would replace the Legislative Assembly.

After the elections, the Assembly opened its first session on October 1 and the 745 newly elected deputies took an oath according to the new constitution. The responsibility for governing the nation was held by new deputies largely derived from the middle class, as no deputy of the Constituent Assembly was eligible for reelection. A group of committed constitutionalists made up the Feuillant (leaf) party sitting on the right (hence the origin of the term “Right” to mean conservative). They took directions from the triumvirate of Alexandre de **Lameth**, Antoine **Barnave**, and Adrien **Duport**, who had parted with the **Jacobins** earlier. There were about 350 uncommitted deputies in the Assembly. The Jacobins numbered 330 and sat to the left (and hence the term “Left” to mean liberal). A group known as the **Brissotins** emerged within the Assembly later, led by Jean-Pierre **Brissot**, the deputy from Eure et Loir and editor of the popular journal *Patriote Français*. Brissot enjoyed the support of representatives hailing from the department of Gironde—hence they were known as Girondists or **Girondins** after 1792. They were influenced by the romantic **republicanism** of Marie-Jeanne Philipon **Roland** (1754–1793). As the Girondins came from different geographical, class, and ideological backgrounds, divisions between them and the Jacobins were inevitable, and these were reflected in various issues confronting the Legislative Assembly.

The exodus of noblemen together with army officers had a devastating effect on France, particularly in terms of trade and administration. *La France extérieure* was formed as a French department in the occupied Australian Netherlands and bordering areas. The comte de Provence, the future **Louis XVIII**, had become the leader of the **émigrés** and enlisted the help of European monarchs in a conspiracy against the Revolution. The Legislative Assembly passed a decree on November 9 ordering the émigrés to return by the end of 1791, though the king vetoed it three days later. On November 29 a decree demanded that the clergy abide by the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**. Otherwise, pensions for nonjurors or refractory priests would be stopped. The king again used his veto power on December 19. By his action, the king proved himself an accomplice of émigrés and nonjurors. The Jacobins were naturally opposed to the king’s decision.

Brissot advocated exporting the Revolution beyond the borders of France and thus encouraged war with the monarchies of Europe. He put forth his views on the floor of the Assembly on October 20, 1791. He also debated with Maximilien **Robespierre** in the Jacobin Club in December. The royalists supported him, with the hope of going to war with **Austria** and Prussia, in whose army many émigrés had enlisted. The king supported the idea, as it would make him popular in the event of victory and he would be retained on the throne by his fellow monarchs in the event of defeat. The majority of the Assembly’s deputies supported Brissot. Robespierre had lost his case, but he would be proved correct afterward as a result of initial French defeats in the early years of the **French Revolutionary Wars**. Circumstances were favorable for the Brissotins for approximately the first six months of the Legislative Assembly’s tenure. The king had been compelled to form the patriot ministry, the members of which were close to Brissot. The Feuillant minister of war, Louis Marie, the comte de Narbonne-Lara, was dismissed. The minister of the interior was Jean **Roland de la Platière** (1734–1793), husband of Marie-Jeanne Roland. General Charles Dumouriez became the foreign minister in March 1792. Etienne Clavière

served as finance minister. On April 20, war was declared by the Legislative Assembly against the Austrian monarch, Leopold II, with only seven dissenting votes, while on July 24, Prussia joined forces with Austria. The war went badly for France and had disastrous consequences for the Brissotins as well as for the whole country.

Gradually, the Legislative Assembly became helpless amid mob violence and deteriorating economic conditions. Defeats at the front had led to rumors of treason by the king, and once again he vetoed the decree against nonjuring priests on June 19. On the same day, he also vetoed a decree providing for a military camp in Paris. The king had dismissed the patriot ministry six days before. A mob of insurgents consisting of urban workers and peasants (*sans-culottes*), along with radical Jacobins, stormed the royal palace, known as the Tuileries, on June 20. The Brissotins, still in control of the Assembly, declared that nation in danger (*la patrie en danger*). In spite of the royal veto, the 20,000 men arrived in Paris in early July by order of the Assembly. It was the last attempt by the Brissotins to control the **Feuillants**, Louis XVI, and the Assembly itself.

Matters grew still worse when the Duke of Brunswick, the commander of the Austro-Prussian army, threatened the city of Paris, thereby infuriating the populace. A new revolutionary committee under Georges **Danton** with numerous supporters marched on the Tuileries on the night of August 9–10, forcing Louis to take refuge in the Legislative Assembly. With one-third of the deputies present, the king was suspended and imprisoned in the Temple. The Assembly reinstated the Roland ministry and Danton became the new minister of justice. With the Paris Commune controlling the affairs of the Assembly as well as the nation, an extraordinary tribunal was created on August 17. The events of August and September—particularly the **September Massacres**—revealed the power of the *sans-culottes*. The elections to the **National Convention** were underway, and the days of the Legislative Assembly were numbered. On September 20, 1792, the Legislative Assembly dissolved itself and the first session of the Convention began on the following. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### Léon, Pauline (fl. 1793–1794)

Pauline Léon, an orphan and spinster chocolate-shop owner in Paris, was a leading female activist of the **French Revolution**. An advocate of violent political

agitation, she and Claire **Lacombe**, an actress, set up the radical *Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires* (Society of Revolutionary Republican Women) in February 1793. They were associated with the extreme revolutionary party, the *Enragés*. The *Citoyennes*, donning the uniform of *le bonnet rouge* (the red cap), tricolor ribbons, and *sans-culottes* (a type of trousers), and bearing arms, would seek out counterrevolutionaries, particularly **women**, who did not put on the prescribed uniform. They demanded before the Convention in September 1793 that the uniform be made compulsory. Léon broke away with the **Jacobins** after the Assembly rejected the *Citoyennes*' demand that prostitutes be rehabilitated. The government disbanded female political associations, and Léon was arrested in 1794. After her release, she married Théophile Leclerc, leader of the *Enragés*. Her activities thereafter are unknown.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor (1747–1792)

Holy Roman emperor Leopold II, the brother of Queen **Marie Antoinette** of **France**, issued the declaration that the powers of Europe would intervene militarily in the **French Revolution** to protect the French royal family and thus was instrumental in initiating the **French Revolutionary Wars**.

Peter Leopold Joseph, the ninth child and third son of Austrian empress Theresa and her husband, Holy Roman emperor Francis I, Grand Duke of Tuscany and Duke of Lorraine, was born on May 5, 1747, in Vienna. Leopold was educated to become a priest, though the subjects he was taught led him to resent the control the church exercised over people. Leopold grew up to be cold hearted and arrogant.

Upon the death of his father on August 18, 1765, Leopold inherited the Duchy of Tuscany. He was married to Maria Louisa, daughter of King Charles III of **Spain**, as part of the settlement for his bequest of inheritance to Tuscany. The couple had 16 children. It took a few years for Leopold to gain control over Tuscany. He proved to be an innate administrator and was strongly influenced by **Enlightenment** ideas. Due to his lengthy reign, Leopold had time to reform the Tuscan government. He abolished the practice of torture, equalized taxation, eliminated the death penalty, improved public works, and tried diligently but unsuccessfully to take control of the church.

Leopold became Holy Roman emperor on February 20, 1790, upon the death of his brother **Joseph II**. Always diplomatic, Leopold appeased the varying peoples in the countries he ruled; consequently he was crowned in Bohemia, the Austrian Netherlands, and Hungary. Finding himself placed in a precarious political situation by his brother's policies, Leopold repealed some of Joseph's reforms. In the end, he accomplished more reform than his predecessor had during his reign. One such major

economic reform was allowing the free import of foreign goods into the Holy Roman Empire, which thereafter enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. Leopold also made German the administrative language of Hungary and abolished personal serfdom.

In 1790 Leopold entered into an agreement with Frederick William of Prussia, who had been the bane of his mother's rule. Frederick William wished to prevent Austrian expansion eastward and would have allied Prussia with Turkey, which was then at war with **Austria** and Russia. Upon the official signing of the agreement, Prussia remained out of the conflict, while Leopold abandoned his pact with **Catherine II** of Russia. Leopold also oversaw the successful conclusion of Austria's war with Turkey. The Peace of Sistova, concluded on August 4, 1791, with Turkey, restored Austria's territory to its prewar limits. He had also successfully put down an insurrection in the Austrian Netherlands the previous year.

Leopold's youngest sister, Marie Antoinette, was married to **Louis XVI** of France, and thus he felt an obligation to protect the French royal family during the French Revolution. The Declaration of Pillnitz, issued on August 25, 1791, and instigated by Leopold and supported by Frederick William, declared that various European powers would fight to restore the French monarch's powers if the need arose. The declaration proved to be a propaganda disaster because it aggravated the French and was a catalyst for the French Revolutionary Wars. Leopold died unexpectedly on March 1, 1792, and was buried in the Imperial Crypt in Vienna.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### **Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau, Louis Michel (1760–1793)**

A deputy to the **Constituent Assembly** and the **National Convention**, Lepelletier came to be regarded as the first martyr of the **French Revolution** after he was murdered for his support for the execution of King **Louis XVI**.

Louis Michel Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau was the son of Michel-Etienne, the comte de Saint-Fargeau, who was a close private adviser to King Louis XV. Louis-Michel was admitted to the Paris Parlement in 1779 and 10 years later became a deputy from the **nobility** in the **Estates-General** on its recall. Initially, Lepelletier was conservative in his views, but this changed quickly. The reasons for this are not known with any certainty, but they do not appear to be simple opportunism. It seems that he, like the duc d'**Orléans**, saw serious problems with the social structure of **France** and was eager for change. It is also possible that he was heavily influenced by his brother, Félix Lepelletier (1769–1837), a prominent thinker who had long been involved in the Jacobin cause.

On July 13, 1789, Michel Lepelletier was involved in demands to recall Jacques **Necker**, the minister who had been sacked by the king. He was also involved in

progressive reforms, urging the abolition of the death penalty, of sending people to work on galleys, and of the branding of criminals. When it became clear that the death penalty would remain in place for criminals convicted of capital offenses, he urged beheading—including use of the **guillotine**—rather than hanging. He was also keen on ending dueling, suggesting that those found guilty should be bound to a scaffold for two hours, wearing armor, and then jailed for two years in an asylum for the insane. The measure was rejected.

Rapidly creating a name for himself in the Patriot Party, Michel Lepelletier was made president of the Constituent Assembly on June 21, 1790. He represented the department of the Yonne in the Legislative Assembly and was subsequently elected to represent the Yonne in the Convention. During this period Lepelletier became interested in the concept of free and compulsory public education and drew up some plans for this. Some of these ideas were later put into practice.

Lepelletier, a Montagnard in the assembly, quickly came to favor the trial of Louis XVI by the Legislative Assembly and indeed subsequently voted for the execution of the king in a motion that was carried by 380 votes to 310. This confirmed, in the eyes of many royalists, that he was a traitor to his class, and although there were later accusations that legislators had been swayed by threats of violence, Lepelletier was to be the first casualty from this decision. On the night of January 20, 1793, with Louis XVI's execution scheduled for the following day, a member of the former royal bodyguard killed Lepelletier in the Palais Royal, in Paris, by thrusting a sword into him. The assassin, Pâris, then fled to Normandy, where, after being identified, he committed suicide to prevent his capture. One account noted that Pâris had not planned on killing Lepelletier, his intended victim having been the duc d'Orléans.

The Convention quickly hailed Lepelletier as the first martyr of the Revolution and organized a massive funeral. On January 23, 1793, the Proclamation of the Convention to the French People noted that “the tyrant [Louis XVI] is no more.” After invective aimed at the king, it spoke of the emergence of a new nation facing many hazards and attacks from its enemies that might overwhelm the French Republic unless strong action were taken. The example given was the assassination of Lepelletier, whose murder was deemed not an attack on an individual, but on all the French people, its liberty, and its sovereignty. At his funeral the members of the Convention had sworn on the “tomb of a martyr to Republican opinion” that they would give France a constitution to defend the Republic from its enemies. It is now felt that Lepelletier was perhaps more famous in death than in life, as the French republican cause became eager to have a cult of martyrs. Indeed, the commemoration of his death came at the same time that the royalists were mourning their “royal martyr,” making the rising cult around Lepelletier even more important. It also allowed extremists to argue that reason was not enough to save the Republic but that force should be met with force, or the Republic could be overwhelmed.

A bust of Lepelletier was subsequently placed alongside those of **Voltaire**, **Rousseau**, and **Marat** at the Temple of Reason. The painter Jacques-Louis **David** was commissioned to paint the scene showing Lepelletier's death at the hands of Pâris, although the picture was later destroyed by Lepelletier's daughter. Louis Michel Lepelletier was interred at the Panthéon, the fourth person to be buried there, but his body was later removed from this site. His daughter, Suzanne Louise, was then “adopted” by the French nation. *See also* The Mountain.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### *Lèse-Nation, Crime de*

A French phrase meaning “injury to the nation,” *crime de lèse-nation* was coined in 1789 by analogy to the existing phrase *lèse-majesté*, injury to the king. The phrase asserted that sovereignty was derived from the French people through the elected **National Assembly** instead of the monarchy.

The phrase was first used by the moderate Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, the comte de **Mirabeau**, in June 1789. His speech to the National Assembly caused a minor sensation. *Lèse-majesté* was any act of speech that threatened the king or his authority, and those charged with the crime faced penalties for treason. When Mirabeau coined *lèse-nation* in a public speech, the phrase was more than a witty remark; it was a challenge to the concept of treason and therefore to the basis of the French state.

As the National Assembly gathered power, it officially declared *lèse-nation* a crime in October 1789, and prosecutions were handed over to the Châtelet of Paris, a criminal court that had existed under the **ancien régime**. The term did not gain currency immediately; cahiers distributed in 1789 referred to the same crime variously as *lèse-patrie*, *lèse-liberté*, and *lèse-humanité*.

The majority of trials before the Châtelet ended in acquittal, as the monarchical sympathies of the court protected those charged with *lèse-nation*. In August 1790, the Châtelet was suppressed, and *lèse-nation* cases were tried in the regular courts. Only one person was executed for *lèse-nation* between 1789 and 1792. After the execution of **Louis XVI** that year, the term lost much of its rhetorical value and fell out of usage. *See also Cahiers de Doléances*.

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### **Les Invalides**

*See* Hôtel des Invalides

### **Lessart, Claude Antoine de Valdec de (1742–1792)**

A French politician whose name is sometimes spelled “Lessart de Waldec” or “Delessart,” Clause Antoine de Valdec de Lessart was born in Guienne. Young Lessart moved to Paris, where he befriended Jacques **Necker**. Serving as the master of requests (*maître des requêtes*) since 1768, Lessart served under Necker in the 1780s and was in charge of financial administration. He was one of the mediators



(*commissaires conciliateurs*) employed by Necker to bring the three estates in the **Estates-General** closer together. Lessart obtained the post of controller general of finance on December 4, 1790, and served as the last controller general of finance until this post was transformed into that of minister of public contributions and revenues, which Lessart held between April and May 1791.

On January 25, 1791, Lessart also became minister of the interior (January–November 1791), retaining his post of minister of public contributions. His tenure was marked by his increasing clash with republican elements, who criticized his moderate political views, support of the king, and sympathies toward the **émigrés** and refractory priests. On September 18, 1791, he was appointed interim minister of marine and colonies (September–October 1791) and then succeeded Armand Marc, comte de **Montmorin de Saint-Hérem**, as the minister of foreign affairs on November 29, 1791. He tried in vain to prevent war through negotiation with foreign powers, but these efforts made him unpopular and subject to charges of treason from the **Girondins**, which resulted in his arrest on March 10, 1792. Lessart was sent to be tried by the High Court at Orléans and remained in captivity for the next five months. After the storming of the Tuileries on August 10, 1792, he was escorted to Paris, but en route from Orléans, he was murdered at Versailles with other prisoners on September 9, 1792.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Lettres de Cachet

See Cachet, Lettres de

## *Levée en masse*

The *levée en masse* was a crucial decree issued during the **French Revolution** on August 23, 1793. By that time, **France** was at war with most of Europe and the situation was desperate. During the **Reign of Terror**, when France confronted both foreign invasion and civil war, the **National Convention** changed the nature of conflict by declaring that the entire nation was at war. Civilians would be increasingly involved in the struggle. The decree required all individuals to help in the war effort and requisitioned vital materials. The government conscripted all unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 24 and forbade the use of substitutes. Even so, the wealthy and the educated did evade the requirement. The decree also ordered men to manufacture and transport munitions and supplies, and women to make uniforms and tents, and children bandages. Even the very old were to join in the effort by inciting patriotic fervor. The government also requisitioned saddle horses and converted buildings into barracks. In part because of this decree, the French mustered an army of nearly 800,000 men. Unlike those who had earlier volunteered for the war effort, those conscripted could not return home after the first campaign. Many of those conscripted became professional soldiers. Although highly effective as a means of raising armies, the decree evoked some opposition in the countryside

and added fuel to the counterrevolution. Conscription remained in effect throughout the remainder of the Revolution and the **Napoleonic Wars**.

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LINDA S. FREY AND MARSHA L. FREY

### **Lexington and Concord, Actions at (1775)**

The actions at Lexington and Concord marked the commencement of military hostilities between **Britain** and her American colonies. They were the culmination of the **Massachusetts Whigs'** nine months of resistance to the **Coercive Acts**. On the evening of April 18, 1775, Massachusetts governor General Thomas **Gage** dispatched 1,800 British regulars from their encampment on Boston Common and instructed them to seize the munitions he believed Massachusetts's extralegal Provincial Congress had hidden 22 miles away in Concord. Colonel Francis Smith led the British expedition from Boston across the Charles River, where it disembarked at Phipps Farm, west of Charlestown. En route to Concord, the British entered Lexington just after daybreak on April 19.

Before the British departed Boston, though, Dr. Joseph Warren (a member of the Committee of Safety that functioned as the Massachusetts Provincial Congress's executive body whenever the Congress was recessed) sent Paul **Revere** and William Dawes to Lexington. Each carried the same message for John **Hancock** and Samuel **Adams**—that the British were marching toward Lexington with the intent, Warren believed, to seize them to stand trial in Britain for treason. (Gage had just received these exact instructions from Lord Dartmouth, but having lived in the American colonies for the previous decade, Gage believed the arrest of Hancock and Adams would only incite further violence in the province.) As Dawes and Revere traveled toward Lexington (and then Concord, where they were joined by Dr. Samuel Prescott), they triggered the network of messengers that the Provincial Congress had recently established to alert surrounding towns' militias of British troop movements. The Provincial Congress had made preparations for this notification in the event the British marched from Boston. Hancock and Adams, leaders in Massachusetts's Provincial Congress, were lodging temporarily in Lexington at the home of Hancock's cousin, the Reverend Jonas Clarke. When alerted by Dawes and Revere that they might be in danger, Hancock and Adams fled several miles north to a more remote farmhouse and then soon after departed to join the Second **Continental Congress** in Philadelphia.

The British had never intended to stop in Lexington but were forced to when confronted by the town's minutemen, already mustered on the village green. The advance guard of British light infantry, led by Major Pitcairn, assembled themselves into firing formation. After the minutemen, led by Captain John Parker, refused the British order to stand down and disperse, someone fired a shot. Eyewitness accounts conflict regarding which of the belligerents fired this "shot heard 'round the world." The ensuing exchange of gunfire left 8 provincials dead and 10 wounded. The British then proceeded the six miles to Concord, where 150 militiamen opposed them at the North Bridge.



American Minutemen being fired upon by British troops on Lexington Common in April 1775. *Library of Congress.*

The British destroyed sacks of flour in a pond, but during the preceding 48 hours all provincial munitions had already been removed. Based upon patriot observations of British longboat movements in Boston Harbor that revealed that a major expedition was imminent, the Provincial Congress had ordered all provincial munitions removed (from Concord and elsewhere) and stored safely farther away.

During their 20-mile retreat from Concord to Charlestown (and ultimately Boston), the British suffered more than 250 casualties at the hands of minutemen acting as snipers, who were organized by Colonel William Heath in a mobile “ring of fire.” Only the arrival of British reinforcements with artillery, led by Lord Percy, and a negotiated cease-fire in Charlestown saved the British expedition from catastrophe. *See also* Suffolk Resolves.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

## Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity

The trinity of liberty, equality, and fraternity is widely recognized as the motto of several republics, starting with the **French Revolution** of 1789. But it is not clear who put the political triad forward. It might have been French archbishop and writer François de Fénelon (1651–1715) who linked the three concepts at the end of the seventeenth century. The revolutionary Maximilien **Robespierre** might have been responsible for bringing the phrase into use in the eighteenth century, when he praised the ideal of fraternity and associated it with the organization of the **National Guard** at the 1790 Festival of Federation in Paris. There is also a possibility that Antoine-François Momoro (1756–1794), a printer and Cordelier activist, persuaded the Paris mayor to inscribe, “Unity, indivisibility of the Republic; liberty, equality

or death” on the facades of public buildings. The French National **Constituent Assembly** instituted the phrase as a political ideal in the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** in 1789.

It is often argued that each of the concepts came into use during a separate period of the French Revolution. Until August 10, 1792, the date of the storming of the Tuileries Palace and the following radicalization of the Revolution, liberty was emphasized more than two other values. During the second stage, equality reigned triumphant until the violence and dictatorship of the **Reign of Terror** in 1793–1794 put fraternity on the pedestal as a means of establishing political and social unity and afforded the revolutionary motto with a more radical meaning. But despite the different emphases placed on the values, at any stage of the Revolution, the rhetoric of the triad was at work.

The political philosophy of the eighteenth century defined good government as being founded on liberty. Starting with Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), political philosophy was preoccupied with maximizing individual liberty and protecting it from arbitrary power. Before the French Revolution, liberty was understood as the freedom *from* (to be free is not to be constrained), not the freedom *to*. Revolutionary rhetoric contrasted the notion of liberty with “liberties,” **privileges** and exemptions provided by the **ancien régime**, and extensively criticized the notion of liberty as the absence of external constraints or barriers. Considering citizens not as abstract individuals but as active social beings, revolutionary ideologues argued that the liberty of every individual was directly dependent on the state of liberty of the society as a whole and everyone’s work for the common good. The Constituent Assembly of 1789 established man’s natural and inalienable rights of liberty, property, safety, and resistance against oppression. Considering liberty to be a universal principle of individual expression, the deputies emphasized that the spirit of liberty required individuals to participate in public life for the common good. The declaration was meant to protect both the liberty of the state from the pressures of special interests and the independence of citizens from possible abuses of the state. During the period of the Terror, while the definition of the government as founded on the free will of individuals remained the same, the idea of people as inseparable from the government was developed to suppress the enemies of the Revolution.

In contrast with the Christian idea of equality that justified existing inequality as part of God’s will, the notion of equality used in the Revolution was based on the universal human capacity for reasoning and moral judgment. Criticizing the inequality of privilege, revolutionary ideologues insisted that equality was dependent on the services provided by every individual for the common good. The Constituent Assembly made several steps toward establishing the equal participation of individuals in the general will and the equalization of legal status by allowing individuals to enter into contracts and to buy, sell, and marry, and even toward the equalization of political rights (except for the rights of women, religious minorities, men who did not own property, and slaves). Recognizing equal human rights and creating the basis for a legal equality, the Assembly did not abandon the principle of property and never created political equality.

Fraternity was included in the triad of revolutionary values later than liberty and equality. It was introduced into the official language in a supplementary article to the Constitution of 1791, which fostered fraternity as a result of national holidays. As opposed to liberty and equality, fraternity is not a right but rather a moral

obligation, a virtue to be cultivated. However, fraternity was central to revolutionary rhetoric, as it established humanity within each person's individuality, added social rights to individual rights, and inscribed the social revolution in the logic of the political revolution. The suggestion of all men as brothers and the abolition of difference served the idea that fraternity could lead the way in overcoming threats of social disintegration. But when coupled with terror and violence, fraternal group associations acquired an air of extremism, which was later reflected in conspiracy theories that linked **Jacobins**, **philosophes**, and Freemasons.

After 1789, the French actively used the triad in everyday life. Each of the three values was associated with particular symbols. Liberty was customarily pictured as a young female warrior later called by the common name of Marianne (Marie-Anne). She usually wears the so-called Phrygian cap, which was worn by the freed Roman slaves, and carries a pikestaff to symbolize the idea that liberty is worth fighting for. Equality is also depicted as a young woman, often with children carrying the symbols of the three orders of the ancien régime: the agricultural tools of the **Third Estate**, the Bible of the clergy, and the crown of the **nobility**. Another interpretation of equality associates it with the scales of justice to symbolize equity, or the builder's level to reflect equality. The female figure of fraternity traditionally holds a staff surmounted by a Gallic rooster and is often followed by two children leading a lion and a sheep tied together. Fraternity is also represented by fasces of grain. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Cordeliers Club; Political Clubs (French).

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NATALIE BAYER

### Lindet, Jean-Baptiste Robert (1746–1825)

Jean-Baptiste Robert Lindet was a prominent French revolutionary and a member of the **Committee of Public Safety**. Born at Bernay in Normandy, Lindet studied law and began his career as a lawyer in his hometown. His brother Robert-Thomas **Lindet** embarked on a clerical career and would eventually become a constitutional bishop and member of the **National Convention**. Thomas's success helped his brother Robert, who was elected *procureur-syndic* of the district of Bernay, and, in September 1791, deputy for the Eure to the **Legislative Assembly**. Lindet initially sided with the **Girondins** but disagreed with them with respect to King **Louis XVI**, and in 1792, he produced the famous *Rapport sur les crimes imputés à Louis Capet*, which listed the king's alleged crimes. Lindet later voted for the king's execution in January 1793. Lindet proved a most efficient member of the Financial Committee and played an important role in shaping economic policies during the Revolution, calling for strict economic controls in order for the Republic to survive.

In 1793, Lindet was instrumental in the establishment of the **revolutionary tribunals** and supported the **Mountain** against the Girondin faction. In April 1793, he was elected to the first Committee of Public Safety, and in June, he was elected to

the Great Committee of Public Safety. He showed remarkable administrative skills in provisioning armies and directed the central economic planning carried out by the committee. In the summer of 1793, he was sent on several missions to the provinces (notably to Lyon), where he pursued conciliatory policies and sought to overcome deeply felt political divisions. Although he never publicly clashed with Maximilian **Robespierre**, Lindet did oppose the more radical policies of the National Convention and disapproved of the **Reign of Terror**. He essentially remained a moderate and refused to support the persecution and eventual execution of Georges **Danton** and his supporters.

Although he often supported the opponents of Robespierre, Lindet was not involved in the conspiracy that led to Robespierre's downfall on 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794). His moderate stance helped him avoid the **Thermidorian Reaction**, and he remained on the Committee of Public Safety until October 1794. He was nevertheless denounced and persecuted in May 1795, though, with the help of his brother Thomas, he was able to receive an amnesty in October. In 1796, Lindet was accused of participating in the conspiracy of François **Babeuf** but was acquitted. After being elected to the **Council of Five Hundred**, he briefly served as minister of finance under the Directory in June to November 1799. Following General **Napoleon** Bonaparte's **Brumaire** coup in November 1799, Lindet refused to serve during the **Consulate** and the Empire and spent the rest of his life practicing law in Paris. Upon the Bourbon restoration, he was proscribed as a regicide but was later allowed to return to France.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Lindet, Robert-Thomas (1743–1823)

Thomas was the elder and less famous brother of Jean-Baptiste Robert **Lindet**. Nonetheless, he enjoyed a significant revolutionary career typical of many well-educated, ambitious parish priests like himself, rising to political as well as ecclesiastical prominence in the 1790s before quitting the church altogether. Born in the Norman town of Bernay, Thomas took a theology degree at the Sorbonne before returning to his native province as a curé. In 1789, he was chosen to represent the clergy of the bailliage of Evreux at the **Estates-General**, where he strongly supported the **Third Estate** and extensive reform of the church. This ensured his election as constitutional bishop of the new department of the Eure, but not at the expense of his political career. Both he and his younger brother were elected as representatives of the Eure to the **National Convention**, where the pair associated with the Montagnards and voted for the king's execution.

While Robert went on to achieve truly national stature as a key member of the **Committee of Public Safety**, Thomas was content with a lower profile. Having spoken out in favor of ending clerical celibacy, he set a personal example by getting married at the end of 1792, and then a year later, he renounced his priestly vows and resigned his bishopric. For the most part he lived in his brother's shadow, helping organize Robert's defense when he fell under suspicion after the **Thermidorian**

**Reaction** and was subsequently implicated in the **Babeuf** conspiracy. Thomas served as a deputy in the Council of Ancients from its inception and was reelected in 1798, only to be denied his seat as a former Jacobin, though by now he was much more moderate. He returned to his native town and, like his brother, refused to rally to **Napoleon** Bonaparte after the coup d'état of **Brumaire**. He held no further public office, but as a defrocked and married ex-priest, he was denied a religious burial when he died in 1823. *See also* Jacobins; The Mountain.

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MALCOLM CROOK

### Linguet, Simon-Nicolas Henri (1736–1794)

A French journalist and lawyer, Simon-Nicolas Linguet was a political thinker whose views annoyed many in the **Enlightenment** and for which he was exiled, imprisoned, and guillotined.

Born on July 14, 1736, at Reims, Simon-Nicolas Henri Linguet was the son of the former assistant principal of the Collège de Beauvais, Paris, who had been exiled for his support for Cornelius Otto Jansen. Linguet was educated at the Collège de Beauvais, and having a brilliant academic career there, he was welcomed into the company of the **philosophes**. However, Linguet started to be critical of the philosophers of the period.

In 1762 Linguet wrote a history of the period of Alexander the Great, *Histoire du siècle d'Alexandre le Grand*. He was sharply critical of the Macedonian king, arguing that Nero had caused fewer deaths but was openly reviled. Two years later he wrote *Le fanatisme des philosophes* (The Fanaticism of the Philosophes), which attacked many of the ideas highlighted during the Enlightenment. In 1767, in his *Théorie des lois civiles* (Civil Theory), he argued that slaves in a market economy, as property, were treated better than factory workers, who could be replaced when injured. He also felt that some non-European despots treated their poor better than did those in Europe. Linguet also wrote a number of history books, including one on the Roman Empire and another on the Jesuits.

On the political front, Linguet was an advocate in the Paris **Parlement** of 1764. His constant criticisms of other lawyers saw him expelled from the French Bar in 1775, whereupon he went overseas, visiting Switzerland, the **Netherlands**, and **Britain**. On his return he was so critical of the duc de Duras that he was jailed in the Bastille from 1780 until 1782. On his release, he wrote of his experiences in prison and then went to Brussels, where he initially found favor with **Joseph II** but then supported the Belgians against Hapsburg rule. In 1791 he presented a petition to the **National Assembly** to protect the people of Saint-Domingue, a French West Indian colony. He then retired but was arrested for his support of **Austria** and Britain. He was guillotined in Paris on June 27, 1794. *See also* French Revolution.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Liverpool, Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl of (1770–1828)

Robert Banks Jenkinson, second earl of Liverpool, was first lord of the treasury and prime minister of **Britain** for almost 15 years in the early nineteenth century. He was born on June 7, 1770, and his mother died about a month later. His father, a rising politician, anticipated a great future for Jenkinson, took a keen interest in his upbringing, and later intervened to advance his career. Jenkinson left Charterhouse in 1787 and joined George Canning at Christ Church, Oxford. Jenkinson became a leading member of a debating society for awhile, though he allowed himself few distractions from his studies. He continued his education in Paris in 1789 and witnessed the storming of the **Bastille**. On his return home, John Reeves, a barrister, tutored him in law, and Jenkinson graduated the following year.

Jenkinson was elected a member of **Parliament** for Rye in 1790, but before he took up his seat he returned for a time to the Continent. As he enjoyed a privileged youth and became engaged in public life at an early age, it is hardly surprising that a certain arrogance can be detected in his character at this point. His maiden speech in 1792 was well received, and Jenkinson became a loyal government friend and an active parliamentarian. He firmly supported the war and received a senior commission in the militia in 1794. In 1795, Jenkinson married Lady Louisa Theodosia Hervey, but he never had any children. Two years earlier he had been appointed to the Board of Control, and in 1799 he became master of the mint and was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council.

Two years later, William **Pitt** the Younger resigned, and his successor as premier, Henry Addington, struggled to cobble together an administration from those Pittites who were still willing to serve. Lord Hawkesbury, as Jenkinson became known when his father was granted an earldom in 1796, found himself appointed to the cabinet as foreign secretary. He sought to maintain good relations with Pitt and his distinguished predecessor at the Foreign Office, Lord Grenville. Grenville's goodwill toward Hawkesbury, however, was lost over the terms of peace with **France** in 1802. Although Hawkesbury sought to cultivate a better understanding with the United States, the resumption of hostilities on the Continent the following year served to ensure that his profile was not raised for the better during his stint at the Foreign Office. His speeches, however, continued to make a good impression, and Hawkesbury was moved to the upper chamber in 1803.

In 1804, Pitt returned as premier. Hawkesbury became home secretary and took responsibility for a wide range of issues, including arranging Nelson's funeral in 1806 and discouraging loitering and other anti-social nocturnal practices in St. James's Park in 1808. His position as home secretary brought him into closer contact with **George III**. Hawkesbury was instrumental in persuading Addington to make peace with Pitt and join the administration in 1805. After Pitt died in January 1806, Hawkesbury turned down the king's offer of the premiership, instead succeeding Pitt to the coveted title of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and entering opposition. The Ministry of All the Talents fell in 1807, however, and Hawkesbury returned to the Home Office under the titular leadership of the Duke of Portland.



Spencer Perceval took over from the dying Portland in 1809, and Lord Liverpool, who had succeeded to his father's title in 1808, was appointed secretary of state for war and the colonies. His main concern was the military campaign in the Iberian Peninsula. Liverpool sought to keep Wellington supplied with troops, money, and other essentials. He even thought at one point in 1810 that there would be no objection if, in order to strengthen the land defenses, the army chose to relieve the neighboring fleet of their guns and assigned sailors to man them. While the secretary of state was prepared to caution and liked to be kept informed, he never tried to dictate to the general. Liverpool sought to maintain a close relationship with Wellington, conveying news, satisfying requests, resolving differences, and acting with kindness. In one such incidence, Liverpool sensitively informed Wellington in one letter in 1810 that his young sons had recovered from an infection.

Perceval was assassinated on May 11, 1812, and Liverpool was chosen to succeed him. The prince regent was obliged to consider other arrangements when the government lost an important vote in the House of Commons, but no stronger candidate emerged, and Liverpool was appointed on June 8. The prime minister acted to stabilize his administration by reshuffling the cabinet, allowing ministers to adopt their own position on the divisive issue of Catholic emancipation, and calling a general election. In 1814, Liverpool succeeded in bringing the Canningites back into government and brought to a close the inconclusive war fought ostensibly over maritime rights with the United States that had begun in 1812. His early leadership was dominated by the final stage of the conflict with **France**, and Liverpool carefully monitored the handling of the negotiations at Châtillon, Vienna, and Paris by the foreign secretary, Viscount Castlereagh. Liverpool kept his head when **Napoleon** escaped from exile in 1815 and played a central role in ensuring the emperor's permanent captivity after the **Battle of Waterloo**.

Liverpool continued as premier for over 10 more years. He was faced with some major issues during this time, including the consequences of the prince regent's failed marriage, and, on a personal level, the death of his beloved first wife. He resigned in 1827 after suffering an incapacitating stroke, and he died on December 4, 1828. Liverpool has been a much-neglected figure in British political history and has only recently begun to receive the coverage and credit that he deserves from historians.

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JAMES INGLIS

### **Livingston, Philip (1716–1778)**

A signatory of the **Declaration of Independence** in 1776, Philip Livingston was born in 1716 in Albany, **New York**. He received a good education and graduated from Yale College in 1737. Livingston became a prominent member of the Dutch Reformed Church and a leading philanthropist in New York City. He founded a chair of divinity at his former college in 1746 and in 1771 he helped to establish the

New York Hospital. His wealth derived from two main sources: a mercantile business that flourished greatly during King George's War (1744–1748) and the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and substantial land holdings. Livingston also served his community as a politician, first at city level. He was elected to the provincial assembly in 1758 and rose to become Speaker 10 years later. He attended the **Stamp Act Congress** in 1765.

Although he was a casualty of a political campaign that saw moderate legislators removed from office in 1769, Livingston was elected to the First **Continental Congress** in 1774. That same year he wrote a tract expressing very grave doubts about independence. Nevertheless, he supported the war effort, sitting on important congressional committees and enabling the federal authorities to meet their financial obligations.

Livingston entered his state's **senate** in 1777 and found his fears about the impact of independence seemingly confirmed. He judged that only seven fellow legislature members had the capacity to fulfill their public responsibilities. There had been some talk of him running for state governor the previous year. Livingston died in 1778 at the Second **Continental Congress** in York, **Pennsylvania**. He had raised a large family, having married in 1740.

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JAMES INGLIS

### Livingston, William (1723–1790)

William Livingston was a popular political writer, governor of **New Jersey** during the **American Revolutionary War**, and a delegate to the United States **Constitutional Convention** in 1787. Born in Albany, Livingston was a scion of one of New York's most powerful landed families. Following his studies at Yale from 1737 to 1741, he became a lawyer and went into partnership with William Smith Jr. and John Morin Scott, with whom he began publishing the *Independent Reflector* in 1752. This weekly newspaper was at the forefront of Whig colonial opposition to developing British imperial policies, and Livingston, a Presbyterian, strongly defended colonial religious pluralism and the separation of church and state, and he unsuccessfully mobilized **New York** opinion against the establishment of King's College (now Columbia) as an Anglican institution. He had more success in the 1760s, however, as an opposition leader in the colonial assembly, a writer under the pseudonym of "American Whig," and a leading opponent against the establishment of an Anglican bishopric in the colonies.

Never happy as a public figure, Livingston retired from politics and moved to New Jersey in 1772. His intention of following the quiet pursuits of a country gentleman were disrupted by the final imperial crisis, and he was elected to both the First and Second **Continental Congress** but later vacated his seat in favor of a commission in 1775 to organize the New Jersey militia. Elected governor in 1776, Livingston

played a pivotal role in supporting General George **Washington's** war effort and the attempt to clear his much-divided state of **Tories**. An extremely popular and democratically inclined patriot, Livingston was elected annually to the governorship until his death in 1790. During the war Livingston proved to be an effective propagandist, and his many letters and essays to the *New Jersey Gazette* did much to bolster patriot opinion against the frequent British raids upon the state.

Livingston led the New Jersey delegation to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. As a fairly silent Founding Father, he initially supported the Paterson Plan but eventually came to accept the Great Compromise. Livingston's most important role in the Convention was as the chairman of the committee that considered the divisive issue of slavery. An early and vocal abolitionist, Livingston nonetheless accepted the need for compromise over the acceptance of the continuation of slavery and supported the three-fifths clause in the Constitution. It was his hope, however, that the abolition of the slave trade projected for 1803 would gradually undermine the institution, and he vigorously supported the ratification of the Constitution in New Jersey. One of the most talented of the Founding Fathers, Livingston died on his New Jersey estate in July 1790. *See also* Livingston, Philip; Loyalists; Newspapers (American); Paterson, William; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Smith, William; United States Constitution.

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RORY T. CORNISH

## Locke, John (1632–1704)

John Locke was an English physician and philosopher. His political theory and empirical epistemology greatly influenced democratic thought in the eighteenth century in the United States and in Europe.

Locke was born in Wrington in Somerset, in the southwest of England, on August 29, 1632. His father was a Puritan who fought for **Parliament** as a captain with Alexander Popham. John Locke was sent to Westminster School in London at age 15. However, Westminster School was still royalist. After finishing school, he entered, at the age of 20, Christ Church, one of the colleges of Oxford University. Unhappy with the medieval curriculum, he developed an interest in experimental science and medical dissection, which was then being practiced in private homes. In the process Locke was substituting experimentalism for some of the royalist traditionalism and Puritan moral enthusiasm he had learned in his youth. Graduating in 1656, Locke remained at Oxford until 1658, when he received his master of arts degree.

When the Restoration occurred in 1660, Locke was supportive of the return of the monarchy. His political concerns at this time were more about anarchy and despotism than about liberty. He was supportive of Thomas Hobbes's views on the absolute power needed by the monarchy, although he never acknowledged any influence from his reading of Hobbes's *Leviathan*.

In 1661, Locke was elected to teach Greek at Christ Church. He met Robert Boyle, the father of modern chemistry. With others, they sought to follow Francis Bacon's experimental philosophy. His examination of things led him to read René

Descartes' writings and to the beginning of his speculations on inquiry. In 1665, Locke took the opportunity to travel as a secretary to a mission to Brandenburg. His visit to the town of Cleves, where Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists lived tolerantly of one another, left in him an impression of the possibilities of religious toleration.

In 1666, Locke returned to study medicine at Oxford, where he began an association with Thomas Sedenham, a pioneer in the clinical method. That year he met Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, the future first earl of Shaftsbury and Lord High Chancellor. After operating on a cyst on Ashley's liver in 1668, Locke became Lord Ashley's lifelong personal physician and friend. Ashley would make it possible for Locke to have tenure at Christ Church without taking holy orders. In 1668 Locke was elected a member of the Royal Society and moved to London, where he lived with Lord Ashley.

In 1668 Locke became secretary to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina Colony. He was a major influence in the drafting of the colony's proprietary charter. His draft charter sought to avoid the dangers of democracy; however, the charter was never adopted because it was unacceptable to the colonists. He was also appointed a secretary to the Council on Trade and Plantations.

As Locke's patron, Lord Ashley rose in the English political scene to become Lord Shaftsbury and the lord chancellor; so, too, did Locke as his secretary rise politically. However, after Shaftsbury discovered that King Charles II had made a secret pro-Roman Catholic treaty (the Treaty of Dover) with the French, he unhappily left the king's service.

In 1680 Locke read Sir Robert Filmer's books, *Patriarchia* and *Inquest*. Soon thereafter he started writing his *First Treatise on Civil Government* in opposition to Filmer's divine right theory of monarchy. The occasion was the Exclusion Controversy, in which **Whigs** like Shaftsbury attempted to exclude the Duke of York (James, the brother of King Charles II) from the succession. The execution of Algernon Sidney by Charles due to his outrage at Sidney's book *Discourses Concerning Government* probably convinced Locke that silence was the better part of valor. Shaftsbury's attempt to use the Popish Plot failed. In 1682, Shaftsbury fled England when his plotting against the king was discovered. He died in Holland in early 1683 from a stomach ailment. Following the Rye House Plot in June of 1683, Locke fled England for the **Netherlands**, where for a time he hid under the name of Dr. van der Linden. In November 1684 the king ordered Locke fired from his post at Oxford.

In 1685, King Charles II died suddenly, to be succeeded by his brother James. James II was a Roman Catholic, but without an apparent heir other than the Protestant Mary of Orange. However, the birth of a son in 1688 alarmed Protestants. William of Orange sailed for England with Admiral Herbert and a fleet of 400 ships. Landing at Brixham on November 5, 1688, they marched on London under Lord Mordaunt with little opposition. James II fled to **France**.

Locke returned to England in 1689. He declined a diplomatic appointment to the elector of Brandenburg for reasons of health but accepted the post of commissioner of appeals, which would provide an income but would require lighter work. Locke's major publications appeared in 1689. He published *The First Treatise on Civil Government*, which refuted Filmer's divine right arguments. He also published *The Second Treatise on Civil Government* to justify the Glorious (Bloodless) Revolution. And he published *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which rested knowledge upon empirical experience.

In 1691 Locke, suffering from a lung ailment, moved to Oates, the country estate of old friends, Lord and Lady Masham. That year he published *Some Considerations of the Consequences of Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of the Money*. It discussed the problem of interest rates and the practice of clipping small bits off coins. Locke viewed recoinage as a partial solution.

In 1692, Locke edited much of Robert Boyle's *History of the Air* for posthumous publication. He also wrote his *Third Letter for Toleration*. In 1695, Locke's influence played an important part in the repeal of the Act for the Regulation of Printing. His major arguments were directed at liberty for trade. He also published *The Reasonableness of Christianity*. The anonymously published work was accused of advocating Socinianism; however, he published an effective refutation.

In 1696, Locke took a job with the Board of Trade, a new board that was seeking to deal with the problems of rising Dutch competition, piracy, colonial administration, and other matters. Despite his ill health, he played the key role in developing the board's policies. He also began but never finished *The Conduct of the Understanding*.

In 1697, Locke's report on *Pauperism* for the board was considered, but not adopted. Locke's solution to the problem of beggars was imprisonment, impressment into the army or navy, or deportation. The report demonstrates that Locke's liberalism was limited. In 1700, Locke resigned after Lord Chancellor Somers was implicated in the Captain Kidd piracy scandal. He retired to Oakes, where he wrote to friends, responded to critics, and received visitors. He died on October 28, 1704.

Locke's political philosophy is principally found in the *Two Treatises on Civil Government*. *The First Treatise* attacked the claims of Sir Robert Filmer (in *Patriarchia*) that the king ruled by divine right. More important are his *Second Treatise on Civil Government* and *Letter on Toleration*, both published in 1689.

Locke taught that governments originated from a primal social contract. Locke, like other social contract theorists, posited a political fiction called the "state of nature." He argued that originally people lived in a primitive state of nature without any government in accordance with the "law of nature," which was a natural knowledge of the Golden Rule. However, in the state of nature there were a few "bad souls" who violated the natural rights of others. To protect their rights, people joined together to create a government. This was done by means of each person agreeing to join in a social contract in which each would give up certain rights to better protect the more fundamental rights of life, liberty, and property.

The social contract creates a government that is assigned the duty of protecting natural rights. Laws are made legitimate by the fact that the government is created by the will of the people or consent of the governed. By consenting to the social contract, each person is obeying himself or herself, because the law is really each person's will. This is the case even if someone has not expressly agreed to the social contract. By staying in a society and not "voting with one's feet," a party to the social contract has given tacit agreement. The social contract then makes government legitimate.

Locke also advocated religious toleration. At the time, he excluded Roman Catholics, perhaps because the Edict of Nantes, which gave protection to French Protestants, had been revoked in 1689. Lockean political philosophy is very explicitly present in the **Declaration of Independence**. Thomas **Jefferson** argued that people are born with natural rights, including the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Moreover, governments exist to protect the rights of individuals.

If the government fails to protect the civil liberties or rights of the people, there is not only a right to revolution, but a duty to change the **government**.

Locke's influence on James **Madison**, one of the major architects of the **United States Constitution**, was enormous. Constitutionalism, the idea that governments are to be limited by a written document that assigns limited powers, is also Lockean. The Constitution's Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments quote Locke's *Second Treatise* directly in the statements that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property" without due process of law. For Locke, property was a natural right. Locke believed in the labor theory of value. The theory posits that property is created when a person mingles his or her human energy as labor with materials. To take a person's property then is to steal a part of his or her labor.

Many American states wrote constitutions putting the state's bill of rights as the first article of the constitution. In succeeding parts of the constitution, it is stated that a government is created to defend life, liberty, and property, thus demonstrating that a limited government derived from a social contract exists to protect the civil liberties and rights of the people.

Locke's *An Essay on Human Understanding* (1689) has been continually read since it was published, often as a kind of neutral statement about how people acquire knowledge. As far as Locke is concerned, the method for deciding what is knowledge—that is, what is good, true, and beautiful—creates winners and losers in the political realm. Ultimately there is either an epistemological chaos like that of the Sophists, which Socrates opposed, or there is an authority that determines what is good, true, and beautiful. For Locke, the empirical method, which was driving the scientific revolution, was the authority for deciding what it a fact, what is true, and was therefore the basis for authoritative decisions made by liberal science as the basis of liberal politics.

Locke's influence in Europe was great: his thought dominated the age of **Enlightenment**. He was a physician, a scientist, a philosophical psychologist, and an advocate of tolerance who viewed human nature as essentially good. For the **philosophes**, Locke was the thinker of the age. The French philosophes and intellectuals like François Marie **Voltaire** and Denis **Diderot** read, discussed, and eventually acted upon Locke's thought, so preparing the way for the **French Revolution**.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

### **Loménie de Brienne, Etienne Charles (1727–1794)**

Etienne Charles Loménie de Brienne was a French statesmen and cardinal. As a member of the **Assembly of Notables**, and later finance minister, Brienne was an important figure in the so-called aristocratic pre-revolution that preceded the

Revolution of 1789. In an attempt to resolve the financial crisis that faced **France**, Charles Alexandre de Calonne, *contrôleur-général* (1783–1788), proposed a land tax to be administered by provincial assemblies (August 20, 1786). In 1787, Calonne attempted to secure the adoption of this reform by bypassing the recalcitrant **parlements** and convoking an Assembly of Notables. Calonne's tax reform was rejected by the Assembly, and he was dismissed by the king on April 8, 1788. A member of the Assembly of Notables and an enemy of Calonne, Brienne replaced him in May 1788. Brienne offered a diluted version of Calonne's plan, but it was also rejected by the Assembly.

With the notables unable to deal with the crisis, the king dissolved the Assembly on May 25, 1788. Brienne's failure to address the financial crisis forced the king to convoke the **Estates-General** in July 1788. No longer able to raise tax revenue and borrow money, the French government was effectively bankrupt by August 1788. As a result, the king dismissed Brienne on August 25, 1788, and recalled Jacques **Necker**. Brienne was created a cardinal in December 1788 and accepted the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** on January 30, 1791, one of the few French prelates to do so. Arrested by the revolutionary government on February 18, 1794, he died in prison soon thereafter.

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### London Corresponding Society (LCS) (1792–1799)

During the 1790s, the London Corresponding Society (LCS) was an important radical organization that focused on the issue of parliamentary reform.

In January 1792, Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, met with eight other men in the Bell Tavern in London to establish a society committed to campaigning for annual general elections and universal manhood suffrage. Hardy had been influenced by publications by the Society for Constitutional Information, by recent events in France, and by Thomas **Paine's** *Rights of Man*. The London Corresponding Society was to be the most influential and the longest-surviving radical society in Britain in the 1790s. Its most active members included some men of superior education, including lawyers, physicians, journalists, and merchants, but most members were artisans, mechanics, shopkeepers, and tradesmen. The three largest categories of known members were shoemakers, weavers, and tailors. Many of these skilled workers educated themselves and associated with and learned from leading middle-class reformers. The society sought "numbers unlimited" and tried to attract quite humble men by charging an entrance fee of one penny and a weekly subscription of one penny.

It is difficult to establish the exact size of the LCS, as membership fluctuated greatly due to government repression. Many more men attended meetings than paid their dues, and more paid their dues than were recorded as voting at meetings. The society claimed a membership of 5,000 at its height, but the most reliable estimates suggest there were only about 650 regular members in 1792–1793. Even these numbers declined in late 1794, but they rose substantially to perhaps 3,000

active members in later 1795. Numbers held up quite well until mid-1796 but then slumped thereafter. The society met in divisions or branches that were expected to recruit 30 members; new divisions were supposed to be created once numbers in a single division reached 46, but some divisions were much larger until government legislation against seditious meetings in late 1795 forced division meetings to remain below 50 members. Divisions met once per week, usually in a public house between the hours of 8 and 10 P.M. Each division elected a delegate to attend the weekly meetings of the general committee, and the general committee elected a smaller executive committee composed of a secretary (who was also the treasurer), a president, and six ordinary rotating members. The first secretary was Thomas Hardy, and the first president was Maurice Margarot; both were replaced after their arrests.

The society frequently made new rules and constitutions to ensure that meetings were orderly, but spies often infiltrated meetings. Divisions often discussed reform publications and recent developments at home and abroad and debated political issues. The general committee coordinated the activities of the divisions, received reports from delegates, and read the society's correspondence. The executive committee looked after correspondence, petitions, and addresses. On several occasions the society organized large out-of-doors public meetings that attracted thousands of participants and spectators. The society prepared petitions and addresses for reform, corresponded with other reform societies, and even sent an address to the French Convention in Paris. It printed *The Politician*, an eight-page weekly, between December 13, 1794, and January 3, 1795, and the *Moral and Political Magazine*, a 48-page monthly, between June 1796 and May 1797. Although the society seems to have been more influenced by older ideas about England's ancient constitution than by the natural rights theory of Thomas Paine, its activities and its membership greatly alarmed the authorities. Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerrald were arrested at the convention of radicals in Edinburgh in late 1793, were convicted of sedition, and were transported to Botany Bay. Thomas Hardy, John Thelwall, and others were arrested and charged with treason in 1794 but were acquitted at the end of the year. The so-called Two Acts of 1795 were aimed at the LCS and other popular radical societies. In 1797, some of the most active members became more militant and advocated arming members. On April 18 and 19, 1798, nearly 30 leading members were arrested, including the whole general committee. A small number of committed members continued to meet until **Parliament** passed an act banning the LCS by name.

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H. T. DICKINSON

## London Revolution Society

The London Revolution Society was one of the most important organizations associated with the development of radical politics in Great **Britain**. Formed in



1688 by individuals of differing religious persuasions, including both Anglicans and Dissenters, the London Revolution arose out of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, a conspiracy to overthrow King James II that was led by his son-in-law William of Orange-Nassau and some British parliamentarians. While the events of 1688 led to a new evolution in the relationship between **Parliament** and the monarchy, as made evident by the 1689 Bill of Rights, which created a constitutional monarchy, it also led to the forming of opinions and to the creation, chiefly within the larger towns and cities of Britain, of societies that sometimes adhered to militant political perspectives about the development of society at large. Along with the Old Revolution Club, which was formed in Edinburgh in 1689, the London Revolution Society was among the most prominent of these organizations.

Gaining much momentum from the hundred-year anniversary of the Glorious Revolution, by the late 1780s, the societies such as the one in London, as well as others in places such as Sheffield, not only celebrated British religious and civil liberties as created by the Glorious Revolution but furthermore publicly vilified slavery and public abuses of power. By 1788, the London Revolution Society had not only forged links with similar organizations in Britain, such as the Cambridgeshire Constitutional Society, but established a manifesto consisting of some basic principles: the abuse of power justifies resistance; civil and political authority is drawn from the people; the independence of the press is to be safeguarded by the guarantee of liberties such as freedom of the press and private judgement; and trials will include a jury and shall consider the liberty of conscience. Such virtues, perceived the London Revolution Society, were apparent not only in the Glorious Revolution but also in contemporary France during the early days of the **French Revolution**. Consequently the London Revolutionary Society began a communicative process consisting of written dialogue with the French **National Assembly**. Despite the increasingly cruel and bloody nature of the revolution in France in the subsequent months, the London Revolutionary Society maintained a cordial tone with the National Assembly, much to the chagrin of many members of the public and the British political establishment at that time.

Condemned in many quarters by the society's apparent ignorance of the violent events in France, the London Revolutionary Society came to the attention of the British government, led by William **Pitt** the Younger, which was increasingly concerned by the violence in France and its potential to spill over into Britain. As a result of events in France and its perceived threat to British social stability, societies such as the London Revolutionary Society came under heavy censure, which to a great extent restricted its activities and those of similar groups. However, by the early 1790s, the effects of the French Revolution and the censure of radical groups had led to the reorganizing of British radical elements and the growth of new organizations like the **London Corresponding Society** (1792), which sought to encourage parliamentary reform. However, Pitt's government was equally harsh on the new sort of activism, passing new laws that removed civil liberties (e.g., the removal of habeas corpus, a legal writ that protects against arbitrary imprisonment, in 1794), and banning radical society meetings (e.g., by the Seditious Meetings Act in 1795 and Corresponding Societies Act, 1799). *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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IAN MORLEY

### **Louis XVI, King of France (1754–1793)**

The king of **France** and Navarre from 1774 until 1791, and so-called king of the French from 1791 until 1792, Louis XVI was executed in 1793, his death ending the tradition of absolutist monarchical rule in France. He had initially tried to be a reforming king, keen to avoid foreign wars. After French involvement in the **American Revolutionary War**, the government went even further into debt, and he proved unable to deal with the escalating situation that led to the **French Revolution**.

Born on August 23, 1754, Louis XVI was the second son of Louis, dauphin of France (1729–1765), the oldest son and heir of Louis XV (1710–1774; reigned 1715–1774). His mother was Marie-Joséphine of Saxony, daughter of Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, Prince-Elector of Saxony, and king of Poland. He grew up as the second son of the dauphin—and living very much in the shadow of his older and more precocious brother, the Duke of Bourgogne; another brother, the duc d’Aquitaine, died in infancy. Bourgogne, however, died in 1761, leaving Louis,



King Louis XVI of France. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

known as the duc de Berry, the oldest surviving son of the heir to the throne. The duc de Berry's father, the dauphin, supervised the education of his children, and Berry was taught by the duc de La Vauguyon (Antoine de Quélen de Caussade). As a boy, Berry became interested in history and geography, developed an excellent memory, and became reasonably fluent in Latin and English. The dauphin died in 1765, and his widow (Berry's mother) soon afterward.

As the heir to the throne of France, the duc de Berry was now groomed to govern the country. He also had two younger brothers—the comte de Provence (later **Louis XVIII**) and the comte d'Artois (later Charles X). From a young age, Berry kept a diary, but his observations were largely factual and devoid of any philosophical observations. It was during this period that Berry became keen on hunting and also fascinated by locksmithing. On May 16, 1770, when Berry was 15, he married **Marie Antoinette**, the 14-year-old daughter of Francis I of **Austria** and Empress Maria Theresa. However, they experienced initial problems with their marriage, which are thought to have been the consequence of Berry's inability to consummate the marriage for several years due to his phimosis, which made full intercourse impossible. The marriage was generally a happy one, and the couple had four children: Marie Thérèse Charlotte, born in 1778; Louis Joseph Xavier François, born in 1781; Louis Charles, born in 1785; and Sophie-Beatrix, born in 1786.

Following the death of Louis XV on May 10, 1774, Berry was proclaimed king of France and Navarre as Louis XVI. It was a particularly difficult time in French history, and Louis inherited a troubled government. He had come to the throne with great hopes for his country, but involvement in several expensive and destructive wars, as well as his maintenance of a decadent court at Versailles, put the nation heavily into debt.

Louis was always a voracious reader. Most of his books—many in English—were nonfiction, and his diary entries, which show a fondness for seemingly trivial details such as the number of times he left Versailles—852 days since his marriage—indicate his dislike of imagination in favor of the simple recording of facts. Louis XVI was also keen not to flagrantly overspend, a practice for which his two royal predecessors had become notorious. Instead, he bought some of his books second-hand, rarely wore lavish clothing, and tried to reduce the number of his servants. He was always ready to pay off the debts incurred by his younger brothers.

On an administrative level, Louis XVI worked extremely hard to keep conversant with matters of state. He spoke awkwardly, however, and lacked the presence that his grandfather and great-grandfather had displayed when they attended functions. This was combined with some personal austerity and a degree of hesitation, which made him indecisive on some crucial occasions. Determined to introduce reform and gain popularity, Louis recalled the Paris Parlement, restoring its authority in August 1774, and granting concessions that he hoped would be the start of a good working relationship between the ruler and his people. Anne-Robert-Jacques **Turgot** managed to introduce a far better transport system in the country, but the fact that coach passengers missed Sunday church services led to some opposition from clerical interests. Many of the king's other attempts at reform were regularly stymied by interest groups. Moreover, aristocratic reaction to these reforms destroyed attempts to stabilize the finances of the country.

One of Louis's early pronouncements stated that “honesty and restraint must be our policy”—a statement that was taken by many to suggest opposition to France's involvement in costly foreign wars. However, this policy came to an end with the

start of the **American Revolutionary War** in 1775. There was pressure in the French army to become involved in the war in the hope that France might be able to redeem itself militarily after its defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Eager not to incur Britain's wrath, Louis decided instead to supply money secretly to help the rebellion against the British. Although the French denied such involvement, the British remain suspicious of French designs. Gradually, with more and more French officers eager to fight in North America, the Marquis de **Lafayette** emerged as the man who might be able to lead the French against their traditional enemy. Plans were drawn up to widen the war in the hope of recapturing former French colonies in the West Indies, and possibly even **Canada**, but Louis was eager to restrict the war to Britain's 13 colonies, which had declared their independence on July 4, 1776.

It was not long before France became openly involved in the conflict, largely in naval terms, for the purpose of regaining some of its lost prestige. For several years the British had the upper hand, but when the rebels, with French troops, surrounded the British at **Yorktown**, what little remained of their authority in the 13 colonies all but came to an end. For Louis it should have been a triumph. However, the British were keen on arranging a peace treaty with the Americans in order to continue their war against the French. Worse still, Louis had spent 18 million livres on the war, which would eventually have dire consequences for the economy. After the war, he decided to lend an additional 6 million livres to the Americans at 5 percent interest, which was 2 percent less than what it had cost him to borrow the money in the first place. Initially, it placed only minor pressure on the French budget. Within a few years it would become a major financial problem.

The marriage of Louis XVI to Marie Antoinette had been controversial due to the fact that she was from Austria, a traditional enemy of France. However, it was a loving union, and both Louis and his queen were devoted to their children. Marie Antoinette nevertheless strongly wished to play a more active role in matters of state, which her husband refused to allow for personal as well as political reasons. This upset her and caused her to find solace in the performing arts, parties, and eventually friendships with many people, including Count Axel Fersen, a Swede with whom she was later romantically attached. For the first years of her marriage, Marie Antoinette lived a relatively carefree existence, but by the 1780s she had become very modest in her dress and her expenditure. Indeed, her favorite hobbies were embroidery and running a small dairy farm on the grounds of Versailles.

The appointment by Louis XVI of Jacques **Necker**, a Swiss banker, to sort out the finances of the kingdom was initially very successful. The king liked Necker, and the financier decided that the only way of achieving his objective was to be open about the country's finances. To this end, he published his famous *Compte rendu*, which, for the first time in France, revealed the finances of the kingdom on paper, in this case for the year 1780. It revealed that the economic position was good, and renewed public confidence in the strength of the economy gave it added buoyancy. However, he had added a small rider in the text that the finances excluded the cost of the **American Revolutionary War**, and this was to prove to be a significant omission. Necker then proposed an overhaul of the entire taxation system of France. He briefly lent a copy of the secret report to the comte de Provence, Louis XIV's younger brother (later **Louis XVIII**). Monsieur, as the younger brother of the French king was styled, printed some copies of it, and the reaction to the report resulted in the swift fall of Necker.

Necker's replacement was Charles Alexandre de Calonne, who was appointed controller general of finance in 1783. His aim was to encourage industry in France, and he used French government grants to seek to persuade manufacturers to operate in the countryside and thus raise the overall wealth of the nation. Practical projects included the establishment of a school of mines in 1783 and the hiring of some British entrepreneurs to run factories in France. Louis visited some of these projects in 1785, donating generously to the various hospitals that he visited. The king also wanted further scientific discoveries; he was very supportive of the Montgolfier brothers, who pioneered hot-air ballooning, and he supported Jean François de La Pérouse's expedition to the Pacific, even going so far as briefing La Pérouse himself. The porcelain factory at Sèvres turned out some of the most beautiful pieces produced during the eighteenth century, in a style now recognized as Louis XVI. Louis was also keen on the subject of religious toleration, and in 1787, against considerable pressure from the Roman Catholic Church, he placed an edict before the Parlement granting civil rights to the 70,000 Protestants in France.

Louis still had many enemies from among the elite. His cousin Henri, the duc d'Orléans, hated him and was determined to undermine his authority. While the king lived a relatively modest and family-orientated lifestyle, Orléans lived in a world of gambling and debauchery. He flagrantly overspent, which forced him to sell some of his properties to be turned into commercial premises. However, the main attack on the king would come from a swindle known as the Diamond Necklace Affair. Marie Antoinette had made two purchases of diamonds from a jeweler called Böhmer, partially paying for the second one with a swap of some of her old jewelry. She also told him that she would not be buying any more. Böhmer had already borrowed heavily to make a large diamond necklace, which he hoped to sell to Louis XV in the hope that it might be given away to one of his mistresses. Louis XV, however, had died, and Böhmer now hoped that Marie Antoinette might buy it. The queen declined to purchase it, as did the queen of **Spain**, leading Böhmer to plead with Marie Antoinette. Again she declined, and when Louis XVI offered to buy it for her as a present, she also declined, saying that it was an extravagance at a time of government austerity measures.

The matter might have ended there, had not a lady called Jeanne de la Motte decided to use subterfuge to get the necklace for herself. Using Cardinal Rohan as a middleman, perhaps unwittingly on his part, she forged some letters that claimed to be from the queen, directing the cardinal to take charge of the necklace and give it to one of her servants, who was actually a friend of Jeanne de la Motte, in disguise. The necklace was handed over in exchange for a forged letter that contained a promise of payment in four installments. When the first payment fell due, the jeweler was persuaded to delay his approach for payment a few days, while many of the people involved fled the country. Cardinal Rohan was arrested and charged before the Paris Parlement due to his involvement in the plot but was acquitted. Although historians have been highly praiseworthy of the manner in which both Louis and his wife handled the incident after rumors claiming that the queen had masterminded this theft spread around Paris, the rumors were believed by many and severely damaged the queen's reputation.

The continued aristocratic reaction against attempts by Louis XVI to introduce reforms split the royal advisers. Many wanted to push through the reforms in spite of resistance from the **nobility**, and when Calonne faced pressure to abandon his

economic and administrative reforms in 1787, Louis decided to break the impasse by summoning the **Estates-General** in July 1788, with representatives of the clergy, nobility, and commoners, for the first time in 175 years. This was the move that was to lead to the **French Revolution**.

Initially it seemed as though Louis might be able to establish a form of a limited constitutional monarchy in France, but aristocratic intransigence and the king's desire not to confront or offend anybody in person were going to cause major problems. He could have formed an alliance with the middle class, but instead his advisers became more and more influenced by reactionaries favored by his youngest brother, the comte d'Artois, who championed tax exemptions for the clergy and the nobility.

When the Estates-General met, they were keen to resolve issues that had been held in abeyance in the 175 years since their last meeting. Louis became unwilling to surrender all his powers to them, but facing a battle with the aristocracy, and also being undermined by Orléans and others, his ideas, which might have resulted in a constitutional monarchy, were brushed aside. On July 14, 1789, when crowds stormed the **Bastille**, Louis, whose diary entries were often mundane, wrote a single word, *Rien*, indicating that he had not caught anything while hunting that day. He was gradually to be outmaneuvered at court by Artois, and radicals in Paris were to gain increasing support in the Estates-General. When Louis did not support moves like the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, his more radical opponents started to portray him as a reactionary. There were also claims that he was being badly advised at Versailles, and on October 6, 1789, a large crowd marched to Versailles and took—somewhat roughly—to the Tuileries Palace in Paris.

Louis became nervous and was quickly caught up in a conspiracy involving Marie Antoinette's friend Count Axel Fersen, who organized an escape attempt from the capital. It was well planned, but the king did not want to travel in a separate carriage from his wife and children. As a result they had to escape in a single large and much slower carriage on June 21, 1791. This slowed them down considerably, as did Louis waving fondly to people on the route, a few of whom recognized him. At **Varrennes**, French cavalry stopped the coach before it reached the nearby border with the Austrian Netherlands and brought the royal family back to Paris. This destroyed the credibility of the king in the eyes of many Frenchmen, who began to believe he was conniving with the Austrians.

In late 1791, the king still hoped that he might be saved by foreign powers but also managed to urge the **Girondins** to continue their plans for war with Austria, in the hope that a military defeat would result in the fall of the politicians who opposed him. At this point Louis started becoming intransigent. He rejected plans by moderates to support the Constitution of 1791 and started to try to undermine it. War with Austria broke out in April 1792, and when the Duke of Brunswick threatened to destroy Paris if the royal family was harmed, the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries on June 20, 1792, killing the king's Swiss Guard. Subsequently, the royal powers of the king were suspended by the **Legislative Assembly**. In August, the royal family was imprisoned, and on September 21 the First Republic was proclaimed.

Two months later evidence was found that Louis was involved in counterrevolutionary plotting, some involving foreign powers, and on December 3, the rulers of the new French Republic decided that the king should be put on trial, together with his family, to face charges of treason. Louis had behaved with great dignity during the storming of the Tuileries in June and also defended his record when brought

before the **National Convention** on December 11 and 23. His fate, however, was sealed.

The Girondins tried to save Louis from execution, but on January 18, 1793, the Convention voted by 387 to 334 to execute the king, with 26 of the former content to consider a delay to the execution, and 13 of the latter in favor of a death sentence that could then be suspended. A final vote on the execution was held on the following day, January 19, and went 380 for and 310 against. On hearing the sentence, Louis asked for a stay of execution for three days and a priest. Henry Edgeworth, an Irish-born priest, spent the night with the royal family and accompanied the king on January 21 for the two-hour journey to the **guillotine**. The executioners opened the door of the carriage and transported the king at the Place de la Révolution (now the Place de la Concorde), where Louis climbed out of the tumbrel and mounted the scaffold. Facing the crowd, the king declared: "I am innocent of the crimes of which I am accused. I forgive those responsible for my death and I beg God that the blood you are about to spill will leave no stain on France." *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## **Louis XVII, King of France (1785–1795)**

Louis XVII was the titular king of **France** from 1793 to 1795. Louis Charles, the second son and third child of **Louis XVI** of France and his wife, **Marie Antoinette**, was born on March 27, 1785. He had his own household with a huge retinue of servants and lived in a refined royal environment. The death of his elder brother, Louis Joseph, on June 4, 1789, made Louis Charles the dauphin (i.e., heir to the throne of France).

The royal family became prisoners after they were forcibly removed from Versailles. Louis XVI was guillotined on January 21, 1793. Louis Charles was proclaimed king by the future **Louis XVIII**; this sealed his fate. Marie Antoinette, Louis Charles, and his sister Marie Thérèse Charlotte were incarcerated in the Temple Tower. Upon the king's death they were separated to prevent any royalist attempts to free the royal family. He was taken to his father's room in the Temple Tower, a floor below his mother's rooms. She could hear his inconsolable crying but never saw him again. Marie Antoinette was moved to the Conciergerie, put on trial for treason, and executed on October 16, 1793. Louis Charles was forced to declare that his mother had sexually mistreated him. He never knew his mother's fate.

Louis Charles was attended by Antoine Simon, a failed shoemaker who abused and humiliated the young boy. The child was derisively referred to as "Capet" and taught to act like a commoner and hate his royal heritage. Louis Charles was sometimes kept in solitary confinement. At one time his cell was not cleaned out for eight months. His suffering was reported in the press, but curiously, those who wrote about it were found dead. Although he received slightly better treatment toward the end of his life, his health deteriorated; following his death, his body was found to be full of scabies and tumors, and his distended stomach indicated that he

scarcely ate. Louis Charles died of tuberculosis on June 8, 1795, at the age of 10. The attending physician who performed the autopsy secretly removed the boy's heart, which was smuggled out of the prison. The body was thrown into a mass grave.

In 2000, DNA tests based on comparisons with Marie Antoinette's hair determined that the heart belonged to Louis Charles. His heart was reburied in Saint Denis Basilica on June 8, 2004, in the presence of many descendants of the Bourbon royal family and the former French **nobility**.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### **Louis XVIII, King of France (1755–1824)**

King of **France** and Navarre between 1814 and 1824, Louis XVIII's reign was officially backdated from June 8, 1795, when the young **Louis XVII** died in prison, and was briefly interrupted by **Napoleon's** escape from Elba in 1814. Louis-Stanislas-Xavier was the fourth son of Louis-Ferdinand de France, dauphin de Viennois, and Maria Josepha Carolina Eleonora Franziska Xaveria, Princess of Saxony; grandson of King Louis XV; and brother of kings Louis **XVI** and Charles X.

As a child, he received the title of comte de Provence, and after the death of his elder brothers and the accession of Louis XVI in May 1774, he was considered heir presumptive (referred to as Monsieur) to the king before the latter had sired children. In 1771, the comte de Provence married Marie Josephine Louise of Sardinia (1753–1810), but their marriage was childless.

During the **French Revolution**, the comte de Provence was among the first **émigrés** to leave **France** on June 21, 1791, and was known for his die-hard reactionary stance against the revolutionary authorities. He was living in exile in Westphalia when his brother, Louis XVI, was executed and, on January 28, 1793, declared himself a regent for his nephew, the 10-year old Louis Charles (**Louis XVII**), who never ascended the throne. After Louis XVII's death in 1795, the comte de Provence claimed the throne and issued a declaration from his exile in Verona that renounced all the changes introduced in France since 1789. His refusal to compromise effectively doomed the hopes of moderate constitutional monarchists in France.

After General Napoleon Bonaparte's coup in 1799, Louis XVIII had hopes that Napoleon would follow the example of General Monck, who had restored Charles II on the English throne in 1660. He wrote two letters to Napoleon suggesting the restoration of the monarchy. Napoleon, however, dashed his hopes in a brief letter that advised Louis XVIII not to attempt to return to France. "To do so, you must trample over a hundred thousand dead bodies. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France, and history will render you justice." Louis XVIII spent the next 14 years traveling under the quasi-incognito name of the comte de Lisle, throughout Europe, living for a time in Prussia and Russia before settling in **Britain**. He watched anxiously as the power of Napoleonic France expanded to dominate all of Europe, dashing hopes of a Bourbon restoration. However, Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia in 1812 revived such hopes, and in 1814, Louis XVIII was able to secure his claim to the French throne after the Allied powers defeated Napoleon



and entered Paris at the end of March. Louis was offered the throne of France in accordance with the constitution promulgated by the **Senate** on April 6, 1814, and was acknowledged as king in the Declaration of Saint-Ouen on May 2.

Restored on the French throne, Louis XVIII resisted pressure from the more reactionary groups (the **ultras**) and agreed to grant the charter of 1814 (*Charte Constitutionnelle*), which, in effect, established a constitutional monarchy, with the king charged with executive powers and a right of legislative initiative, but with legislative powers concentrated in a bicameral legislature consisting of a Chambers of Peers and of Deputies. Nevertheless, the Bourbon monarchy proved unpopular with the French people, as it tried to reverse some of the achievements made during the period of the Revolution and the Empire. Such policies even prompted the famous remark that the Bourbons had learned nothing yet remembered everything while in exile. Within a year of their restoration, the Bourbons were forced to flee Paris on the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba.

Louis XVIII returned following the Battle of **Waterloo** in June 1815 but struggled to shrug off the accusation that he had been brought back in the baggage train of the victorious Allies. The Second Restoration also witnessed the start of the **White Terror**, in what amounted to royalist persecution of Bonapartists and their sympathizers. Still, Louis XVIII was able to follow a cautious, moderate policy despite pressure from the ultraroyalists. Indeed, he attempted to counterbalance the influence of the ultraroyalists, who dominated the Chamber of Deputies, by appointing moderate government leaders, such as the duc de Richelieu and Elie Decazes. He supported the measures directed against the *Chambre Introuvable* (a Chamber of Deputies that was elected in 1815 and dominated by ultraroyalists), which resulted in its dismissal and led, through electoral changes, to its replacement by a more liberal chamber in 1816. Nevertheless, the king found it difficult to cooperate with the liberals as well, and in 1820, he supported the election of more conservative deputies. He turned to those of the reactionary camp after the murder of his nephew, the duc de Berry, on February 14, 1820. Although a new ultra ministry, headed by the comte de Villèle, was established, Louis XVIII still managed to moderate some of the reactionaries' policies. He died on September 16, 1824, and was buried in the Saint Denis Basilica. He was succeeded by his brother, the comte d'**Artois**, who became Charles X. *See also* Brumaire, Coup d'Etat de.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Louvet de Couvray, Jean-Baptiste (1760–1797)

Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray was the son of a paper merchant. His father intended him for a career in small business. An enthusiastic reader of literature, he worked in a bookshop, peddling pornography, and began writing his celebrated three-part novel, *Les amours du Chevalier Faublas*, the first part of which appeared in 1787. The book—a combination of pornography and praise for Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**—was commercially successful.

Louvet returned to Paris at the start of the **French Revolution** and began his political career as a member and later president of the Lombards Section. He was also a journalist, contributing to the daily *Journal de Paris*, and in March 1792, he became the editor of *La Sentinelle*, a newspaper funded by Jean Marie **Roland**. Elected to the **National Convention** by the Loiret department, he sided with the Girondin faction. In the trial of **Louis XVI**, he voted for the appeal to the people, and death with a suspended sentence. After the insurrection of June 2, 1793, he fled Paris for Normandy to avoid the guillotine. In March 1795, he was reinstated in the Convention, where he became a member of the **Committee of Public Safety**, a drafter of the Constitution of 1795, and a member of the **Council of Five Hundred**. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Girondins; Newspapers (French).

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LEIGH WHALEY

### Lovell, James (1737–1814)

Born in Boston in 1737, Lovell attended Harvard University. For 18 years after his graduation, Lovell's life was uneventful, though he did rise to local acclaim as both a mathematician and a linguist. As a result of his talents as an orator, Lovell was selected to deliver the first address commemorating the **Boston Massacre** on April 2, 1771. His speech placed him firmly in the rebel camp, and when the fighting started in 1775, the British closed his school. At this time, Lovell acted as a spy for the patriot cause and was brought on charges for this activity and taken to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Upon his release from British captivity, Lovell returned to Boston. In recognition of his past dedication and sacrifice for the Patriot cause, Boston elected Lovell to the Second **Continental Congress**, where he took his seat on February 4, 1777. Lovell served in the Congress until 1782. During his tenure with that body, Lovell's skills with language, specifically French, were put to use in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. He often interviewed newly arrived French officers in search of commands for the **Continental Army**. On this topic, Lovell agreed with **Washington** that the number of foreign officers in Continental units was already too high.

Still, on a number of other key issues, Lovell disagreed quite profoundly with Washington. As a result, Lovell became a staunch supporter of Horatio Gates and may even have participated in the Conway Cabal, an attempt to remove Washington from command of the army. He was reportedly involved in several other schemes, all revolving around securing a position as one of the emissaries to France.

His duties in public life took their toll, and Lovell left the Continental Congress in 1782, thereafter holding a number of local government posts in **Massachusetts**. He was appointed customs collector for Massachusetts in 1788 and chief naval officer for Boston and Charlestown in 1789. He died in 1814.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

## Lowndes, Rawlins (1721–1800)

A **South Carolina** politician during the colonial through early national periods, Rawlins Lowndes was born on the Caribbean island of St. Christopher (St. Kitts) to a prominent planter family and immigrated to Charleston when his father, Charles Lowndes, ran into financial problems. His financial woes deepened when Charles Lowndes committed suicide in 1736. Rawlins Lowndes became the ward of Robert Hall, South Carolina's provost marshal (chief law enforcement official), which placed Lowndes in a de facto apprenticeship. Lowndes became provost marshal in 1745 and was elected representative to the Commons House of Assembly from St. Paul's Parish in 1749. After serving on a number of high-profile committees, Lowndes relinquished his offices and sailed to **Britain** to improve his health, education, and social graces in 1754.

In late 1755, he returned to South Carolina to take his position as a leading member of the colony's aristocracy. During the French and Indian War (1756–1763), Lowndes chaired a number of House committees involved in financing the colony's war effort. Lowndes was elected Speaker of the House in 1763. In 1765 he oversaw the selection of the colony's delegates to the **Stamp Act Congress**. As the crisis worsened, Lowndes was maneuvered out of the speakership for his moderate views. However, he was appointed chief judge as royal administration broke down. In 1772 he was again elected Speaker of the House and led the assembly in reigning in the power of the executive branch. In 1774 and 1775 Lowndes was elected to the revolutionary General Committee, the Provincial Congress, and the Council of Safety. After helping design South Carolina's constitution, Lowndes became the state's second president in 1778. After the fall of Charleston, Lowndes accepted British protection and was forced to petition the state to restore his **citizenship** after the war. In 1787 he was elected to the General Assembly, where Lowndes led the state's opposition to the **United States Constitution** and was the only low-country Anti-Federalist. His final public office was that of intendant (mayor) of Charleston. *See also* Constitutions, American State.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON

## Loyalists

Loyalists, also known as **Tories**, King's Men, and royalists, were British North American colonists who before and during the **American Revolutionary War** (1775–1783) argued for, fought for, or otherwise believed that the 13 American colonies should remain part of **Britain**. The colonists who argued for, fought for, or believed in the **American Revolution** were called revolutionaries, Whigs, Rebels, Congress Men, Americans, and Patriots (the name favored by the American revolutionaries). Though most Loyalists joined the Patriots in criticizing British actions and sanctions such as the 1765 **Stamp Act** and 1774 **Coercive Acts** (known as the Intolerable Acts in the colonies), the Loyalists believed that peaceful protests and working through the established British colonial governmental system provided the colonies more stability, security, and economic advantage than did independence.

Some Loyalists also asserted that rebellion against the law of God and the ruler God had placed over the colonists, **George III**, was simply wrong.

Loyalists accounted for 20–33 percent of the revolutionary-era American colonial population of 2.5 to 3 million, or 500,000 to a million people. The lower number is generally accepted as more accurate. The higher number is based on John **Adams's** more rhetorical estimate that one-third of the colonists were Loyalists, one-third were Patriots, and one-third were neutral. Neutrality was permitted, and most of **Canada** remained neutral throughout the war.

Loyalists spanned the geographical, ethnic, occupational, and economic spectra. Though they were spread throughout the colonies, Loyalists did not compose the majority in any colony. They were most numerous in **New York**—where they comprised almost 50 percent of the population—**Pennsylvania**, and portions of the South, especially the **Georgia** backcountry, **Virginia**, and the Carolinas, while they were least represented in New England. Though colonists of German descent composed the largest ethnic group (28%) within the Loyalist ranks, perhaps due in part to the pacificism of some German religious sects and the king's German lineage, other heritages were also represented, among them colonists from Scotland (23%), England (18%), **Ireland** (12%), Holland (8%), **France** (5%), Wales (4%), and, at 2 percent each, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden. Most British colonial officials and Anglicans (members of the Church of England), both parishioners and clergy, remained loyal to the Crown, as did the Quakers, some Native Americans, and many indentured servants and black slaves and colonists who were promised freedom in return for their loyalty. Like the Patriots, the Loyalists counted in their number farmers, backwoodsmen, artisans, shopkeepers, wealthy merchants in the cities, and large landholders.

Though the British controlled the major cities, such as New York City and Long Island (1776–1783), Boston (1775–1776), Philadelphia (1777), Savannah (1778–1783), and Charleston (1780–1782), or at least at various times portions of them, 80–95 percent of the population lived in areas controlled by Patriot state governments. The British withdrew all their colonial governors during the war, save for in coastal Georgia (1779–1782). The British war plan assumed that Loyalist communities and leaders throughout the colonies would remain politically active and that a large Loyalist military force would be raised to supplement the British regulars in the conflict. Neither hope materialized. Loyalists who actively supported or fought for the Crown after the war began in 1775 were treated as traitors by their fellow colonists. The Loyalist Benedict Arnold's name became synonymous with being a traitor. Many other Loyalists simply abandoned their property and fled.

The total number of Loyalist soldiers and militiamen who fought for or with British forces during the course of the war did not exceed 50,000. Approximately 19,000 of these Loyalists joined the British Army, forming 50 units divided into 312 companies. The largest contingent of Loyalist soldiers and militiamen, numbering between 15,000 and 23,000, came from New York.

Some Loyalists began to flee the colonies as early 1774, with the major exodus beginning in March 1776. In total, 70,000–100,000, or 3–4 percent of the Revolutionary War-era British North American colonial population, eventually fled. Notable among these were Benjamin **Franklin's** illegitimate son William **Franklin** (1731–1813), the last colonial governor of **New Jersey**, and the prominent colonial portraitist John Singleton Copley (1738–1815). William Franklin's departure so

strained his relationship with his father that the elder Franklin left nothing of his estate to his son.

The wealthiest Loyalists, some 7,000, fled to Britain. Approximately 46,000 Loyalists fled to **Canada**, of which 30,000–32,000 initially went to Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia proved inhospitable to most of the Loyalists, especially the black Loyalists, who by 1784 numbered 3,000, and approximately a third of whom emigrated to Sierra Leone by 1792. Approximately 14,000–16,000 of the immigrant Loyalists moved from Nova Scotia to colonize New Brunswick, which was carved from Nova Scotia for them in 1784 by Sir Thomas Carleton. Approximately 10,000 of the Loyalists were given 200 acres of land each to settle in the Kingston and Niagara area of Quebec's Eastern Townships, in what is today Ontario (then Upper Canada). Both Ontario and New Brunswick were thus created as refuges for the Loyalists. An unknown number of Iroquois and other Native American Loyalists, perhaps in the thousands, also settled in Canada, with some of the Iroquois forming the nucleus of what would eventually develop into Canada's largest First Nations reserve, the Six Nations of the Grand River.

Approximately 17,000 Loyalists from the Carolinas and Georgia, some with their slaves, fled to the British colonies in the Caribbean (Bermuda; the Bahamas, Abaco, Eleuthera, and Exuma; the Turks and Caicos Islands; Jamaica; Dominica; and St. Lucia). Others fled to British-controlled Florida, while some went as far south as Brazil.

Despite many hardships, most Loyalists—between 300,000 and 400,000 is the generally accepted number—remained in America through the Revolution. The sanctions imposed on Loyalists varied among the 13 revolutionary state legislatures as did the severity of local sanctions and the treatment of Loyalists and their families. Samuel Seabury's colonial ministry as an Anglican priest effectively ended after his Loyalist activities led to his arrest (November 1775) and six weeks' imprisonment in New Haven, Connecticut. The revolutionary state legislatures and the Continental Congress passed laws forbidding Loyalists from holding public office, and confiscating or heavily taxing Loyalist property. Some Loyalists were not allowed to liquidate or sell their property, and some were not allowed to sue their debtors. Others were denied the ability to practice their professions as physicians, lawyers, or educators, and most were denied the right to vote. **William Smith** (1727–1803), an Aberdeen-born teacher and leading American educator, Anglican/Episcopal clergyman, and author, was suspected of being a Loyalist sympathizer during the American Revolutionary War because of his views on the use of the state military forces and his marriage to Rebecca Moore, the daughter of Loyalist William Moore (1735–1793). Smith was the first provost (1755–1779; 1789–1791) of one of the University of Pennsylvania's precursor institutions (Academy and College of Philadelphia) and served on the college's board of trustees (secretary, 1764–90; president, 1790–91). When the revolutionary legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania revoked the college's charter (1779) and formed a new college, the University of the State of Pennsylvania, Smith was not appointed to the board or made provost of the new institution.

Many Loyalists were imprisoned for varying periods of time, and some were publicly humiliated (e.g., tarred and feathered). Some Loyalists were physically attacked, and a small but unknown number were killed by mobs. Two Loyalists are known to have been officially executed in Philadelphia during September 1775,

and in October 1775 the Second **Continental Congress** authorized the arrest of any Loyalist deemed dangerous to “the liberties of America.”

Some Loyalists chose to leave after the end of the Revolution in 1783, and a small percentage of those who had fled returned. Some of the states continued to deny Loyalists the right to vote and continued to encumber their rights, property, and livelihoods, though circumstances greatly improved when the **United States Constitution** was adopted in 1789, the same year that William Smith was returned to his position as provost. Seabury was elected the first Episcopal bishop of **Connecticut** and **Rhode Island** (1783) despite his infamous pre-revolutionary pro-British pamphlets entitled *Farmer's Letters*.

In 1783, the Treaty of Paris ended the American Revolutionary War and charged **Congress** with the restoration of any Loyalist property that had been confiscated. The enforcement of this restoration was mixed. The heirs of prominent Loyalists such as **Pennsylvania's** William Penn and **Maryland's** George Calvert received appropriate compensation for their lost property. However, Loyalists in other areas of the country did not fare as well. The property holdings of many Loyalists in the Carolinas and in New York had already been subdivided into smaller properties, and few of them received any compensation. The British continued to seek adequate compensation or outright restoration of confiscated Loyalist properties and made it an issue when the Jay Treaty, which sought to resolve issues remaining after the Treaty of Paris, was negotiated in 1794. The British tried again to resolve the issue in 1796 by agreeing to withdraw from its forts on the Ohio frontier, but the Americans reneged on the agreement after the British withdrew.

Those Loyalists who swore allegiance to the Crown before the Treaty of Paris were designated United Empire Loyalists, and their descendants were given the right to affix the initials U. E. to their names. The United Empire Loyalists became prominent in Canada, and their immigration formed the foundation of the English-speaking Canadian population that predominates in Canada outside Quebec. All remaining state and federal laws encumbering the former Loyalists were removed following the War of 1812.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
THE AGE OF POLITICAL  
REVOLUTIONS AND NEW  
IDEOLOGIES, 1760-1815**





# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AGE OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS AND NEW IDEOLOGIES, 1760–1815

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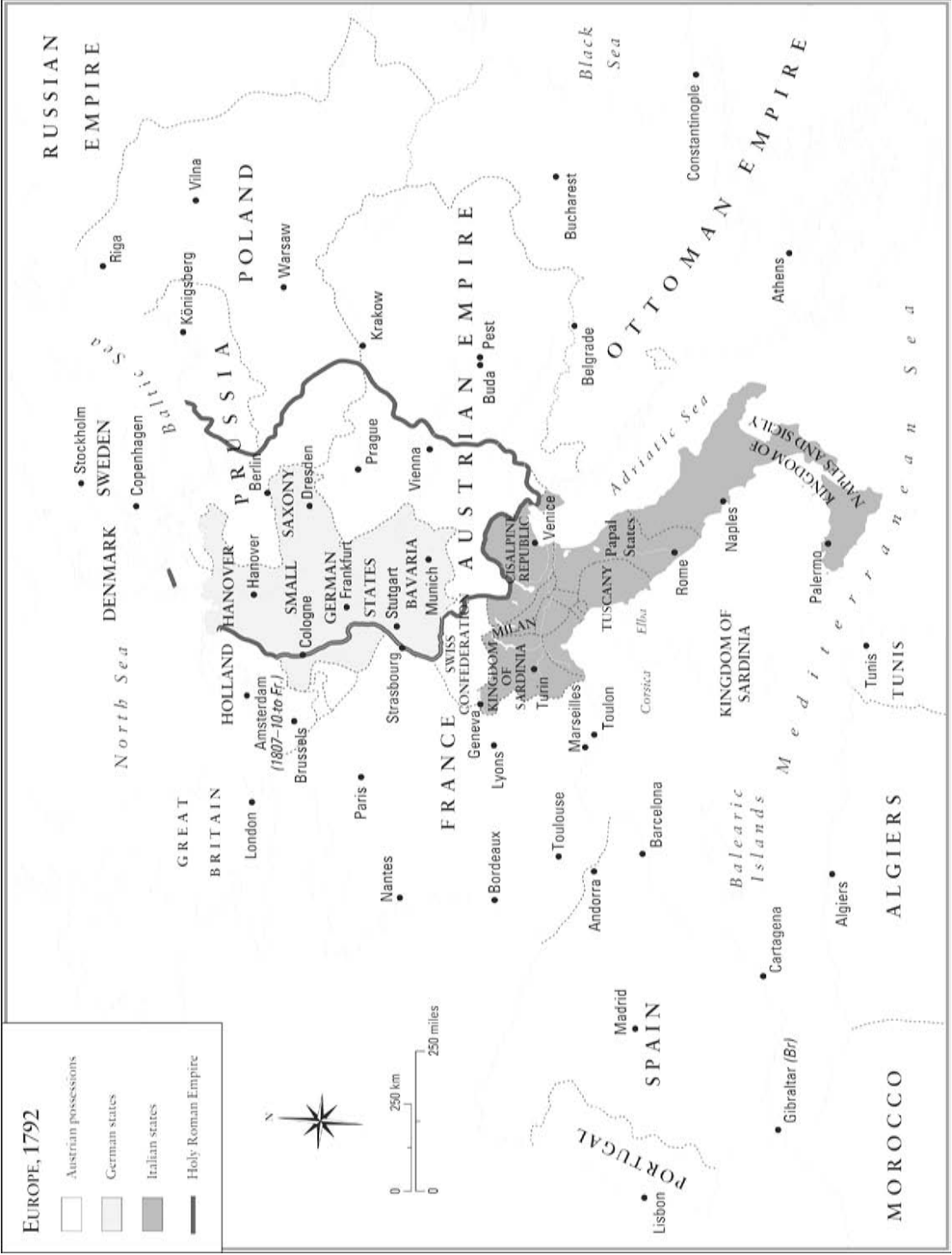


# MAPS

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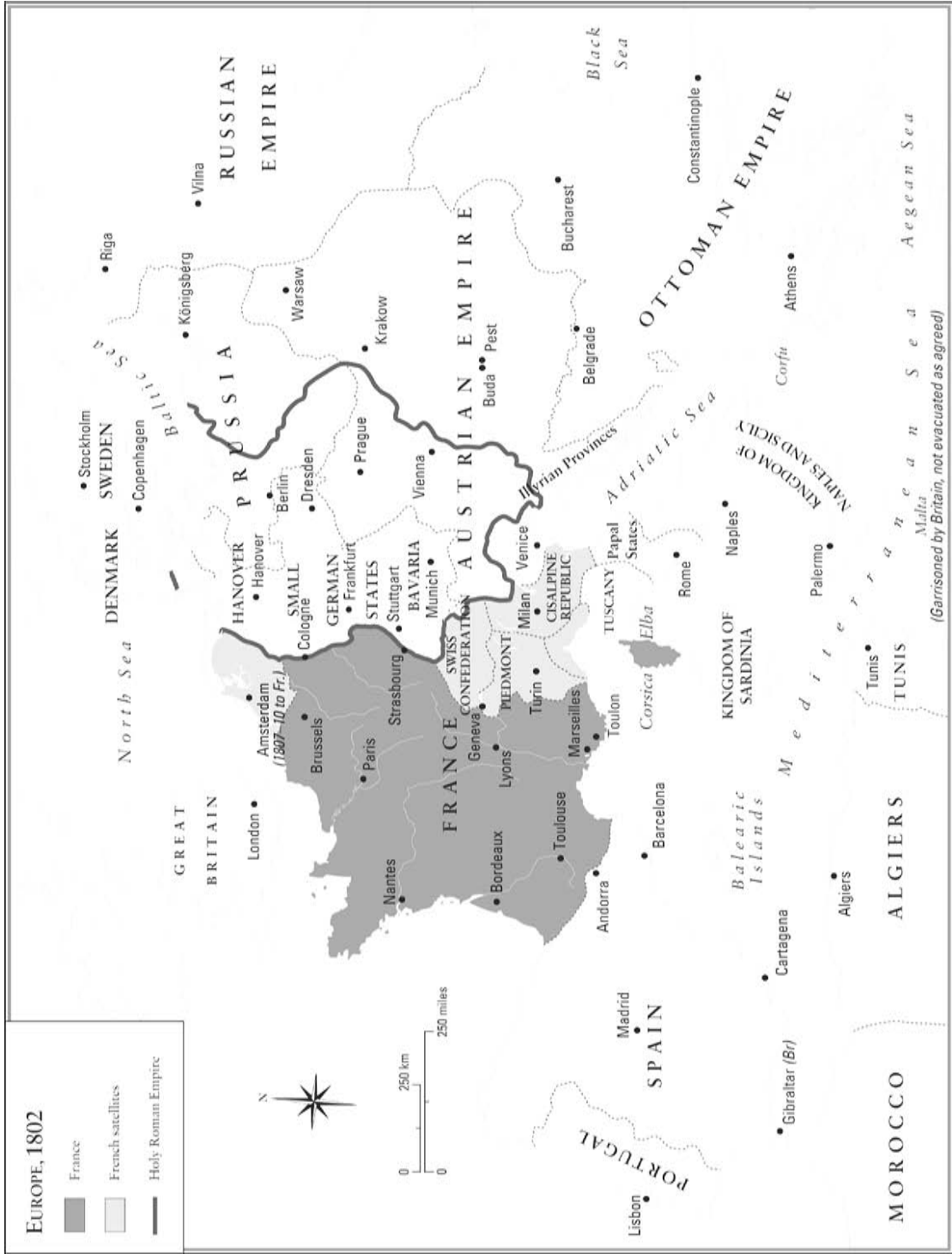
# EUROPE, 1792

-  Austrian possessions
-  German states
-  Italian states
-  Holy Roman Empire

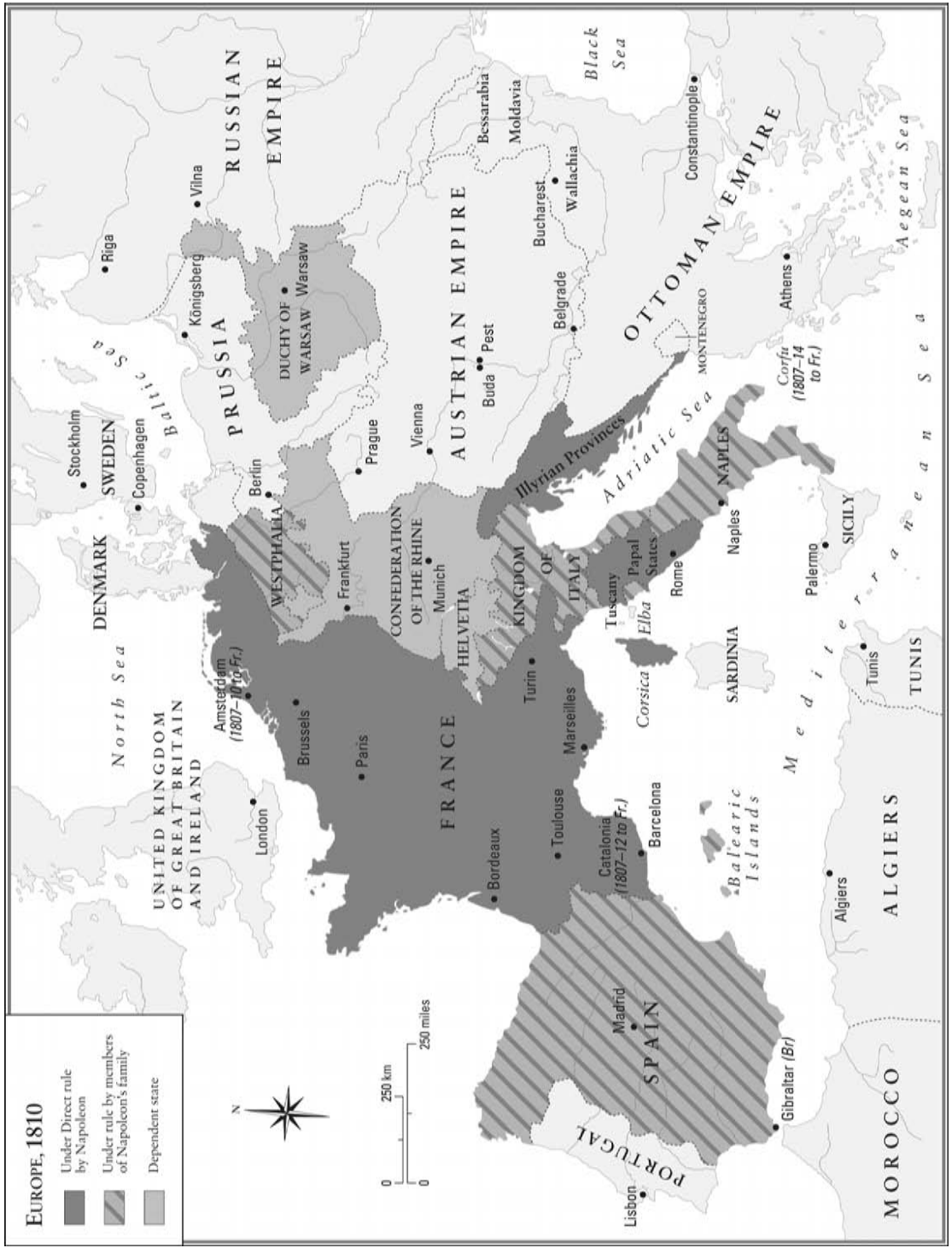


# EUROPE, 1802

-  France
-  French satellites
-  Holy Roman Empire

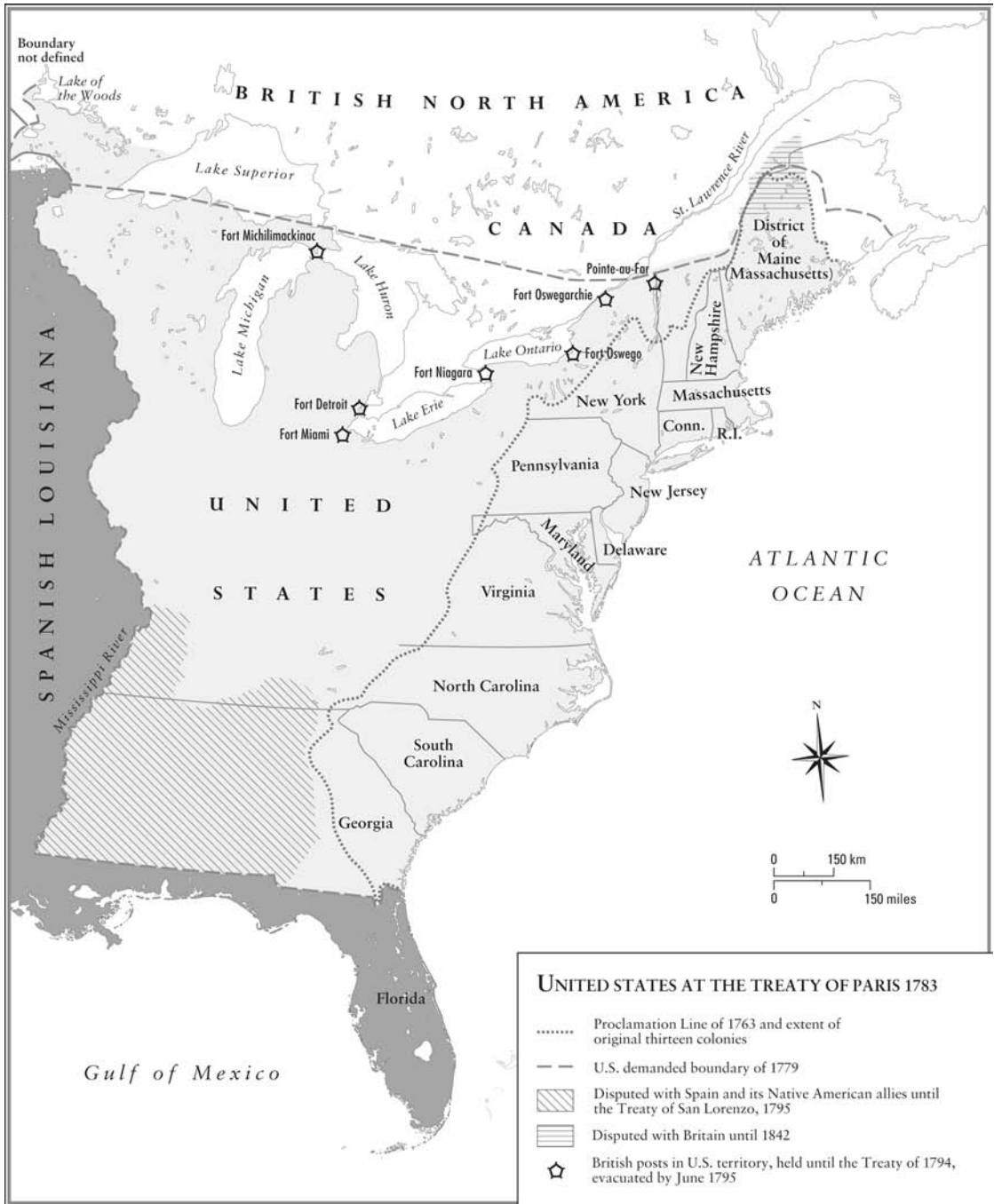


(Garrisoned by Britain, not evacuated as agreed)









# M

## Mackintosh, Sir James (1765–1832)

Born the son of a Scottish army officer, James Mackintosh declared himself a Whig while still a schoolboy, and he remained one until his death. A graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, he later graduated with degrees in medicine from the University of Edinburgh and in law from the Middle Temple in London. A great admirer of Cicero, he was a graceful writer and speaker, and a very sociable man who belonged to a succession of leading literary, debating, and social clubs wherever he lived. He had a wide range of friends and acquaintances who shared his reforming aims and liberal opinions. From 1788 he began a long career in journalism, writing over many years for leading newspapers and reviews. He wrote on politics, supporting the Whig case in **Parliament**; defending the liberty of the press; attacking slavery, capital punishment, and cruelty to animals; and showing sympathy for the United States in the War of 1812, Latin American claims for independence, and the rights of French Canadians.

In April 1791 he published *Vindiciae Gallicae: A Defence of the French Revolution and Its English Admirers* in response to Edmund **Burke's** *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. It is regarded as second only to Thomas **Paine's** *Rights of Man* as a response to Burke. In it, Mackintosh provided moderate reformers with an eloquent statement of the need for reform in **Britain** as well as in **France**. It did more than Paine's work to expose the weaknesses in Burke's arguments and evidence. More moderate than Paine, Mackintosh expressed his desire to "avert revolution by reform." A visit to France after the **September Massacres** of 1792 led to his gradual disillusionment with the **French Revolution**. Mackintosh wrote a favorable review of Burke's first two *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, and in late 1796, he visited Burke's home to express his "veneration" for Burke's "general principles." He also expressed his admiration for Burke in *A Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations* (1799) and in lectures at the Inns of Court in 1799 and 1800.

Mackintosh was attacked for his apostasy, but he was never a democrat but rather a moderate, liberal reformer. At the end of 1803 he was appointed a judge in Bombay and was knighted before he sailed for **India**. He served in Bombay from 1804 to 1811,

trying to reform the police, the penal law, and the prison system. He resisted imposing the death penalty as much as possible, and he tried to treat all men the same, whatever their race or status. From 1813 to his death he served in Parliament as a Whig MP, actively supporting a host of liberal causes. He was a committed supporter of both Catholic emancipation and the great but moderate parliamentary reform bills of 1831–1832. In 1818 he was appointed professor of law and general politics at the East India Company College, Haileybury, and he retained his interest in a wide range of intellectual pursuits. He produced a *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy* (1830), which was critical of utilitarianism and stressed the primacy of conscience. In 1829 he started a *History of England*, to be published in parts in the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*. He wrote four volumes but failed to complete the project before he died in 1832. His extensive notes were passed on to T. B. Macaulay, who drew on them heavily for his own famous *History of England*. See also Latin American Revolutions; Whigs.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### Madison, James (1751–1836)

James Madison, the oldest of ten children of a wealthy landowning family, was born on March 16, 1751 in Port Conway, **Virginia**. One of the most influential members of the **Constitutional Convention** of 1787, he was instrumental in securing the call for the meeting in Philadelphia and in winning ratification of the charter of government it produced. In the proceedings, Madison advocated the Virginia Plan, which served as the outline for the final document. The young nationalist's proposal called for a popularly elected two-house, or bicameral, national legislature; a chief executive elected by the legislature; and a national judiciary. After considerable debate and compromise, much of which was recorded in Madison's notes, the Constitution was approved by the convention, and he threw himself into the battle for ratification by the states. To help win approval of the pivotal state of **New York**, Madison, John **Jay**, and Alexander **Hamilton** published articles supporting the **United States Constitution** in New York newspapers. These essays are considered collectively one of the greatest works of political thought, **the Federalist Papers**, of which Madison wrote 26.

In his essays, most notably numbers 10 and 51, Madison contended that the Constitution was a vast improvement over the ineffectual **Articles of Confederation**, partly because it would have a dual source of sovereignty, giving it a federal and national character. Like the Articles of Confederation, the federal character would be derived from the states and reflected in a **senate** representing states. But unlike the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution would allow a national character to be derived from the people and reflected in the lower legislative house elected directly by the people. Accordingly, the new government would gain authority from the states and the people and authority to act upon the states and the people.

Madison asserted that a republic—in which the people's wishes are refined and enlightened by the collective wisdom and consultation of their gathered representatives, and that benefits from the foremost protection against abuse of power, the people

themselves—is the most advanced form of governance. Therefore, without faith in the good in man, a republic is impossible. He contended, nevertheless, that the Constitution improved on the republican concept by not placing too much trust in man and therefore providing what he called the “auxiliary precautions” of the separation of powers and intricate checks and balances. These precautions, he argued, honestly recognized and made good use of human nature by channeling the ambition of officeholders in each branch of government to check the encroaching power of the other branches. In other words, ambition would be used to control ambition.

Madison maintained that the purpose of government is to protect the right to own property. Yet the principle danger to property rights is factions, often formed because of the varying sources and levels of property, and used to further agendas that are sometimes opposed to the interests and rights of others and the common good. He believed that the impulse to form factions is in human nature and will always exist in a free society. Since the only way to end factionalism is to end freedom, the goal of a country valuing liberty must be to influence its effects. Madison concluded that the check on an oppressive or self-interested minority faction would be democracy itself, employed to vote down the minority. The check on a majority faction would be the size of the new nation, or what he termed “the extended republic.”

Madison challenged the belief of many, including **Montesquieu**, that only a small republic could be successful. Under this orthodoxy, for democracy to work, the people must have close influence on government and be united in their general views and interests—features only achievable within a small nation. Accordingly, many opposed to the new Constitution argued that it would be best to divide America into three or four smaller republics to achieve unity of interest, geography, and thought. Madison contended the opposite. He responded that the very problem with the ill-fated ancient republics was that they were too small and thus too easily dominated by a majority united by self-interest and inclined to oppress minorities and eventually destroy democracy itself. Madison stated that the United States had found the solution to the problem of republics by making it difficult, if not impossible, for an oppressive majority to be forged due to the country’s extensive size and the corresponding complexity of interests or factions.

Madison further maintained that in any republic a determined and long-standing majority would eventually achieve its aims, no matter how unjust they may be. Yet under the Constitution, in a large United States of many interests, governing majorities, motivated by anything other than the common good, would be rare and short lived, if formed at all. This would be due to the presence of a multitude of interests, differing modes of selection of representatives and other officers, and their staggered terms of office of differing lengths. Madison asserted that an oppressive majority, perhaps fueled by public passions of the moment, would most likely lose momentum or disintegrate as passions cooled or other interests divided its ranks with time. This disintegration would take place before any momentary majority could secure control of all the separate branches of government due to the built-in delays or pauses of the system. And even before the collapse of such a majority, any branch of government falling under its dominance would be subject to the checks of the other independent and uninfected branches.

Furthermore, if an ill-motivated legislative majority were formed, it would be subject to the hindrance of a bicameral legislature and, in a large republic, would have difficulty preserving its unity to the extent that its more extreme proposals would

not suffer the moderating influence of compromise required because of the wide diversity of interests composing the majority. Accordingly, Madison believed that the Constitution magnified the benefits of a large republic through its structural tendency to prevent, control, moderate, and break dangerous majorities.

An expansive republic offered other advantages, according to Madison. It would have a large and diverse legislature that would develop a national perspective transcending unique and petty local concerns, the assembly's membership would be drawn from a larger pool of talent, and representatives would be elected from such large districts that the buying of votes or other electoral corruptions would be inhibited. And if an oppressive faction should seize a state or region, it would be incapable of projecting its destructive influence outward across a large republic of many interests but would be contained and subject to the remedial influences and pressures of the rest of the multi-interested and uncorrupted nation.

Madison believed that the proposed governmental framework was the best protection for individual liberties. Therefore, during the ratification campaign, he originally opposed the inclusion of a declaration of specified rights as unnecessary and perilous to rights not listed. Yet he and other Federalist leaders compromised, and as a leading member of the first **Congress**, Madison crafted and introduced the **Bill of Rights**.

Finally, in the Federalist Papers, Madison predicted the reverence the Constitution would gain over time and the resulting benefits of national unity, stability, and adherence to the rule of law. Although in his later political life he joined his friend Thomas **Jefferson** in asserting the rights of states, Madison happily saw a nationalist spirit engulf the United States during his presidency (1809–1817), particularly following the War of 1812. Sadly, however, he lived to see this unity fade and his nation descend into a bitter sectionalism he strongly denounced. *See also* Republicanism.

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RUSSELL FOWLER

### Maillard, Stanislas Marie (1763–1794)

Stanislas Maillard was a central participant in many of the key events of the **French Revolution** during both its moderate and radical phases. During the attack on the **Bastille** in July 1789, Maillard was, by some accounts, the man who negotiated his way along a plank laid across the moat of the fortress, retrieving a written offer of capitulation from the Bastille's governor. One man fell to his death attempting to traverse the plank before Maillard purportedly succeeded. Although it remains unclear whether it was actually Maillard who accomplished this, he nonetheless attained fame because of it.

Maillard again emerged at the center of revolutionary events during the **women's** march to Versailles in October 1789. As a bread riot was erupting in Paris on the morning of October 5, Maillard—as a trusted hero of the Bastille—allegedly suggested to the protesters that they take their grievances directly to the government. Maillard led a column of thousands of women to Versailles, where he gained an

audience with the **National Assembly**, while a small group of women likewise spoke with **Louis XVI**. Both the king and the legislature promised to endeavor to supply Paris with sufficient quantities of food, and Maillard returned to Paris to deliver their statements in that regard to city officials.

Later, Maillard played a prominent role in the **September Massacres** of 1792, in which imprisoned alleged enemies of the Revolution were murdered in a concerted assault upon various prisons. At the Abbaye, a seventeenth-century military prison in Paris, Maillard presided over a hastily assembled tribunal that determined the guilt or innocence of the accused in cursory hearings. Maillard was arrested during the **Reign of Terror** but was not among the thousands executed on the **guillotine**, for he died of tuberculosis in 1794.

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ADAM C. STANLEY

### **Mainmorte**

*Mainmorte* refers to a type of land used in **ancien régime** Europe, in particular the status of land held by the church and other institutions, rather than private ownership.

As the church is a corporate body that continues to exist as its members come and go, it never dies, and the land that it holds is virtually lost to the market of sale and resale, as if it were held by a “dead hand” (*main morte*). This land was thus not only exempt from taxation and feudal dues but was also a source of deprivation to the local economy (on average, 6–10% of land in a locality was exempt). On a human level, moreover, the inhabitants of such lands continued to be subject to the same unchanging rules that had been in place since the Middle Ages. Described as *mainmortable*, such people represented the last vestiges of serfdom in western Europe: they were unable to sell their property without paying heavy feudal duties and were unable to pass on their property to their kin unless their heirs were direct descendants, and already living on the site.

*Mainmorte* was therefore one of the first targets singled out for abolition by reformers in eighteenth-century **France**. As early as 1749, a royal edict required authorization by **Parlement** for the acquisition of property by the clergy and prohibited testamentary bequests to them. Similar legislation was passed in **Spain**, where the practice was even more widespread. In the 1770s, **Voltaire** himself led the crusade against the institution in the eastern provinces of France, where it was most prevalent (estimated to take place in about one-third of all villages). The **Physiocrats** saw it as one of the worst blocks to the importation of capitalist practices to agriculture, as a system in which change was next to impossible. In 1779, **Louis XVI** abolished the practice in lands owned by the crown and strongly encouraged the **nobility** to do the same all across France.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

### Malesherbes, Chrétien Guillaume de Lamoignon de (1721–1794)

Born into a prominent family and trained as a lawyer, Malasherbes succeeded his father as president of the *cour des aides* in the Parlement of Paris in 1850. He was later appointed director of the press, the nation's censor, under his father, who had become chancellor of **France**. Malasherbes' liberal policies and sympathetic attitude toward literary figures such as Diderot allowed for publication of the *Encyclopédie*.

A reformer, Malasherbes attempted to introduce reforms under the reigns of Louis XV and **Louis XVI**. In 1771, he was exiled to his country estate for opposing the dissolution of the Parlement. With the accession of Louis XVI, he was recalled and made minister of state for the royal household. During his nine months in office Malasherbes devoted considerable energy toward reform of the police. His efforts did much to limit the use of **lettres de cachet**, sealed communications from the king that allowed for imprisonment or exile without appeals to the courts. Malasherbes' protest of the *cours des aides* of 1775, which offered sharp criticism of the king, is considered to be among the most important documents of the **ancien régime**.

In 1776, disappointed over the failure of the reform program proposed by his friend A.R.J. **Turgot**, the comptroller general of finances, Malasherbes resigned his post. Over the following decade he worked in defense of the civil rights of Protestants and Jews in France before retiring from political life in 1788.

In December 1792, Malasherbes voluntarily ended his asylum and, upon his request, was appointed, along with François Tronchet and Raymond Desèze, to the defense of Louis XVI at his trial before the **National Convention**. In December 1793, he was arrested as a royalist, along with his daughter, son-in-law, and grandchildren. On April 23, 1794, Malesherbes was executed by **guillotiné**, having previously been subjected to the sight of the executions of his children and grandchildren. *See also* Parlements.

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JEFF SHANTZ

### Mallet du Pan, Jacques (1749–1800)

Mallet du Pan was a Swiss-born political journalist and publicist who clashed with **Napoleon** Bonaparte. This is how many contemporary compatriots remembered Mallet du Pan. Many historians and writers argued that the clash with Napoleon left Mallet an embittered man. Views of Mallet's legacy and stature range from the highest accolades for being "one of **France's** most noted journalists" (Carla Hesse) to perceptions of the quality of his publications as "pompuous, empty and hollow" (Immanuel Kant).

Mallet was born on November 5, 1749, in Celigny, close to Geneva, the son of Etienne Mallet, an exemplary and talented Protestant minister, and his wife, Héléne Rillet. Fleeing from French religious strife and persecution, the majority of the **émigrés** of Celigny adhered to the Christian beliefs of the Genevan French émigré John Calvin. Calvin's doctrine of hard work, learning—in both the arts and sciences—and the notion that material wealth was a reward from God found favor with the Mallet family. Throughout his childhood years, Mallet adhered to Calvin's beliefs.



Despite their aristocratic genealogy and heritage, Etienne's household income, according to their grandson, did not exceed £300 a year. The young Mallet lost his father at the age of 12. Fortunately, all was not lost for him. Mallet was schooled at the famous College of Geneva, founded by Calvin. At the age of 15, Mallet graduated to the University Class, where, thanks to a superior quality of mind, he excelled in philosophy and law. From 1767 to 1770, Mallet witnessed the outbreak of political and social unrest in Geneva by militant Genevan *natifs*, sons of inhabitants who for generations had been deprived of all political **privileges** in the city. The morality underpinning these *natifs'* protests, his love of liberty and respect for justice, would haunt Mallet, with the result that, at the age of 20, Mallet became a democratic agitator by writing a pamphlet that instantly became the gospel of the Genevan *natifs*. Unknowingly, Mallet had turned a corner in his life. Impressed by his early writings, **Voltaire**, the most powerful influence on European thought, invited Mallet to Ferney.

Philosophical and religious questions, more than those of a political nature, were uppermost in Voltaire's mind. "In politics," Mallet argued, "Voltaire was but a flatterer." Voltaire did not hide his rejection of Christianity and his hatred of priests and the sacrament of the mass from Mallet, d'**Alembert**, and **Condorcet**. Thanks to the generosity and influence of Voltaire, the young Mallet secured a professorship in history and literature at the University of Hesse-Kassel in Germany in 1772. On April 8, 1772, he delivered his inaugural address, "The Influence of the Philosophy on the Arts," at the university.

On many levels, Voltaire was pleased to note how passionately the young Celigny "lion" imitated him, especially in Mallet's questioning of certain ideas and practices of the Christian Church. In a letter addressed to Voltaire in 1772, Mallet wrote that "I shall exhaust all the feeble enlightenment that I owe to you in eradicating the work of St. Boniface," the eight-century missionary who Christianized Germany. Moreover, during the height of the **French Revolution**, Mallet would immerse himself in the satanic doctrines of Joseph de Maistre, a well-known Martinist. Yet his grandson believed that Mallet's principles kept him from becoming a convert to the ideas of the Encyclopedists, to which Voltaire may have hoped to attract him.

Mallet stayed little more than a year at Hesse-Kassel. At the age of 25, he broke with aristocratic tradition when he married 18-year-old Françoise Vallier, daughter of François Gedeon Vallier. Initially the marriage did not carry the approval of his father's family, who would have rather seen him marrying a woman of a superior class. Still, Mallet was happy: he and his young bride shared a love for the performing arts and for leisure tried their hands at performing some French plays, one being the *Gageure imprévue* of Sedaine. In 1775 Mallet published an essay entitled "Doutes sur l'éloquence" an attack on the political and economic regimes of northern Europe. Like his 1771 debut work, the essay had one significant result: it brought him into contact with Simon-Henry Linquet, one of the most prominent figures in France during this era.

For the next two years Mallet assisted Linquet in the production of the *Annales politiques, civiles et littéraires du XVIIIe siècle*. Mallet managed the Swiss version and contributed much valuable matter, especially on economic subjects. Mallet held Jacques **Necker**'s financial administration in high regard, but the professional partnership between Linquet and Mallet was doomed. As a result, Mallet had no alternative but to try his hand at his own publication, entitled *Mémoires historiques*. Rumors of secret British support and that he was a British spymaster surfaced.

At this time Mallet incorporated his *Mémoires historiques* with the *Mercur de France*, a famous Parisian gazette and literacy magazine that had been founded by the writer Jean Donneau de Visé in 1672.

Mallet designated himself a contemporary historian and continued to appeal to the conscience of his readers with such works as his discussion of the hypocritical treatment of European Jews. Mallet set out to justify the Inquisition along with a new indictment of Galileo, claiming that Galileo had been condemned not for being a good (Copernican) astronomer but for being a bad theologian who tried to support astronomical propositions with biblical statements. The French nobles took little, if any interest, in Galileo. Rather, they were hungry to know more about court life under **Louis XVI**. Mallet moved intimately within court circles in general and the humanitarian-spirited king and his Austrian-born queen, **Marie Antoinette**, in particular. What Voltaire succeeded in achieving at the court of the Prussian king, **Frederick II**, might have served as a stimulus for Mallet's visits to the palace of Versailles. Indeed, Mallet was popular at court, where he regularly interacted with royal ministers. Mallet also seems to have had restricted access to the king and queen.

In 1782, Mallet's debut essay of 1771 came back to haunt him. In April 1782 an almost bloodless revolution took place in Geneva when an armed mob threw the senatorial party and their associates into prison and set about ransacking the city. These events disillusioned Mallet with republican governments and taught him a lesson in democracy.

What Mallet failed to find in Linquet he found in Charles-Joseph Panckoucke, a writer and publisher who offered Mallet the editorship of the *Journal historique et politique de Genève*. Mallet would tirelessly manage this publication for the next 10 years, visiting prisons and institutions of all kinds. Mallet marveled at the political challenges of his journal. He set out popularizing Adam **Smith's** theory of free trade. Mallet labeled Smith "the most profound and philosophical of all the metaphysical writers who have dealt with economic matters." He applauded the growth of religious tolerance in Europe.

Mallet's admiration for **Britain** in general and her political system in particular was evident. Mallet chose Britain as the place of education for his eldest son, John Lewis. During the 1780s Mallet continued to press the French government into accepting the offer made by British prime minister William **Pitt** the Younger of a treaty that would require France to forfeit important fiscal policies. Unashamedly, the Swiss-born Mallet put the nearly bankrupt and politically vulnerable France at the mercy of Britain's free-trade policies. To add salt to the wound, most European banking houses, led by the Swiss, promptly refused credit to the cash-stricken French government. Louis XVI had no alternative but to sign the Anglo-French treaty commercial treaty. The British trade war began almost immediately: they dumped cheap British manufactures on the French market and cut off the supply of vital Spanish wool.

Mallet and the *Mercur* did not go uncensored. Indeed, the French government continued to exercise strict controls over all of Mallet's published political opinions. Within a few months of the **French Revolution**, the abbé Auger, a government censor, cut up one of Mallet's manuscripts and suppressed his remarks on political affairs in Holland. Under the comte de **Montmorin**, who succeeded **Vergennes** as foreign minister, Mallet's position became even more difficult.

With the return of fellow Genevan Jacques **Necker** as the new minister of finance at the end of 1788, Mallet could reposition himself. Necker and Mallet conspired against the spread of Benjamin **Franklin's** American economic and constitutional ideas. In January 1789, as Franklin's supporters prepared to introduce the **United States Constitution** to France, Mallet, in an article that would see Voltaire reeling with joy, highlighted Britain's turbulent history, not least the period of the Civil War, and suggested that France might face a similar future.

Throughout the French Revolution, Mallet propagated his royalist sentiments. After Easter 1791, at a time when Louis XVI's safety at the Tuileries was entrusted to the Swiss Guard and the tone of the French radical press was growing ever more hostile and suspicious, Mallet was instructed by the king to visit Frankfurt to secure the sympathy and intervention of royalist German states. From Germany, Mallet was to travel to Switzerland and then to Brussels. However, Mallet's missions proved fruitless, and Louis XVI was guillotined on January 21, 1793.

Mallet was relentless in his efforts to describe precisely how events developed after the death of the king. He published a number of anti-revolutionary pamphlets, and a ruthless attack on Bonaparte and the **Directory** led to his exile to Bern in 1797. In 1798 he moved to London, where he founded the *Mercure Britannique*. He died at Richmond, Surrey, on May 10, 1800. His wife was pensioned by the British government.

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RAYMOND ANTHONY VAN DIEMEL

## Malouet, Pierre Victor (1740–1814)

Pierre Victor Malouet was a prominent supporter of moderate monarchism during the **French Revolution**. Born in Rioms, Malouet began a career in royal administration in 1758 and held posts in the colonies before becoming naval intendant at Toulon in 1781. He was elected a representative of the **Third Estate** to the **Estates-General** in 1789 and favored reforms to rationalize institutions and abolish aristocratic privilege under a strong monarchy. As one of the *monarchiens* in the **National Assembly**, Malouet supported the constitutional proposals of Jean Joseph **Mounier** calling for a royal veto and a two-house legislature. In 1790, he founded the Club des **Impartiaux** to identify the cause of monarchy with the Revolution. Malouet opposed the abolition of **slavery and the slave trade**, fearing disorder in the colonies and harm to **France's** economy. He fled to England after August 10, 1792, but his moderation was unpopular with many **émigrés**. Malouet returned to France in 1801, held administrative posts under **Napoleon**, and became minister of marine in May 1814 under the restored **Louis XVIII** but served less than four months before his death.

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WILLIAM S. CORMACK

### Mansfield, Earl of

See Murray, David, Earl of Mansfield

### Marat, Jean-Paul (1742–1793)

A prominent French revolutionary, journalist, and scientist, Jean-Paul Marat was born to a family of Sardinian descent at Boudry, near Neuchâtel, Switzerland, on April 13, 1742. His father, Giovanni Marra, was a local physician who fled his native Sardinia because of his Protestant faith and took up residence in Neuchâtel. Young Marat was the eldest of three sons—one brother pursued a career as a watchmaker in Geneva, while the youngest sibling, David, immigrated to Russia, where, under the title of chevalier de Boudry, he worked as a private tutor and taught French at the Imperial Lycée.

Despite his weak and sensitive disposition, Marat excelled in classical studies and pursued a career in medicine, which he studied at the University of Bordeaux. He honed his skills in optics and electricity and later traveled to Paris, where he earned a reputation for curing eye diseases. After traveling to Amsterdam, Marat visited London, where he settled and opened a practice. Among his many acquaintances was Benjamin **Franklin**, with whom Marat conducted optical experiments. He continued to travel frequently, visiting Ireland, Scotland and **France**. While in London, he published his first major book, *A Philosophical Essay on Man* (1772–1773), in which he discussed the relation between body and mind and demonstrated his wide knowledge of classical literature as well as contemporary works of French, German, Italian, and Spanish writers. He criticized Claude Adrien Helvétius, a prominent French philosophe, for his claim that knowledge of science was unnecessary for a philosopher. Marat's criticism drew a response from **Voltaire**, who wrote a sharp critique of Marat's work. Undaunted, in 1774 Marat published his new work, *The Chains of Slavery*, in which he voiced his criticism of the British government. In 1775, he was given an honorary medical degree from the University of St. Andrews. In 1777, Marat was hired as a physician to the guards of the comte d'**Artois**, who was brother to **Louis XVI** and later became King Charles X. Over the next 10 years, Marat practiced medicine and wrote a number of treatises on medical subjects, including eye diseases, as well as on optics and electricity. The French Royal Academy of Sciences praised his *Récherches physiques sur l'électricité* and awarded him a prize for his *Mémoires sur l'électricité médicale* in 1783.

In 1787, Marat retired from the comte d'Artois' employment and pursued a private practice. He completed a new translation of Newton's *Opticks* (1787) and wrote *Mémoires académiques, ou nouvelles découvertes sur la lumière* (1788), which explained new discoveries about light. Some historians argue that Marat's failure to be elected to the Royal Academy of Sciences had a negative effect on him and caused him to imagine enemies around him and to challenge the established order.



Jean Paul Marat. Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.

Marat followed the political events unfolding in France in 1787–1788 and gradually became actively involved in them. In early 1789, he published *Offrande à la Patrie*, the first of his many political **pamphlets**, in which he denounced government corruption and urged unity among the people in his cause. In the first part of his pamphlet, Marat argued that the monarchy was still capable of solving existing problems and criticized those advocating the British system of government. However, in a supplement printed several months later, he expressed more critical and radical ideas. He continued to produce political works throughout the summer of 1789 and was among the mob that stormed the **Bastille** fortress on July 14. He published one issue of *Le Moniteur Patriote* and pamphlets entitled *La Constitution* and *Plan de législation criminelle*, which revealed his political ideas based on Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**'s works. On September 8, 1789, Marat began publishing a new journal entitled *Le Publiciste Parisien*, which carried his favorite epigram, *Vitam impendere Vero* (Spend Life in the Cause of Truth). One week later, the journal title was changed to *L'Ami du Peuple*, a name that became a nom de guerre for Marat.

*L'Ami de Peuple* proved to be a successful and influential publication, turning Marat into an influential voice that advocated radical democratic measures. His journal sought to comment on almost every event, and its size varied according on the circumstances of the moment. Marat was not a powerful speaker like Georges

**Danton**, but he was very eloquent with a quill in hand, writing in a language and style that was accessible to common people. Marat refused to join any party but rather remained always suspicious of whoever was in power. To him, the governing bureaucracies were inherently opposed to the popular interest that Marat sought to protect. Claiming to be reflecting the opinions of the *sans-culottes*, he launched vitriolic attacks against the **Constituent Assembly**, ministers, the Parisian municipality, and anyone else he suspected. He called for preventive measures against aristocrats, whom he suspected of plotting to subvert the Revolution. In October, he claimed that the royal court was a nest of counterrevolutionary intrigue and urged Parisians to march on Versailles. His agitation contributed to the events of the **October Days** (October 5–6, 1789), when the Parisian mob attacked the Versailles palace and forced the royal family to move to Paris.

As Marat's popularity increased, the government sought to undermine his reputation by circulating spurious issues of his journal, which were excessively gory and travestied in content. Following his attack on Jacques **Necker** and some members of the Paris Commune, Marat was denounced in October 1789 and went into hiding for a month. Despite persecution, he continued his critique of the government, was denounced in January 1790, and narrowly escaped arrest by fleeing to London.

In the safety of the British capital, Marat continued writing his pamphlets, attacking various political figures, and after returning to Paris in May 1790, he produced several issues of his popular journal. He warned against the aristocratic **émigrés** who were scheming to suppress the monarchy and declared to his readers that “five or six hundred heads cut off would have assured your repose, freedom, and happiness.” In August 1790, after the suppression of a naval mutiny at Nancy, Marat attacked the reputation of **Louis XVI** himself. Nevertheless, Marat still believed in the principle of a constitutional monarchy and was reluctant to embrace republican ideals—until the royal family's failed flight to **Varennes** in June 1791 made him change his mind. He declared that the king was unworthy of holding the throne and denounced the **National Assembly** for refusing to depose him.

In response to Marat's continuing barrage of criticism, the Assembly outlawed his paper and requested his arrest, forcing Marat into hiding in the summer of 1791. In September the office of *L'Ami du Peuple* was ransacked, and two months later Marat fled to London once more, where he produced his two-volume work *Ecole du citoyen*. In April 1792, the **Cordeliers Club** invited him to return to Paris, where he resumed printing his journal after four months' suspension. He also married Simonne Evrard, the sister-in-law of Jean Antoine Corne, the typographer of *L'Ami du Peuple*.

With the start of the war in the spring of 1792, Marat found himself at odds with the governing Girondin party, which he criticized in his journal. In May 1792, Marat was denounced in the Assembly and was forced to go into hiding. Unable to publish *L'Ami du Peuple*, Marat instead produced a series of pamphlets welcoming the events of August 10, when the monarchy was overthrown. The next day, he came out of hiding and resumed publication of his journal. In early September, he became a member of the **Committee of Public Safety** and the Commune of Paris. Despite various claims, he seems to have had no direct connection with the infamous the **September Massacres**, when summary executions took place in various Parisian prisons. However, his radical rhetoric certainly shaped public opinion at the time. In October, Marat was elected to the **National Convention**, where he sided with the

Montagnard deputies. He suspended publication of *L'Ami du Peuple* and instead commenced a new venture, the *Journal de la République Française*.

As a deputy to the Convention, Marat proposed several reforms, including shorter terms of military service and a graduated income tax. Enjoying support in the streets of Paris, he quickly became one of the leading Montagnard deputies. His work, however, was overshadowed by his antagonism with the Girondin party. The trial and eventual execution of Louis XVI only increased the rift between the Montagnards and **Girondins**. Marat likened the king's execution to a religious festival and believed the event would terrorize the enemies of the Revolution and embolden the genuine patriots.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1793, Marat fought bitterly with the Girondins, whom he believed to be false patriots and covert enemies of **republicanism**. He accused them of siding with suspect generals, capitalists, speculators, monopolists, and merchants of luxury, whom Marat despised. The Girondins accused him of inflammatory rhetoric and demanded his trial by the **revolutionary tribunals**. However, in his much-publicized trial in April 1793, Marat was acquitted on all charges and returned to the Convention with even greater popular support.

This was the climax of his career. In April, he was elected president of the Jacobin Club. Between May 31 and June 2, Marat played an important role in the Montagnard insurrection that resulted in the expulsion of the Girondin deputies from the Convention. However, a worsening of the skin disease that he had contracted during his numerous hidings in the Parisian underworld forced him to remain at home, where he sought to alleviate the discomfort by taking regular hot baths. It was while sitting in his bathtub on July 13, 1793, that Marat received a young woman named Charlotte Corday who claimed to have compromising information on the Girondin deputies. Corday was in fact a Girondin supporter and held Marat responsible for recent events. Upon entering the bathroom, she stabbed him in the chest. At her trial two days later, she proudly announced, "I killed one man to save 100,000."

Remarkably, Marat's assassination became his apotheosis, proved to be a rallying cause for the **Jacobins**, and turned Marat into a martyr for the revolutionary cause. The Jacobins used his state funeral, choreographed by the famous French painter and fellow Montagnard deputy Jacques-Louis **David**, to great advantage to create a cult figure of Marat. David also produced his famous painting of Marat lying dead in his bathtub. Prints depicting his assassination were popular throughout France. The assassination seemingly validated the Jacobin claims about traitors within the very bosom of the nation, where, it was claimed, they posed a far more insidious threat than the foreign foe. Marat's body was first buried in the Couvent des Cordeliers but was later transferred to the Panthéon. In the wave of outcry against Marat's murder, some towns changed their names to honor him, while Montmartre in Paris became Mont Marat. The infamous dechristianization campaigns saw Marat converted into a quasi saint whose busts often replaced religious statues and crucifixes in former churches and whose bloody shirt was likened to a holy shroud. Marat's popularity, however, waned after the **Thermidorian Reaction** of 1795, when the Jacobin dictatorship was overthrown. In February 1795, Marat's coffin was removed from the Panthéon and buried in the cemetery of the Church of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont. Numerous busts and sculptures of him were destroyed.

Marat's name and legacy were and still are hotly debated. To some, he is a radical revolutionary who thirsted for the blood of traitors. To others, he was a true

champion of the people. Suspicious and irritable, excitable and sensitive, Marat was a good-natured and educated man in private but had a violent public persona and often attacked with exceptional violence. *See also* The Mountain.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Marie Antoinette, Queen of France (1755–1793)

A member of the Austrian imperial family, Marie Antoinette was queen of **France** during the **French Revolution** and thus became the scapegoat for the revolutionary events that enveloped France during the reign of her husband, **Louis XVI**.

Maria Antonia Josepha Joanna, the fifteenth child and eighth daughter of Emperor Francis Stephen and Maria Theresa, empress of the Holy Roman Empire, was born on November 2, 1755, at the Hofburg palace in Vienna. The pretty petite archduchess was known as Antoine within the family circle. Although she felt closest to her mother, she only saw the busy empress for a few minutes every week. She was brought up in her own five rooms at the palace of Schönbrunn. Her father died on August 18, 1765, when she was nine years old. This plunged the empress into grief and automatically made Antoine's eldest brother, Joseph, co-emperor, though the family was never the same.

The empress wanted her daughters to shine at court events and never to express fear. Antoine's education was focused on manners, docility, and submission. She learned to dance, play the harp, and enjoy music and the fine arts in early childhood. Although spontaneous, she grew up to be gentle, innocent, dependent, and inclined to timidity, especially when surrounded by intellectuals. Her inadequate upbringing would serve her badly.

A politically arranged marriage of one of Maria Theresa's daughters was a condition of the Austro-French Treaty of Versailles, signed on May 1, 1756; consequently Antoine was to marry the future Louis XVI. As the marriage arrangements were being finalized, Maria Theresa suddenly realized the shortcomings of Antoine's education and hastily attempted to rectify this deficiency. At age 14, Antoine underwent rigorous training in the arts of being a queen, which allowed her to gain a polished graciousness, to learn the history of France, to write legibly, and to improve her French language skills. Her tutor was amazed at her good judgment in their history discussions. She was also inculcated with her mother's absolutist ideals.

After a proxy marriage on April 21, Antoine left **Austria**. On the way to Paris, on a neutral island on the Rhine, she was divested of all her Austrian accoutrements. She was dressed in French garments and gained a completely new French identity and a new name—Marie Antoinette. She met the timid, shy, and clumsy 15-year-old Louis for the first time on May 16 and became dauphine when she married him on May 16, 1770. Louis had an inferiority complex that would never abate, and she was the strong partner in the marriage. Louis was well meaning but weak and lacked drive and initiative; he preferred hunting and forging above all other pursuits, including his marriage. He also told by his advisors never to trust Marie Antoinette



completely. Even though the couple were amiable and they learned to care for one another, the marriage remained unconsummated for seven years due to Louis's sexual inadequacies.

Although a grace period followed her marriage, it only took three months for Marie Antoinette to become unpopular at court, mostly because she was Austrian and consequently deemed a foreigner and an enemy, and thus not trustworthy. Consequently, she was exposed to character assassination through a variety of calumnies, slanders, and defamations that would continue until her death. Marie Antoinette's most serious enemy at court was the uncouth and common Madame du Barry, mistress of Louis XV, whom Marie Antoinette detested. Du Barry publicly castigated Marie Antoinette over minor details.

During this unhappy time in her marriage, the teenage Marie Antoinette occupied herself with the same opulent lifestyle that previous members of the French royal family members had enjoyed. Having grown up at the Austrian court, she had no idea of the costs or the values of goods. Marie Antoinette felt trapped performing endless royal appearances, enduring the infinitesimal details and the stultifying centuries-old etiquette of the court. She decided to be herself rather than a conventional dauphine. To escape from the tedium, she mixed with a risqué crowd known as the Queen's Secret Society, an association that further damaged her image. She continued to suffer from salacious gossip and lurid tales about her alleged depraved sexual behavior; the stories spread throughout France and damaged the prestige of the monarchy.

Louis XV died of smallpox at Versailles on May 10, 1774. He left a legacy of insurmountable and complex political, social, and financial problems that required serious reform. France had lost the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), a conflict that had cost the treasury millions of livres. Much of its empire vanished as a result of the Treaty of Paris. The situation was exacerbated because the clergy and the **nobility** were exempt from paying taxes, leaving France financially dependent on the poor working class.

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were crowned at Rheims on June 17 1774. The people were ecstatic and envisaged a new era. However, Louis was only 20 years old and unsuited to the monarchy. His interests focused on his own simple pleasures, and although he cared about his subjects, he proved himself totally incapable of dealing with the fundamental problems facing France. The peasants resented their heavy tax burden and the excessive spending of the court. Anne-Robert-Jacques **Turgot**, a trained economist and minister of finance, tried to implement some radical reforms—the abolition of feudal **privileges** constituting one such reform—but the nobles balked at the suggestion. He was dismissed and replaced by Jacques **Necker** in October 1776. Marie Antoinette was 500,000 livres in debt by this time; indeed, most members of the royal family were heavily in debt at this time. In 1778 Louis began to provide financial aid to the American colonists in their war of independence from Britain, but France did not gain anything by it apart from helping to divest its traditional enemy of its 13 colonies in North America. The treasury was soon drained.

Once Louis's impotence was resolved, Marie Antoinette had four children within six years. Marie Thérèse Charlotte, known as Madame Royale, was born on December 19, 1778. On October 22, 1781, she gave birth to the dauphin, Louis Joseph; Louis Charles, duc de Normandie, on March 27, 1785; and Sophie Hélène Béatrice

on July 9, 1786. Once Marie Antoinette became a mother, she focused most of her energy on her children. This resulted in a noticeable decline in the lavishness that had characterized her youth. She no longer bought jewelry or wore elaborate wigs. Nevertheless, her household consisted of 500 people who jealously guarded their little empires. Despite the marked decrease in her social activities Marie Antoinette was known as the “Austrian she-wolf.” Slander about her spread, and scandalous stories were freely invented, many of them believed.

Her reputation was already at a low ebb when she was unjustly implicated in the swindle known as the Diamond Necklace Affair. Cardinal de Rohan was the Grand Almoner, but Marie Antoinette had distanced herself from him because he had run afoul of the Austrian court during her youth. Rohan had a rococo diamond necklace of 2,800 carats and 657 brilliants that had been made with Du Barry in mind, but Louis XV had died in the meantime. On behalf of the jewelers, he delivered it to Marie Antoinette, despite the fact that she had not ordered it and had previously declined to buy it several times. Rohan took the lead in the swindle. In the presence of Louis, Marie Antoinette, and several court officials, he insisted on receiving the first payment. He later declared that he had been duped by Jeanne St. Remey, who had deceived him about Marie Antoinette’s interest in the necklace. Rohan was arrested. However, the people believed that Marie Antoinette, whose passion for diamonds was undeniable, must have been aware of the plot all along. Rohan went to trial in May 1786 but was acquitted by the Parisian Parlement on May 31, 1786. Jeanne St. Remey was found guilty and imprisoned. The beleaguered Marie Antoinette received a major blow to her integrity from the affair and never recovered her reputation.

In 1781, Necker resigned and was replaced by controller general of finances Charles Alexandre de Calonne, who asked for approval to reform French finances, as the country was bankrupt. He believed the nobles’ rejection of any financial reform was the major problem facing France. The **Assembly of Notables** met on February 22, 1787, and rejected the financial reforms. Calonne resigned and was replaced by Cardinal Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse. Despite the lack of deep systemic financial changes, Louis felt sorry for himself and let down, not only by his ministers but also by his “uncooperative” subjects. He confided in Marie Antoinette and received her sympathy. The Notables insisted on summoning the **Estates-General**, resulting in the dissolution of the Assembly by Brienne on May 25, 1787.

Louis was unable to face this crisis as a leader. While Marie Antoinette was much more intelligent than her husband, she had no leadership qualities and no concept of change, especially regarding monarchical privileges, and was entirely devoid of political expertise. Like Louis, she believed that the ministers were responsible for the crisis and that they had failed to do their jobs. The ministers had to see her directly because the frightened Louis could not cope. The populace accused her of meddling, calling her Madam Deficit.

Marie Antoinette’s personal life troubled her considerably. Baby Sophie had failed to thrive and died on June 19, 1787. Marie Antoinette went into seclusion at Trianon. The dauphin was also seriously ill, with a malformed spine, and could not enjoy a normal childhood. The queen’s lengthy friendship with a Swedish count, Hans Axel von Fersen, encouraged a considerable amount of gossip. They often went riding together and developed a friendship that gave her a respite from her

troubles. She was accused of an adulterous affair with him and of lesbian affairs with her friends at court.

Marie Antoinette was often given children, who were raised in her household from her personal budget. To economize, she reduced her entourage and household by 200 staff to lower her household expenses. This offended those who lost their positions. Marie Antoinette discontinued holding balls and large dinners. She ordered her used gowns to be mended rather than ordering new gowns. Her slippers were resoled. While her personal economies affected her household, they made little difference in the overall budget crisis.

Brienne could not obtain consensus from the Paris Parlement to the reforms. Ministers resigned. It was obvious new mechanisms of governance were required. However, in August 1787 Louis banished the Paris Parlement, hoping it would become compliant. Instead this initiated major protests. The Parisians hated Brienne and looked toward the shallow and undisciplined Louis Philippe, the duc d'Orléans, as their spokesman.

As usual, Louis was plodding, vacillating, fearful, and obstinate. In November 1787 Louis summoned the Paris Parlement to Versailles. He addressed them in his royal finery and asked them to approve a loan of 40 million livres so that France could continue to function and avoid bankruptcy. A seven-hour debate resulted in no clear answers, and he stormed out without officially ending the Royal Session. He exiled Orléans. Louis withdrew into passivity and failed to take any initiative. Consequently Marie Antoinette was forced to meet with her advisor, Florimond Claude, the comte de Mercy-Argenteau, and together they decided to recall Necker as controller general. Necker found some funds to help France continue functioning. However, no long-range plan was implemented, mostly because Marie Antoinette lacked the expertise to make systemic changes. Her total and unqualified belief in absolutist monarchy also stood in the way of any major reform at a time of changing ideological thought.

The winter of 1788–1789 was especially cold, so people remained in their homes. The Seine froze up, preventing all goods from entering Paris. A shortage of grain exacerbated the situation, famine was looming, and the price of bread increased. Although Louis and Necker made grain available to the poor, at huge expense to the treasury, the people were more appreciative when Orléans sold his paintings to supply food. Marie Antoinette's efforts—her contributions to many charitable endeavors from her own household funds—were ignored.

The royal couple wished to increase the amount of deputies to the **Third Estate**. Louis asked the deputies to indicate their grievances in order to be prepared for the convocation of the Estates-General. The first session of the Estates-General was held on May 5, 1789. Since he was incapable of deriving new ideas, Marie Antoinette wrote his speech advocating the obedience required to an absolute monarchy. She had wanted the Estates-General to meet far outside Paris, but he paid no attention to her suggestion. Instead Louis took Necker's advice, and the session was held at Versailles. When he addressed the 1,200 deputies, Louis discarded her speech. These points clearly indicate that she had little influence over his decisions.

The dauphin's increasingly poor health preoccupied Marie Antoinette, and her motherly duties now took precedence. The youngster's deformed body eventually crushed his lungs and he died on June 3, 1789. He was buried at Saint Denis among his royal ancestors.

The Third Estate renamed itself the **National Assembly**. Louis finally asserted himself on June 18 and wished to hold a special royal session of the Estates-General. Since the meeting hall was not ready, it was held at the tennis court. The deputies vowed to continue meeting despite Louis' orders to the contrary. Necker resigned. The First and Second Estates flocked to the National Assembly, whereupon all the deputies were ordered by Louis to join the National Assembly. Marie Antoinette, always an absolutist, was upset that Louis forgot his royal role, his dynastic heritage, and failed to imprison the deputies when his own family was placed in danger. Louis remained immobile. Everyone knew that revolution threatened.

On July 14 a huge, unruly crowd stormed the **Bastille**, a fourteenth-century prison and military fortress that had become a military warehouse and was supposedly filled with hundreds of prisoners subjected to torture. The Swiss Guards who protected the Bastille were quickly overpowered and killed with horrendous ferocity. Only seven prisoners were found and released. The capture of the Bastille became a powerful symbol deemed an act of liberty against a tyrannical monarchy. Many members of the royal family left France after the fall of the Bastille, but Louis insisted his people would not harm him; Marie Antoinette would not leave without Louis. All royal authority was lost.

On October 5, 1789, some 6,000 angry Parisians, mostly **women**, marched from the Hôtel de Ville to Versailles, ready to kill the queen, whom they held responsible for the rise in bread prices and whom they generally blamed for all of France's troubles. The **National Guard**, commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette, was to guarantee the family's safety. Some members of the crowd carried axes, cudgels, and knives; they murdered two guardsmen and displayed their severed heads on poles. The royal couple went onto the balcony, where a dignified Marie Antoinette curtsied to the crowd, who were impressed with her lack of fear. The royal family was taken to Paris and imprisoned in the Tuileries, a dilapidated former palace nearly in ruin. Freedom of the press exacerbated the slander already associated with Marie Antoinette's character; she was denounced as the enemy of the people, a Judas who would betray France to the Austrians. The rumor was spread that Emperor **Joseph II** would send his army to invade France.

On June 20, 1791 the royal family escaped and nearly crossed the border but were caught at **Varrennes** when Louis' face was recognized. They were returned to Paris by the National Guard. A new constitution was promulgated in 1791. Although Marie Antoinette was contemptuous of the idea of a constitutional monarchy, Louis had no choice but to swear loyalty to it. Fear of a royalist backlash was strengthened by the publication on July 25, 1792, of the Brunswick Manifesto, issued by the Duke of Brunswick on behalf of Austria and Prussia, which were not at war with France, which threatened the Parisians with extreme vengeance if the royal family were harmed. It also threatened the French people with strong punishment if the Prussian and imperial armies were defied. Brunswick also demanded the restoration of the monarchy. French people understood the manifesto to mean that Louis and Marie Antoinette had colluded with the duke.

Louis was formally arrested on August 12, 1792. Prison life at the Tuileries was horrendous. The family was besieged by the violent fury of the Parisian crowds, and no one defended them during the **September Massacres**. The horrific slaughter included the decapitation of Marie Antoinette's friend the Princesse de Lamballe. The royal family was moved to the Temple. The **Legislative Assembly** met on Sep-

tember 20 and declared France a republic on September 21. On September 22 the Assembly became the Convention, and France was jubilant when her forces invaded **Belgium**. While Louis fell ill in the Temple, Marie Antoinette nursed him back to health. He occupied himself with reading and teaching his son Latin. Louis was put on trial on December 11, 1792, and found guilty of high treason. He was guillotined on January 21, 1793. Marie Antoinette was devastated but never held Louis responsible for the family's circumstances.

Marie Antoinette was separated from her children, whom she never saw again, and moved to the Conciergerie as prisoner 280. She was charged on August 2, 1793, with being an enemy of the Revolution and conspiring against France. Despite her degrading circumstances, she never lost her dignity and never let her royal composure desert her. Likely suffering from the early stages of cancer, she endured severe menstrual bleeding and suffered from severe privation, including lack of blankets and light. Her alleged crimes ranged from bankrupting France and threatening its security with plots that involved Joseph II to starving the French people and massacring Parisians. The court had no documentation to prove the charges against her. She won the courtroom crowd over to her side when she denied the accusation of committing incest with her son. When the two-day trial ended with a guilty verdict, Marie Antoinette was not surprised. On October 16 she was conveyed to her execution under the most humiliating circumstances for a queen: in a cart, with her hands bound behind her back. Although only 38 years old, she gladly welcomed her death. Her head and body were placed together with those of her husband in a local cemetery. Madame Royale witnessed the removal of her parents' corpses and their reburial at Saint Denis on January 21, 1815. *See also* First Estate; Second Estate; Tennis Court Oath.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### **Martin, Josiah (1737–1786)**

Born in Antigua, in the West Indies, one of 23 children of a British colonel stationed there, Josiah Martin entered the British Army in 1757. In 1769, Martin sold his commission as lieutenant colonel in order to move into a civil appointment as royal governor of **North Carolina**, a post he assumed in 1771. Among his early actions was the continuing repression of the Regulator uprising, a process begun by his predecessor, William **Tryon**. His actions in putting down the revolt were seen as even handed and won him some acceptance in the colony. As the colonial crisis worsened, Martin tried to keep North Carolina in the imperial fold. He requested arms and munitions from General Thomas **Gage** in Boston. He likewise called upon local **Loyalists** to come out in support of the Crown. Eventually, he was forced to flee North Carolina by the Whigs in the state. His efforts at keeping North Carolina in

the British Empire led to the rising of Loyalists, which was crushed at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge on February 27, 1775.

Martin returned to the Carolinas in 1779 with the expedition led by General Charles Cornwallis. He served the British general as a volunteer during his campaign until poor health forced Martin to leave Cornwallis at Wilmington, North Carolina, in April 1781. Martin continued to draw his salary as royal governor until October 1783. Poor health kept him from serving in any new posts. He died in London in 1786.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

## Maryland

While some colonies such as **Massachusetts** were leaders in the independence movement, ambivalence characterized Maryland's actions during the **American Revolution**. At no time did Maryland attempt to establish a position of leadership. The state did, however, participate in initiatives that eventually led to the **Constitutional Convention**.

The **Sons of Liberty** were active in Baltimore and organized opposition to the **Stamp Act** and other parliamentary legislation. Other issues, however, took precedence and drew attention. Maryland was a proprietary colony. As chief proprietors, the Calverts wielded enormous influence over every facet of colonial life. Thus, a great deal of energy and political capital were spent in attempting to curb their influence. Although Maryland participated in the First **Continental Congress**, its commitment to independence was questioned. Maryland's delegates were not instructed to vote for independence until June 28, 1776. Thomas **Jefferson** had expressed concern as to what Maryland would produce, and John **Adams** commented that no one knew which way Maryland would decide on an issue. Later, when the **Articles of Confederation** were drawn up, Maryland did not adopt them until 1781, the last state to do so.

Maryland and **Virginia** helped to start a precedent that would eventually become the process that led to the drafting of the **United States Constitution**. Because of similarities in their concerns about rivers and access in the Chesapeake region, delegates from both states met at the home of George **Washington** in 1785 to draw up agreements concerning access and trade. The result encouraged some political thinkers to believe that all the states might join together to replace the Articles. Maryland ratified the United States Constitution in 1788 by an almost 6–1 majority vote. Washington himself had personally lobbied (or “meddled,” as he described it) to encourage the document's ratification there. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Carroll, Charles; Committees of Correspondence; Constitutions, American State; Galloway, Joseph; Paca, William.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Mason, George (1725–1792)

George Mason was a **Virginia** planter who served before the **American Revolution** as a magistrate and a member of Virginia's House of Burgesses. He became a leader of the Patriot forces in Virginia and drew up the Virginia Declaration of Rights in 1776. This document influenced the **Declaration of Independence** and became a model for the later **Bill of Rights**. Mason continued to serve in the Virginia legislature throughout the Revolution. Throughout his career, he was a correspondent and alternately a difficult ally and an opponent of other Virginia planter-statesmen, including George **Washington**, Thomas **Jefferson**, and James **Madison**.

Mason retired from statewide politics after the war but was an active and vocal delegate to the **Constitutional Convention** of 1787. He refused to sign the final document, citing the lack of a bill of rights and what he claimed was the excessive power of the federal judiciary and executive over the legislature and the states. (Mason consistently viewed an overpowerful executive as the greatest threat to republican government.) He strongly opposed the creation of the District of Columbia, suggesting that it might become a haven for criminals, and was also frustrated by the Convention's willingness to allow the importation of slaves for 20 years, despite the fact that he was a slaveholder himself. After the Convention, Mason continued to oppose the **United States Constitution** both as a writer in his memorandum "Objections to this Constitution of Government" and as a politician in the Virginia Ratification Convention. The adoption of a bill of rights did not fully reconcile Mason to the Constitution, and he retired to his estate at Gunston Hall, declining an offer to serve Virginia in the United States Senate in 1790. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

## Massachusetts

Of all of Britain's colonies in the years before the **American Revolution**, one of the oldest, most vocal, and most politically developed was the colony of Massachusetts. In the 1760s and 1770s, Massachusetts, which then included the area that would become the state of Maine in 1820, provided the most articulate and consistent leadership toward independence. Leading the opposition to the **Stamp Act**, the colony was also the site of some of the earliest and most dramatic incidents leading to the Revolution, including the **Boston Massacre** and the **Boston Tea Party**, and the first battles of the Revolution. The **Boston Port Act**, the **Coercive Acts**, and the **New England Restraining Act** were all enacted to punish Massachusetts for its political activity. Participating in the **Stamp Act Congress** as well as the First and Second Continental Congresses, its representatives were active and articulate. Finally, it was a rebellion in western Massachusetts in 1786 that underscored the weakness of the **Articles of Confederation**, which helped to lend a sense of urgency to measures that would replace the Confederation with a new system of government.

The population exhibited a high degree of literacy and a history of political and religious activism and a tradition of dissent. The first Massachusetts settlers had

arrived in 1620, establishing Plymouth Colony. Three years later, with the settlement of Boston, the colony of Massachusetts Bay came into existence. These two were combined by the Crown into one colony in 1691. While there were some differences between Plymouth (sometimes referred to as the Old Colony) and Massachusetts Bay, the real fault line lay not between these two formerly separate entities, but between the communities on the coast and those in the interior as the colony expanded.

Massachusetts then began to display many of the same political, geographic, and economic divisions that existed in the other colonies. Distance was part of the reason but there were cultural and economic factors as well. The western communities along the Connecticut River were not only far from Boston but had been settled principally by people from the colony of **Connecticut**. Thus, there was a different focus in those settlements. The differences showed themselves in various ways, including ideas of safety and welfare. As early as King Philip's War in the 1670s, there was a serious plan to create a stockade to protect Boston, leaving the outer communities to fend for themselves. As time passed, these differences became more centered on specific issues, often economic. In addition, there was disagreement over degrees of representation. Attitudes hardened between east and west, although not to the extent that existed among the colonies. In other words, while there was serious disagreement, there was never an armed group from the western communities opposed to the colony's ruling elites, as occurred in other colonies. That remained true until after the Revolution. Prior to the Revolution, the greatest base of pro-British support was in the central and western parts of the colony, especially in centers such as Worcester and Springfield.

Contention and political activity were not only a function of regional differences. Massachusetts had first been settled by dissenters who relied heavily upon the Bible to inform much of their thought. That dependence on the Bible was the product of, as well as the impetus for, a very high degree of literacy. That literacy, in turn, encouraged discussion on many issues. Factionalism and politics in the town meetings and between towns and the colonial government became a staple part of Massachusetts life. Although the ideal of towns being "Peaceable Kingdoms" was the model, this seldom occurred and towns often became divided, with new towns being formed out of the original town boundaries. The town of Marlborough evolved into the towns of Marlborough, Westborough, Southborough, and Westborough in the years before the Revolution. According to some historians, the Salem witch trials of the previous century had been the result of political conflict between the port of Salem Town and the interior Salem Village. It was a natural progression from local issues to issues touching the colony to questions of how the British Empire should be run in relation to its colonies.

From 1763 on, the views toward home rule, taxes, and the sense of rights began to complicate and deepen the already existing divisions as **Parliament** began to search for ways to pay for the recently concluded Seven Years' War. In 1764, Parliament passed the **Sugar Act** as a means of collecting revenue. The response was the Braintree Instructions, drafted by John **Adams**. The Instructions stated that the Sugar Act was to be opposed because there had been no colonial representation in the decision making. It was eventually adopted by other Massachusetts towns.

Then, the Stamp Act was passed by Parliament on March 22, 1765, and would take effect one year later. The gap in time between enactment and the date it would



start gave opposing parties in the colonies the opportunity to sharpen the debate and rouse wide-ranging opposition. Discontent and agitation against the Stamp Act existed in some measure in all the colonies. It was, however, perhaps greater in Massachusetts than anywhere else. Further, those opposed to the act in Massachusetts successfully agitated beyond their immediate area, spreading opposition to other colonies, culminating in the Stamp Act Congress that took place in **New York** in October of that year in New York City.

Before the Stamp Act Congress convened, local opposition to the act was marked not only by the increased frequency of opposition but increased violence as well. In August 1765, Lieutenant Governor Thomas **Hutchinson's** house in Boston was destroyed, as was the home of a stamp tax official. Hutchinson had actually opposed the act, but as lieutenant governor, he was seen as an agent of the Crown enforcing a law that was violently opposed.

The Stamp Act was repealed and was soon replaced with the **Townshend Acts**, which sought to raise revenue by taxing imports. These acts, while opposed everywhere, were most violently opposed in Massachusetts. While all but the taxes on tea would eventually be repealed, Boston had become such an active center of discontent that in 1768 that troops were sent to keep order in the city. In this same year, the Massachusetts House of Representatives drafted a protest against the Townshend Acts, known as the Massachusetts Circular Letter, which was sent to other colonies on the strong suggestion of John Adams.

The repeal of most of the duties did not bring peace. Resentment at the presence of British soldiers in Boston eventually resulted in the Boston Massacre, an altercation in the streets of Boston, where several Americans were killed. In 1772 the Crown decided that the salaries of governors and judges would no longer be paid by the colony, but directly by the Crown. This action removed all accountability of these officials to the colony and was strongly opposed.

It was that same year that the **committees of correspondence**, a Massachusetts innovation, began to spread throughout the colonies. The original Committee of Correspondence had been organized by Samuel **Adams** with the intent of spreading news and shaping opinion. Within a very short time this network would have a significant political effect throughout the colonies.

On December 16, men dressed as Indians boarded ships in Boston Harbor loaded with tea that could not leave the harbor until the tea tax was paid. They smashed the chests and dumped the tea overboard. The British response came in the form of the Boston Port Act, which closed Boston Harbor beginning June 1, 1774. Boston port would remain closed until the East India Company was reimbursed for its losses from the Tea Party.

In 1774 there was also a great deal of antigovernment activity in the western and central parts of Massachusetts, particularly in Springfield and Worcester, even though there was generally greater support for the Crown in that region. Courts were closed as a result, making the act of governing more difficult for Hutchinson's replacement, General Thomas **Gage**.

The Port Act was followed in close succession by other parliamentary legislation aimed specifically at punishing Massachusetts. Labeled collectively as the Coercive Acts, these included the **Administration of Justice Act** (royal officials being tried for capital crimes were to be taken to **Britain** and not tried in Massachusetts), the **Massachusetts Government Act** (which revoked the charter of 1692), and the **Quartering**

**Act.** These acts were the immediate cause for the calling of the First **Continental Congress**, held in Philadelphia in September 1774.

The situation was very tense and it seemed that it would not take a great deal to begin an armed conflict. In September of that year, there was a rumor that Gage had ordered his forces to shell the city of Boston. Militia units from all over New England left their homes and marched on Boston. When it became known that the alarm was false, they returned home. Estimates of the number of men that participated in this movement vary, but the actual turnout to meet this perceived emergency was large enough (perhaps as many as 30,000 men) to let both the British and Americans know that a significant response could be mounted to any British action. That so many men could mobilize so quickly with a single objective gives an idea of how close both parties seemed to war.

In April 1775, the first battles of the **American Revolutionary War** were fought in Massachusetts. British troops from Boston marched into nearby Middlesex County to confiscate stores of arms that the local militias had been collecting. The result was the fighting at **Lexington and Concord** and the pursuit of the British into Boston by local militia units that put Boston under siege. In June 1775, the British attacked American positions in Charlestown, across the river from Boston, and defeated the Americans at what was subsequently known as the Battle of Bunker Hill. It was in Cambridge and in the lines surrounding Boston that George **Washington** took command of and formed what would become the **Continental Army**. The British garrison evacuated Boston in March 1776, and the center of military conflict moved south, never to return to Massachusetts, which would see no more fighting for the rest of the war. Throughout the conflict, however, Massachusetts provided not only logistical support but troops in what was commonly referred to as the Massachusetts Line of the Continental Army.

In providing supplies for the army and through trade and privateering, Massachusetts prospered during the war. There was, however, a split in the state between those doing well from the conflict and those who did not, and this split ran rather sharply between the ports and the interior, east and west. That disparity would play a most critical part in politics after the conclusion of the war.

In a state so politically aware and, in many respects, so divided over the question of who would rule at home, it is no surprise that Massachusetts did not draft a state constitution until 1778. Further, this constitution, with revisions largely made by John Adams in the following year, was not approved until 1780. Property qualifications for voting and holding office were among the most controversial issues. As might be expected, this economic-based question about the exercise of political power reflected the economic state of east versus west, with one region doing significantly better than the other. The Massachusetts constitution was finally approved in 1780 by a very narrow margin. Although there had been much compromise, many still believed that the property qualifications were still too high. In other, more subtle ways, the westerners felt excluded from the political process and that their participation was not desired by a government dominated by the eastern communities. The failure of Massachusetts to provide adequate travel expenses for western representatives traveling to Boston was seen as further proof that their opinions and participation were not valued.

Significantly, unlike the constitutions of many colonies, the Massachusetts constitution created a powerful executive branch. That distinction would be critical

when the government faced a major crisis in the mid-1780s. John **Hancock**, the first to sign the **Declaration of Independence**, became the first Massachusetts governor under the new constitution.

In 1786, a few years after the adoption of the state constitution and the end of the Revolution, Massachusetts was the scene of a dramatic display of civil disorder. The Hampshire County Rebellion, more often known as Shays's Rebellion, underscored not only regional differences but also the potentially bitter conflict between the haves and have-nots. Further, it showed how those differences could play out when the government was not strong enough to impose order.

In the years after the Revolution, Massachusetts, as well as other colonies, was undergoing a great deal of financial distress. While this was true throughout the state, it was particularly true in the western portion, where farmers were often on a subsistence level and often heavily in debt. In 1786, a convention was held in the town of Hatfield, which drew up a list of complaints, mostly economic but also having to do with the judiciary that was to be sent to Boston. Opposition to the courts spread and western farmers began to coalesce as a group under the leadership of an ex-army officer, Daniel Shays. They began to occupy local courthouses to stop the proceedings against farmers being prosecuted for debt. The militia was called out to keep these courts functioning but so far there had been no armed confrontation.

A second convention was called later on in the same year by these disaffected farmers in which they essentially declared war against the state government. Again court houses were occupied and the court sessions prevented from taking place. The militia was once again called out and in January 1787 was sent from Boston to Worcester in central Massachusetts, and then farther west. The first real conflict occurred on January 25, when three of Shays's men were killed. Shortly after, Shays himself surrendered. Although there was some small-scale fighting afterward, the rebellion effectively ended.

The state government had been shaken and the lessons led people to fear what would happen under the weak Articles of Confederation. Many western towns could not afford to send delegates to the sessions to ratify the Constitution. This tipped the scales in favor of ratification because the sentiment in western Massachusetts was very much against adopting the **United States Constitution**. When combined with eastern Massachusetts opposition (including Elbridge Gerry, who had been a delegate to the **Constitutional Convention**), it seemed that Massachusetts might not ratify the Constitution.

That it was ratified was largely due to the efforts of Samuel Adams, who had lobbied very hard for ratification, and John Hancock and a proposal known as the Massachusetts Compromise. The compromise stipulated that there would be amendments to the Constitution to mitigate the perceived concentration of power by the central government. With this agreement, Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on February 6, 1788. *See also* Adams, Abigail; Chase, Samuel; Church, Benjamin; Constitutions, American State; Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; Continental Association; King, Rufus; Loyalists; Navigation Acts; Non-Importation Agreements; Proclamation of 1763; Quincy, Josiah; Sons of Liberty; Whigs.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### Massachusetts Government Act (1774)

The Massachusetts Government Act (enacted May 20, 1774; effective August 1, 1774, for an indefinite period) was one of five acts **Parliament** drafted during the spring of 1774 collectively known in **Britain** as the **Coercive Acts**, and in its American colonies as the Intolerable Acts. The act followed a decade of resistance in **Massachusetts** that had been punctuated by riots against the **Stamp Act** (1765) and the **Townshend Acts** (1768). The **Boston Tea Party** (December 16, 1773) prompted Parliament to draft the Massachusetts Government Act, which seized control of Massachusetts's provincial and local government.

Until August 1774, Massachusetts's 1691 charter had granted its constituents greater political autonomy than enjoyed by Britain's other American colonies. The Massachusetts Government Act revoked those passages of the 1691 charter that regarded the colony's self-governance, including the General Court's (elected legislature) authority to appoint the governor's councilors. This enabled the royally appointed governor to appoint councilors who would support imperial policy rather than obstruct it (as had become the norm in the preceding decade) and placed this aspect of provincial governance on a par with that of the other colonies. In response, spontaneous crowds formed throughout Massachusetts and forced many of these "mandamus councilors" to publicly renounce their appointments. Some of the mandamus councilors fled to Boston, where they were protected by the British Army. Continued provincial opposition, however, persuaded General Thomas **Gage**, governor of Massachusetts, that he could not convene his council lest it incite further violence.

The Massachusetts Government Act also shifted the authority to appoint all provincial magistrates from the General Court to the royal governor, who did not require the consent of his council. Further, juries would no longer be elected by provincials but would instead be selected by Crown-appointed sheriffs. Massachusetts provincials objected to these changes because they believed the province's officers would no longer feel obliged to act in a manner consistent with the interests of local constituents.

Finally, the Massachusetts Government Act severely restricted the latitude of each town's selectmen to call town meetings. Historically, this forum had provided

Massachusetts provincials a venue for direct democracy. During the preceding decade, however, the towns had expanded their agendas from the discussion of local issues to debating and passing resolutions regarding the relative merit of imperial policies. Parliament interpreted this as an abuse of the 1691 charter's provision for town meetings.

Of all the Coercive Acts, the Massachusetts Government Act was most responsible for mobilizing support for the revolutionary movement in Massachusetts's two western counties—Berkshire and Hampshire. Before the Coercive Acts were imposed, this more recently settled area had largely ignored provincial Whigs' resistance to Parliament's taxation measures. With the Massachusetts Government Act, though, Parliament revoked the province's authority to govern itself. This directly affected every Massachusetts resident and proved to be more effective than the efforts of Samuel **Adams** and the Boston Committee of Correspondence to secure province-wide and intercolonial support for the revolutionary movement. *See also* Committees of Correspondence.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

### Maury, Jean-Sifrin (1746–1817)

Prior to the **French Revolution**, Maury had won acclaim as a preacher and writer, most notably for his elegy on Fénelon and a panegyric on Saint Louis as well as his Lent sermon before **Louis XVI** in 1781. In 1789, Maury was elected a member of the **Estates-General** by the clergy of Péronne. He soon showed himself to among the wittiest and most vigorous and defenders of the **ancien régime**. The **nobility** and clergy found in Maury a persistent adversary for **Mirabeau**. His reputation as a defender of the church and the king was ensured through his vocal stance in the **Constituent Assembly** against the alienation of the property of the church.

In 1792, Pope **Pius VI** called Maury to Rome, where he was named archbishop of Nicaea. In 1794 he was named a cardinal. With the invasion of **Italy** in 1796, Maury fled to Venice. In 1800 he returned to Rome to serve at the papal court as ambassador of the exiled **Louis XVIII** in the conclave that elected **Pius VII**.

In 1804, Maury wrote to **Napoleon** to congratulate him for restoring religion to France. He returned to France in 1806 and in 1810 was made archbishop of Paris. When ordered by the pope to surrender his office, Maury refused. In 1814, after the fall of Napoleon, Maury was suspended by the pope and returned to Rome, where he was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo for six months for disobeying papal orders. Following his release, he reconciled with Pius VII and his position as cardinal was restored. The time in prison had left Maury in ill health, however, and on May 10, 1817, he died.

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JEFF SHANTZ

## Maximum

Maximum refers to a law passed on September 29, 1793, during the radical phase of the **French Revolution**, also known as the **Reign of Terror**. The law established price ceilings on various necessary and eventually secondary goods. Included in the necessary items on which the Maximum set prices were bread, wheat, and eventually meat. The **Thermidorian Reaction** and the fall of the **Jacobins** from power led to the dismantling of many of the more radical policies, the Maximum among them.

By 1793, **France** had endured years of bad harvests dating back to 1788. The poor harvests in turn led to shortages of grain, causing a steep rise in the price of bread, the principal staple food for the bulk of the French people. While the harvest of 1793 certainly constituted a major improvement over those of past years, yields were not consistently high in all the departments. In the cities, especially Paris, there arose grave concerns among the members of the working class segment of the populace that the government would provide them with enough flour for their daily ration of bread. Conversely, there also existed a great fear that hoarders and speculators in this commodity would artificially drive up prices. Accordingly, the people began to exert pressure on the government.

This pressure bore fruit on September 29, 1793, when the government enacted the Law of the Maximum. The law set the maximum price for various grains at the lowest price at which those respective grains stood between January 1 and May 1, 1793. In addition, these prices were to be reduced by increments until September 1, 1793, with a fine imposed on anyone who bought or sold grain above these prices. Likewise, anyone caught destroying grain during the period of dearth would suffer the death penalty. Thus, prices were fixed under the law in an attempt to give relief to urban dwellers and to allow for the safe supply of the army.

Another effect of this law was the removal of the middlemen from the gain trade, as now the people could buy directly from farmers, with the grain sold in the central marketplaces of the cities. Though the authorities made a concerted attempt to impose the legislation in practice, it proved impossible to do so. At the same time, denunciations for hoarding became a means for the people to exact vengeance for past slights, real or imagined. But with the fall of the Jacobins from power, and the dismantling of the apparatus of the Terror, the Maximum was eventually revoked in December 1794.

The Maximum stands as one of the first attempts at a government-controlled economy of the modern era and has been linked by some historians to the socialist strain of the French Revolution.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

## McKean, Thomas (1734–1817)

Thomas McKean (pronounced “McKain”) was an American lawyer who was a signatory of the **Declaration of Independence** and the second president of the U.S. **Congress** under the **Articles of Confederation**.

Born on March 19, 1734, at New London Township, Chester County, **Pennsylvania**, McKean was the son of a local tavern keeper, who, along with his mother, had come to Pennsylvania from **Ireland** when they were children. McKean attended the New London Academy of Rev. Francis Allison and then went to New Castle, Delaware, to study law. He was admitted to the bar in the lower counties (Delaware), and in Pennsylvania, becoming the deputy attorney general for Sussex County in Delaware. Soon afterward, he became a member of the general assembly of the lower counties, its speaker, and then judge on the court of common pleas.

Politically, McKean was a member of the Country Party, which was dominated by Ulster-Scots and was keen on independence from **Britain**. Serving in the **Stamp Act Congress** of 1765, he then represented Delaware in the First and Second Continental Congresses. McKean urged Delaware congressmen to vote for independence. It was McKean who managed to persuade Caesar Rodney to ride over from Delaware to take part in the vote and give those in favor of independence a majority among the delegates from Delaware. In the famous painting by John Trumbull of the presentation of the Declaration of Independence to Congress, McKean is shown second from the right.

As the president of the Continental Congress that functioned during the **American Revolutionary War**, he was the first person ever referred to as president of the United States in an official document. It was during his term in office that the British under Lord Cornwallis surrendered at **Yorktown**.

From 1777 until 1799 McKean was chief justice of Pennsylvania, during which time he was regularly criticized for controversial decisions. However, he did much to establish an independent judiciary in the United States. Indeed, 10 years before the U.S. **Supreme Court** established its doctrine of judicial review, McKean argued that courts could strike down laws they felt were unconstitutional.

A member of the convention of Pennsylvania, he took part in the ratification of the **United States Constitution** and was governor of Pennsylvania from December 17, 1799, until December 20, 1808. During that period he tried to increase the powers of the executive arm of government. He also managed to extend free education to all children in the state. However, McKean was not as progressive with respect to the rights of women or slaves.

In 1804, McKean County in Pennsylvania was formed, and in the War of 1812 he was active in urging people in Pennsylvania to enlist to fight the British. He spent his retirement writing, having made a small fortune through real estate and investments. He died in Philadelphia on June 24, 1817, and was buried at the First Presbyterian Church Cemetery before his body, in 1843, was moved to Laurel Hill Cemetery, also in Philadelphia. *See also* Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### **McKinly, John (1721–1796)**

An American physician and politician from Delaware, John McKinly, the only chief executive of Delaware born overseas, was the first elected president of Delaware.

Born on February 21, 1721, in **Ireland**, his parents were Ulster-Scots who migrated to Wilmington, Delaware, in 1742. Five years later, McKinly was commissioned a lieutenant in the New Castle County militia and fought during the French and Indian War (known in Europe as the Seven Years' War), which lasted from 1756 until 1763. He was involved in building defenses at the site of Fort Christina.

A devout Presbyterian, McKinly became an adherent of the Country Party faction of Delaware politics. As such he gradually came to oppose British rule and became active in politics. He was sheriff of New Castle County from 1757 until 1760, and also chief burgess of Wilmington in 1758–1761, 1766–1769, 1770–1773, and 1774–1776. He also served in the Delaware legislature for New Castle from 1771 until 1775.

In 1776 when Delaware elected its first House of Assembly, McKinly was elected by New Castle County and was then chosen by the assembly to be the Speaker. In the following year, as Delaware's first chief magistrate, he faced a Loyalist insurrection and then was captured after the British, fresh from their victory at the Battle of Brandywine, took Wilmington. McKinly was held a prisoner on a ship in the Delaware River. He was later taken to Flatbush, New York, and was finally exchanged for William **Franklin**, the pro-British governor of New Jersey (and son of Benjamin **Franklin**).

Returning to Wilmington, McKinly built an extremely successful medical practice. Much of his attention was occupied by his work on the Delaware Medical Society, which he co-founded in 1793, and the Academy of Newark (later the University of Delaware). He subsidized the salaries of some teachers there and sponsored a number of students. He died on August 21, 1796, at Wilmington. He had married Jenny Richardson, the daughter of a local Quaker miller. They had no children.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Mecklenburg Declaration (1775)

The Mecklenburg Declaration, also known as the Mecklenburg Resolves and Charlotte Town Resolves, was a series of 20 resolutions passed by a committee in Mecklenburg County, **North Carolina**, on May 31, 1775. However, there is one technical difference between the terms. The Mecklenburg Declaration refers to an actual declaration of independence by the county, while the Mecklenburg Resolves refers to a series of resolutions that may or may not have included a direct act of declaring independence from **Britain**. Despite the controversy, the various resolutions passed by Mecklenburg County illustrate that anti-British sentiment existed in the backcountry of the southern colonies as well as in New England.

Mecklenburg County passed the resolutions after receiving news of the clash between colonists and British troops at **Lexington and Concord**. Considerable controversy over the existence and exact content of the Mecklenburg Declaration has existed since the nineteenth century and erupted into a major academic debate at the opening of the twentieth century. It is generally agreed that the Mecklenburg Committee of Safety met on May 31, 1775, and passed a series of resolutions that included voiding all laws issued by the British government, suspending the actions of royal military and civil officials, arresting all royal officials who continued to carry



out their duties as appointed by the British government, and calling for greater cooperation among the colonies and the forming of provincial congresses. In 1819, a claim emerged that the Committee of Safety also met on May 20, 1775, and passed a county declaration of independence from Britain. However, documentary evidence to prove the assertion did not exist, since the records of the original meeting were destroyed in a fire in 1800. Participants to the event who were still living in the early nineteenth century offered claims and counterclaims to a declaration of independence. Regardless of whether an actual declaration of independence existed, the various resolutions were forwarded to the North Carolina delegation at the Second **Continental Congress**. Although not presented publicly to the Congress, many claim that they were privately circulated among some of America's Founding Fathers. *See also* Declaration of Independence; Virginia Resolves.

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TERRY M. MAYS

### Méricourt, Anne-Josèphe Théroigne de (1762–1817)

Anne-Josèphe Théroigne de Méricourt was a feminist who played an important role in the **French Revolution**. She was born Anne-Josèphe Terwagne in Marcourt, **Belgium**. At first, she led the life of a part-time courtesan in Paris, London, and Rome, but upon her return to Paris in 1789, she became interested in revolutionary ideals.

Dressed in masculine attire, she attended daily sessions of the **National Assembly**, and her apartment became a salon attracting members of the Constituant. In January 1790, she created the Society of the Friends of Law, which, though lasting only three months, afforded her some notoriety. Because she demanded freedom for Jews, women, and the press, she became a target of vicious attacks from the royalists.

Wrongly suspected of having participated in the violent **October Days**, and fearing arrest, she returned to Marcourt in August. In January 1791, she was kidnapped by the Austrians and jailed on suspicion of spying for **France**. Freed in August, she had to remain in Vienna, but in October, after meeting with Emperor **Leopold II**, she regained her full liberty.

In January 1792, she returned triumphantly to Paris and became an ally of Jean-Pierre **Brissot de Warville**. On August 10, she incited and led a crowd to murder members of the royalist press. In 1793, she composed an anonymous pamphlet calling for the creation of all-women battalions, and for peace inside France, but war against aristocrats and foreign armies.

On May 13, 1793, a group of female extremists accused Théroigne de Méricourt of being a moderate, accosted her, and beat her soundly. After this public humiliation, her role in the Revolution ended and she started showing signs of madness. In the spring of 1794, she was jailed until September for being a friend of Brissot and for making suspicious remarks. In 1795, she was locked in a mental hospital, never to be released. She died in La Salpêtrière Hospital on June 8, 1817.

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GUY-DAVID TOUBIANA

### Merlin, Philippe-Antoine, Comte (1754–1838)

Philippe-Antoine, the comte Merlin, was a French politician and lawyer during the **French Revolution** and the Napoleonic era. He supported the abolition of feudal and seigniorial rights and reformed the French justice system. While he received honors from **Napoleon's** government, Merlin ran afoul of Bourbon authorities during the Restoration as a result of his vote in favor of **Louis XVI's** execution more than 20 years earlier.

Merlin was born in Arleux, Nord, to a wealthy family in 1754. He studied at the College of Douai and was admitted to the bar in the **Parlement** of Flanders in 1775. During his career, Merlin contributed to important legal compilations. In April 1789, the *bailliage* of Douai elected Merlin as a representative of the **Third Estate** in the **Estates-General**.

From 1789 to 1791, Merlin served in the **National Assembly**. He attacked the **privileges** of the **nobility** under the **ancien régime** and presented reports on manorialism and the notion of redistribution with compensation. Merlin advocated legislation abolishing the practice of primogeniture to secure equal distributions of inheritance for relatives of the same degree, and for men and women. From 1791 to 1792, Merlin served as president of the criminal tribune for the department of Nord, later serving as the region's representative in the **National Convention**. During the king's trial, Merlin voted in favor of execution. In September 1793, he contributed to the elaboration of the **Law of Suspects**.

Following the demise of Maximilien **Robespierre** during the **Thermidorian Reaction**, Merlin became president of the National Convention and, in 1795, became a member of the **Committee of Public Safety**. He worked to prevent radical groups from gathering power and convinced the committee to close the Jacobin Clubs on the grounds that it was an administrative, rather than a legislative, measure. Merlin encouraged the **Girondins'** readmission to the Convention and curbed the right to insurrection. In 1794, he had been commissioned to report on the civil and criminal legislation of **France**. After an 18-month investigation, he developed a code, based on the penal code of 1791, abolishing confiscation, branding, and life imprisonment. Later, under the **Directory**, Merlin declined a seat in the **Legislative Assembly** to serve as minister of justice and minister of the general police. Following the coup d'état of Fructidor (September 4, 1797), Merlin was elected member of the Directory, serving presidential terms in 1798 and 1799. Merlin resigned his seat amidst accusations of corruption.

Although he did not participate in the coup d'état of **Brumaire** (November 9–10, 1799), Merlin prospered through his position as deputy commissar in the tribunal of appeals (1801) and later as *procureur général* in the Court of Appeals (1804). In 1806, Merlin was named a councilor of state for life. Napoleon granted Merlin the Legion of Honor and bestowed upon him the dignity of count in 1810. Merlin fell out of favor following Napoleon's demise, but during the emperor's brief return during the Hundred Days (March–June 1815), Merlin resumed his former status.

Following the second Bourbon restoration after Waterloo, Merlin, proscribed as a regicide, fled France. In exile, he published some legal works. He returned following the 1830 revolution, which overthrew the Bourbon monarchy. Merlin died in Paris in 1838.

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ERIC MARTONE

### Merlin “de Thionville,” Antoine Christophe (1762–1833)

A legislator during the **French Revolution**, Antoine Christophe Merlin was born on September 13, 1762, in Thionville in northeastern France. The son of a *procureur*, he was later called Merlin de Thionville to distinguish him from Philippe-Antoine **Merlin** de Douai, who was a French politician during the same period.

Antoine Christophe Merlin studied theology and then went into the law, becoming an attorney at Metz in the east of France, close to the border of Luxembourg, in 1788. Two years later he was elected to run the Thionville municipality and then represented Moselle in the **Legislative Assembly** in Paris. It was there that, on October 23, 1791, that he argued in favor of the establishment of a committee of surveillance. This was approved, and Merlin became a member of the committee. In that position, he proposed that the property of all **émigrés** be seized by the French revolutionary government. He also supported war with **Austria**. There was an attempt to have him arrested soon afterward, but it failed. He was active in the *émeute* (riot) on June 20, 1792. By August, Merlin de Thionville, observing that the French Republic was under threat of subversion by émigrés, argued that their wives or children should be seized as hostages.

After being elected to the **National Convention**, Merlin supported the execution of **Louis XVI**, but a commission in the French army stopped him from attending the trial. His task at the time was to defend Mainz, which had declared itself a republic and was then attacked, and eventually occupied, by the Prussians. Merlin was credited with acting with great bravery during the siege. On his return to Paris, he was involved in the machinations that followed the overthrow of Maximilien **Robespierre**, and he served on the **Council of Five Hundred**, which operated under the **Directory**. Merlin took part in the coup d'état of 18 Fructidor (September 4, 1797) and urged for the deportation of some parliamentarians. He left the council in 1798 and took up a position as director general of posts and then was involved in the French army in **Italy**. When the **Consulate** was proclaimed in 1799, Merlin went into retirement. He died on September 14, 1833.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Metternich, Klemens von (1773–1859)

A conservative Austrian statesman, Count Klems von Metternich restored **Austria** as a leading European power in the post-Napoleonic era and led the Congress of **Vienna**, which restored the Old Order of conservative politics that would govern Europe until 1848.

Klemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar von Metternich-Winneberg was born at Coblenz, in the Rhineland, on May 15, 1773. He was the second child and first son

of Count Franz Georg Karl von Metternich, an envoy of the court of Vienna at Coblenz, and his wife, Maria Beatrix, who was born Countess von Kageneck. The vain young Metternich received an extremely conservative upbringing and education from his mother, who homeschooled him and taught him French and German. Religious instruction was provided by Abbé Bertrand. A private tutor, John Frederick Simon, entered the household in 1784; he had taught in a school established by Johann Bernard Basedow and introduced Metternich to physical education, which he continued throughout his life.

The family believed Catholicism was the foundation for order. Metternich maintained a superior attitude toward the lower classes and carried the arrogance of his conservative views throughout his life. He read philosophy at the University of Strasbourg at age 15. Metternich remained immune to the revolutionary spirit that was rampant not only in Strasbourg but throughout Europe. He moved to the University of Mainz, where he studied diplomacy and law, and learned that a stable social equilibrium was required for good government. Metternich also traveled to **Britain** on a special mission and socialized with the upper echelons of British society. He was enthusiastically accepted, for his tall physique, exquisite manners, and conversational ability appear to have pleased most of those he met.

The **French Revolution** had a profoundly traumatic effect on Metternich. His hereditary estates were confiscated, and the family lost its impressive annual income. Metternich thrived on the conservative institutions that traditionally governed society; thus, the excesses of the Revolution turned his world upside down. He firmly opposed liberal ideas and devoted himself to the reduction of the Jacobin threat wherever and however he could. In short, Metternich spent his entire life trying to reverse the principles of *liberté, égalité, and fraternité* and maintain Austria's position as a leading power in Europe.

Metternich's mother arranged a marriage for him with 19-year-old Maria Eleonora von Kaunitz, whose grandfather was the highly influential Austrian chancellor Count Wenzel von Kaunitz. The marriage took place on September 27, 1795, and brought him vast wealth. The couple had seven children: Marie, Francis Charles, Clement, Francis Victor, Clementine, Leontine, and Hermin. The first five children preceded their father in death. Metternich had numerous affairs throughout the course of his marriage. One affair resulted in the birth of an illegitimate daughter, also named Clementine. Caroline Murat, **Napoleon's** sister, was one of his mistresses.

Metternich's innate diplomatic skills were soon recognized by highly placed officials in the Habsburg court. He represented the Westphalian College of Counts at the Congress of Rastatt in 1797, a task that bored him. He became Austrian ambassador to Saxony, residing in Dresden in 1800, and his distinguished service brought him the elevated position of ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin in 1803.

The French emperor, Napoleon I, was at the height of his power when he requested that Metternich be appointed ambassador to France in 1806. Metternich loathed Napoleon's growing influence and inwardly deemed the emperor an ambitious upstart. Although Metternich accepted the position, he maintained a strong personal hatred for Napoleon, who had confiscated his holdings and workers in 1796. Yet Metternich dealt admirably with Napoleon's repeated threats against Austria. He managed to uphold Austrian interests while Napoleon pushed those of France. However, the thousand-year-old Holy Roman Empire was dissolved, with **Francis II** maintaining his throne as Emperor Francis I of Austria.

Metternich's lengthy audience with Napoleon at Saint-Cloud on August 15, 1808, gave the Austrian a clear understanding of Napoleon's grandiose ambitions. He did not yield to the emperor, who was exasperated by Metternich's utter indifference. Francis had great respect for Metternich's diplomatic skills and appointed him minister of state in August 1809, and jointly as minister of imperial affairs and of foreign affairs in October 1809. By this time Metternich considered himself infallible, and those who opposed him sometimes found him brusque and terse. Nevertheless, he would retain his position as foreign minister until 1848—an impressive period of tenure.

In 1809, war broke out between France and Austria. Vienna was captured by the French in May, but Napoleon suffered a defeat at the hands of the Austrians a few days later at the Battle of Aspern-Essling, though their subsequent loss at the Battle of Wagram in early July obliged them to sue for peace. Metternich became a prisoner of state but was released a few months later. Peace was declared and completed on October 14 with the humiliating Treaty of Schönbrunn, by which Austria was forced to cede extensive territories.

Metternich saw a positive outcome from the humiliation. Napoleon wanted to remarry after divorcing Empress **Josephine**. Although several princesses refused Napoleon's marriage proposals, Metternich arranged the marriage of Francis's daughter, Archduchess Marie Louise, to Napoleon, who desperately wanted a link to a legitimate royal dynasty. They married on March 11, 1810. The couple soon had a son, who was named the king of Rome. The marriage was also the basis of an alliance between France and Austria, which was soon directed against Russia.

In 1812 Metternich signed a treaty with Napoleon, who was preparing to invade Russia; he promised Napoleon military assistance in exchange for some territorial concessions for Austria, should he be victorious. Meanwhile, Metternich also secretly negotiated with Britain, Russia, and Prussia on the possibility of establishing a new coalition against France. Following Napoleon's horrendous retreat from Russia in 1812, Metternich, who had secretly rearmed Austria during the spring of 1813, withdrew from the alliance and prepared to join the Fourth Coalition. Metternich and Napoleon met at a lengthy audience in Dresden on June 26. Metternich offered Napoleon humiliating and ultimately insulting proposals that the French emperor could only refuse. The meeting resulted in a stalemate, with war against France only a matter of time. By early 1814 Metternich realized that any type of peace with Napoleon would be unattainable. In lieu of a negotiated peace with the emperor, Metternich supported a Bourbon restoration, with the throne offered to **Louis XVIII**, the younger brother of the guillotined king, **Louis XVI**.

This policy shift led to Metternich's close contact with Viscount Castlereagh, the British foreign secretary, as well as other important British political and military figures. Castlereagh and Metternich negotiated the alliance of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Britain that led to Napoleon's final downfall and the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris in April 1814. Later that year, the Congress of **Vienna**—a gathering of diplomats and European heads of state—met to solve the political and territorial problems created by the two decades of war. France was treated fairly, for the victors had no desire to cripple her.

The reactionary Metternich was the foremost negotiator at the Congress of Vienna, which continued until June 1815. His goal was to reverse the lingering aftereffects of the French Revolution and recreate the Old Order. He accomplished his goal, in conjunction with Castlereagh, by creating the Kingdom of the

**Netherlands**, composed of Holland, Luxembourg, and **Belgium**. Austria would control Lombardy-Venetia; Prussia received territories, Britain received various overseas possessions once held by the French or their allies; the Papal States reverted to the **papacy**; Sweden and Norway were united; Finland was granted to Russia; Switzerland regained its independence; France, Tuscany, **Naples**, **Spain**, and various parts of Italy were restored under legitimate monarchs; and Jews received extended rights. By the shifting of frontiers, particularly along the frontiers with France, the balance of power was restored.

Metternich made an enemy of Russian Tsar **Alexander I**, who wished to create a Kingdom of Poland under Russia's aegis and to undo the partitions of **Poland**. Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Prussian chancellor Karl von Hardenberg opposed this proposition, known as the Polish-Saxon Question. On January 3, 1815, Metternich, together with Castlereagh and the French representative, Prince Charles Maurice de **Talleyrand**, concluded a treaty of alliance intended to prevent Prussian annexation of the whole of Saxony. Ultimately parts of Poland were granted to **Prussia** and to **Russia**. Austria lost the Polish territories it had gained from an earlier partition.

The Congress of Vienna also gave life to what became known as the Congress System, by which the Great Powers agreed to meet at specific intervals to discuss European affairs of mutual concern. Ultimately it meant that Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to quash all nationalist movements. The British and French never entirely supported the Congress System. Although the parties met numerous times between 1815 and 1822, the Congress System eventually failed due to a result of clashing political differences between the various Great Powers.

Metternich was also instrumental in reorganizing Germany. Some 38 German states, with Austria exercising considerable influence over them, agreed to form a Germanic Confederation. Metternich wanted to establish a similar arrangement in Italy, but that never materialized. Tuscany, however, was reappropriated and the kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia was created under the aegis of the Austrian Empire. When Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law attempted to assert Naples's independence, Metternich crushed the movement and restored a Bourbon monarch on the throne.

Metternich also subscribed to the Holy Alliance, an agreement among Austria, Russia, and Prussia based on an initiative brought forward by Tsar Alexander at Vienna on September 26, 1815. The purpose of the Holy Alliance was to prevent revolutionary fervor and liberal tendencies from influencing European politics, in short, as a bulwark of the old social order. Only the Vatican, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire refused to join the Holy Alliance, which represented a reactionary cause that Metternich dominated. Ultimately it amounted to very little because national self-interest always proved paramount. Further conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, Troppau in 1820, Laibach in 1821, and Verona in 1822 solidified Metternich's goal of creating a conservative Europe.

Metternich continued to play an active part in Austrian and wider European affairs down to the revolutions of 1848. Although revered by some and vilified by others, he became known as the Coachman of Europe as a result of his masterly diplomatic skills and gave his name to the Age of Metternich (1815–1848). Although his main objective was to halt the spread of liberalism and nationalism, in which he failed, he held it in check for four decades.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Mexican Revolution (1810)

The conditions that gave rise to Mexican independence found their origin in the political and economic changes in Europe and its American colonies during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Since its inception, the colonial government of Mexico—then known as New Spain—reflected four distinct social classes. Dominant were the *peninsulares*, those individuals born in **Spain**, who held most of the leadership positions in the church and government through various arrangements with the Spanish crown. Second were the Mexican-born criollos, those of European descent, who largely controlled the colony's commercial and economic life. Mestizos, people of mixed race, represented a large working class of artisans, farmers, soldiers, and small businessmen, while Indians, the descendants of Mexico's original inhabitants, occupied the fourth and lowest level of the social scale. Together, they formed a population base of some seven million people.

By the end of the eighteenth century, problems relating to social position and political and economic standing had spawned a growing sense of restlessness in the people of New Spain. The local criollo elite, for example, resented the patronizing attitude and monopoly on appointed offices maintained by the *peninsulares*, as well as the commercial restrictions imposed by imperial regulations. Mestizos felt similar hostilities, as well as resentments over racism among criollos and *peninsulares*. Indians were resentful due to their poverty and the rampant racism directed toward them by the other social classes in New Spain. Adding to the unrest was the matter of the **Napoleonic Wars**, which only served to further divert the attention of Spain from its North American colony, therein leaving a political vacuum in Mexico and a corresponding increase in dissatisfaction with colonial rule from the non-*peninsulare* population. When **Napoleon's** armies occupied Spain in March 1808, forced Ferdinand VII from the Spanish throne, and crowned Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, king of Spain, the criollos seized the opportunity to move toward autonomy. In July 1808, they presented their petition to the viceroy of New Spain, José de Iturrigaray.

The criollo appeal was surprisingly conservative; it requested that the viceroy assume leadership of a junta—a temporary, provisional governing body—composed of himself, the archbishop of Mexico, and representatives from the army, Mexico City, and the principal families, and that criollos be afforded equality with the *peninsulares*. The implicit assumption was that the junta would come into existence due solely to the temporary absence of royal leadership from Spain and would step down when the king was restored to the throne. But rather than call the junta, Viceroy Iturrigaray instead convoked an assembly of representatives in Mexico

City. A contentious atmosphere dominated the meeting, and arguments arose as to whether Mexico would recognize Bonaparte in Spain or establish a junta in New Spain acting in the name of Ferdinand VII. The *peninsulares* also began to fear that, with criollo support, Iturrigaray might even attempt to install himself as king of an independent Mexico. Motivated by the acrimonious debate and Iturrigaray's criollo sympathies, the *peninsulares* decided to act.

On the night of September 15, 1808, a select group of *peninsulares* launched an armed attack on the viceroy's palace, arrested Iturrigaray, and shipped him to Spain. Pedro de Garibay, an elder *peninsulare* statesman and retired field marshal, assumed control of the government pending the arrival of the new viceroy. But while the drift toward criollo domination over the government was, at least for the time being, suppressed, this first violent overthrow of a viceroy in New Spain's history had profound repercussions on the country's struggle for autonomy in that it was to be the first of several events that began to erode the legitimacy of royal authority. A case in point is that of Garibay himself. Elderly, lacking energy, and having lived more than half his life in Mexico, he was regarded by many as more criollo than *peninsulare*. Soon the same *peninsulares* who had placed Garibay in power replaced him with Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont, whom they believed was more sympathetic to their worldview.

But even while experiencing a series of reprisals at the hands of the *peninsulare*-controlled central administration, the criollos continued to plan the establishment of a government of their own. They formed literary societies and correspondence clubs and sent emissaries to the provinces and principal cities to spread their ideas among the people. Among these clubs were those at Queretaro and Dolores. The president of the latter was the parish priest Miguel **Hidalgo y Costilla**, who took the matter in hand so passionately that he persuaded many of his predominantly Indian parishioners to plot independence and had arms prepared for their use. Having grown up on a hacienda where his father acted as superintendent in place of the absentee owner, Hidalgo had always had sympathy for the illiterate and unskilled Indian workers who provided the field labor. His father, a poor criollo in a society of poorer Indians and mestizos, worked to ensure his three sons would rise above his own modest station in life. All attended college, and Miguel and an older brother entered the ranks of the clergy, while the third brother studied law.

In Queretaro, Hidalgo met Captain Ignacio Allende, a revolutionary Creole thinker in the Spanish army. Although both favored revolution, their visions differed considerably. Allende's image of the revolt was that of himself riding at the head of a triumphant rebel army of trained royalist soldiers who had defected from the provincial regiments. Upper-class criollos, Allende anticipated, would flock to join an openly anti-Spanish crusade. Hidalgo, on the other hand, envisioned machete-wielding Indians overthrowing the Spaniards and chose to ignore the possibility that the formation of such an Indian army would likely alienate most propertied criollos, thus degrading the revolution's potential. Nevertheless, by the spring of 1810, Allende and Hidalgo agreed to coordinate and to foment in an uprising for December of that year.

But in the early morning hours of September 16, 1810, a courier brought Hidalgo and Allende the news that their secretly planned revolt had in fact become public knowledge. On the previous day, one of their co-conspirators had panicked and divulged the arrangements they were making for the December uprising. The



messenger advised them to flee before the *peninsulares* arranged for them to be hanged for treason. Hidalgo, sensing that they must act at once, rang the bell of his church to summon his parishioners. However, instead of celebrating mass for the assembled crowd of Indians, he told them that this was their opportunity to fight for independence. The parishioners enthusiastically followed Hidalgo, and additional bands of Indians arrived from the countryside to join Hidalgo's army of independence, which, as it advanced, swelled in numbers, soon reaching some 30,000 insurgents who were primarily armed with spears, machetes, and other homemade weapons. At the head of the revolutionary army, Hidalgo waved the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, one of Mexico's holy symbols, to further inspire his followers.

City after city in the state of Guanajuato fell into Hidalgo's hands, for the attacks came so suddenly that no one was prepared to resist. Moreover, Indians continued to join the standard of the Virgin of Guadalupe. But, shouting the battle cry, "Death to all Spaniards," the Indians soon failed to discriminate between criollos and peninsular Spaniards, thus turning what had begun as a civil war between criollos and *peninsulares* into a race war between Indians and whites. Since his only aim was independence and the return of the lands to the Indians, Hidalgo had no wish to bring about this indiscriminate slaughter of the whites and tried in vain to control his army. Instead, he found himself swept along by the will of his followers.

From Guanajuato, Hidalgo's forces marched on to Mexico City after capturing the towns of Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and Valladolid. On October 30, 1810, they encountered resistance at Monte de las Cruces, and despite a victory, Hidalgo lost momentum and failed to take Mexico City. After a few additional minor victories, in March 1811 the insurgents were ambushed and taken prisoner in Monclova. Excommunicated by an ecclesiastical court, Hidalgo was then found guilty of treason. He and his compatriots were beheaded, and their heads were placed on pikes on the granary walls in Guanajuato to serve as a reminder of the consequences of treasonous behavior.

After the death of Hidalgo, Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon assumed leadership of the revolutionary movement. A priest who had studied under Hidalgo and had been among the first to join the revolution, Morelos took charge of the political and military aspects of the insurrection and planned a strategic move to encircle Mexico City and to cut communications to the coastal areas. In June 1813, Morelos called together a national congress of representatives from all the provinces, which met at Chilpancingo to discuss the future of Mexico as an independent nation. The major points included in the document prepared by the congress were popular sovereignty, universal male suffrage, the adoption of Roman Catholicism as the official religion, abolition of slavery and forced labor, and an end to government monopolies and corporal punishment. Yet despite initial successes by Morelos's forces, the colonial authorities broke the siege of Mexico City after six months, captured positions in the surrounding areas, and finally invaded Chilpancingo. In 1815, Morelos was captured, tried, and executed.

From 1815 to 1821, most of the fighting by those seeking independence from Spain was conducted by isolated guerrilla bands. These bands produced two insurgent leaders—Manuel Felix Fernandez in Puebla and Vicente Guerrero in Oaxaca—but after 10 years of civil war and the death of two of its founders, by early 1820 the independence movement had reached a stalemate with government forces. In December 1820, in what was supposed to be the final government campaign against

the guerrillas, Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca sent a force led by a royalist criollo officer, Agustín de Iturbide, to defeat Guerrero's army in Oaxaca. Iturbide, a native of Valladolid, had gained renown for the zeal with which he persecuted Hidalgo and Morelos's rebels during the early independence struggle. A favorite of the Mexican church hierarchy, Iturbide appeared to be the personification of conservative criollo values. And while he was indeed devoutly religious and committed to the defense of property rights and social **privileges**, privately he was also disgruntled by his lack of promotion and wealth.

Iturbide's assignment to the Oaxaca expedition unexpectedly coincided with a successful military coup d'état in Spain against the monarchy of Ferdinand VII, who had been restored to the Spanish throne in 1814. To resolve their differences, the leaders of the coup had compelled a reluctant Ferdinand to sign the liberal Constitution of 1812. When news of the liberal charter reached the colony, Iturbide saw in it an opportunity for the criollos to gain control of Mexico, and after an initial clash with Guerrero's forces, Iturbide switched allegiances and invited the rebel leader to meet and discuss a doctrine that would support a renewed struggle for independence.

With Guerrero's counsel, on February 24, 1821, Iturbide promulgated the Plan de Iguala, which proclaimed three principles, or guarantees, for Mexico's independence from Spain: Mexico would be an independent monarchy governed by the transplanted King Ferdinand or some other conservative European prince, criollos and *peninsulares* would henceforth enjoy equal rights and privileges, and the Roman Catholic Church would retain its privileges and religious monopoly. Politically, the proposal was so broadly based that it pleased both patriots and loyalists, while the goal of independence and the protection of Roman Catholicism largely brought together all remaining factions.

After convincing his own soldiers to accept the principles, Iturbide then persuaded Guerrero's forces to support the new conservative independence movement. A new military force, the Army of the Three Guarantees, was then placed under Iturbide's command to enforce the Plan of Iguala. Iturbide's army was soon joined by rebel forces from all over Mexico, and when an insurgent victory became certain, the viceroy resigned.

On August 24, 1821, near Vera Cruz, Juan de O'Donoju, a representative of the Spanish crown, and Agustín de Iturbide signed the Treaty of Cordoba, giving Mexico its independence from Spain. Riding a wave of popularity, on July 21, 1822, Iturbide and his imperial court traveled to the National Cathedral in Mexico City, where he was crowned Agustín I, emperor of Mexico. *See also* Latin American Revolutions.

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### Michaud, Joseph François (1767–1839)

An important French editor and historian, Joseph François Michaud was born on June 19, 1767, at Albens, Savoy. He was educated at Bourg-en-Bresse and then took up work as a writer in Lyon. He was quickly critical of the **French Revolution** and in 1791 went to Paris, where, at great risk to his life, he edited several journals that supported the royalist cause. Five years later he became editor of *La Quotidienne* and was subsequently arrested. However, he managed to escape and was sentenced to death in absentia.

With the establishment of the **Directory**, Michaud returned to editing *La Quotidienne* but ran into trouble when the **Consulate** took over from the Directory. Michaud's sympathies with the French royalist cause led to his arrest and subsequent imprisonment in 1800. He then moved from journalism to writing several books. With his brother and two friends, in 1806, he wrote *Biographie moderne ou dictionnaire des hommes qui se sont fait un nom en Europe, depuis 1789* (Modern Biography, or a Dictionary of Men Who Have Made Their Name in Europe since 1789). Five years later he completed his first volume of the history of the Crusades. With the restoration of the monarchy in 1814, Michaud returned to work on *La Quotidienne*.

Michaud's books met with some success. One, *Histoire des quinze semaines ou le dernier règne de Bonaparte* (*History of Fifteen Weeks, or the Last Reign of Bonaparte*) went through 27 editions. Elected to the French Academy, he was also made an officer in the Legion of Honor. In 1830–1831, he went to Syria and Egypt to collect information for his history of the Crusades, a work that was not published until a year after his death, when it appeared in six volumes. Michaud died on September 30, 1839.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de (1749–1791)

Honoré-Gabriel de Mirabeau featured prominently in the early years of the **French Revolution** as men of noble birth participated in the efforts of the **Third Estate** as it became the **National Assembly**. As much as anyone, he wished for an end to inherited privilege in all its guises, and he dreamed of a revolution that would make all French people truly free. He equally hoped that the French monarchy could be saved through the passage of a constitution that would protect the people and elicit the best from a strong executive. His **Enlightenment** faith in education and the possibility of reforming society by altering the political system guided his thought and actions during the Revolution.

Born to the noted Physiocrat Victor Riqueti, the Marquis de Mirabeau, the author of the best-selling *L'Ami des hommes* (1756), which called upon the French government to undertake a program of economic improvement, Honoré-Gabriel grew up among thinkers such as François Quesnay. Even though he later criticized the **Physiocrats** quite sharply, he nonetheless appreciated their emphasis on the moral and economic value of work; he shared their opposition to unearned privilege. The



Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

brief influence of the Physiocrats on the French crown, effected through the ministry of **Turgot**, came to an abrupt end in 1776, but that did not terminate the interest of the male members of the Mirabeau family in politics, economics, philosophy, history, and the social problems of the day.

By age five, Honoré-Gabriel's intelligence had become well known among Parisian elites. The facial disfigurement caused by childhood smallpox meant that he would likely not receive praise for his appearance, though it hindered neither his career as a revolutionary nor his ability to attract female companionship. While his father separated from his mother and formed a household with his mistress, Honoré-Gabriel went to a Paris academy run by the abbé Choquet, where he received an excellent education with a fairly broad scope.

In the decades prior to the French Revolution, Mirabeau managed to spend immense quantities of money and fell deeply into debt. His marriage in 1772 to a well-born heiress provided him with his first excuse for profligacy, but he continued to find it difficult to live within his means, and he never discharged his personal bankruptcy, declared when he was 25. His father hoped to impose discipline on his son at various points, usually by having Honoré-Gabriel arrested under **lettres de cachet** meant to preempt attempts by government officials or fellow nobles to have him arrested.

While detained at the Château d'If in 1774, Mirabeau wrote his first treatise, *Essai sur le despotisme*. In this text, he revealed his inclination to seek concrete, practical reforms rather than to indulge in vague fantasy. Unlike Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, he preferred man's nature in society to that characteristic of man in a supposed state of nature, since he believed that society was formed as a consequence of an individual's conscious acceptance of an authority who would serve his interests. The king, according to Mirabeau, enjoyed his position so that he could enact the mandate given by his people: to serve their interests as individuals and as a collective. If, however, he came to forget that his power originated with his people, then he was likely to become a despot. Foreseeing the consequences of misrule in mid-eighteenth-century France, he warned the new king, **Louis XVI**, that "if you make men conscious of their chains, if you insanely devour the riches your insatiable tyranny has seized from them, they will remember that they are stronger and more numerous than you, and that you have only as much power as they choose to give you." Mirabeau recommended widespread education and freedom as the keys to ensuring that the people could resist despotic tendencies in their king, just as the king needed a similar education to train him to control the despotic potential latent in every human being from birth.

In between causing various scandals, such as running away to Amsterdam with the teenage wife of an extremely elderly nobleman, and spending time under arrest at Vincennes in 1780, Mirabeau honed his skills as a journalist and read abundantly in history, economics, politics, and law. In 1782, he published *Des lettres de cachet*, a denunciation of a law that lacked "general consent." His wife Emilie, with whom he had little in common and who had been unfaithful to him, won an absolute separation by exploiting personal connections and manipulating the corrupt parlement in Aix. Meanwhile, people of the town had come to identify with Mirabeau as a consequence of his dazzling oratory in his own defense and his engagement in a battle against privilege akin to their own. The end of his marriage capped off decades during which he steadily lost status, wealth, and reputation. He had, in many respects, become an outsider to the privileged society into which he had been born.

Mirabeau spent some time in Neuchâtel, then under Prussian control, where he met with various Genevan dissidents whose revolutionary hopes had been frustrated. His subsequent time in **Britain** did little to alter his opinions about the country: he remained a determined Francophile and rejected everything but the beef in Brighton, the beauty of the farms in the Home Counties, and the stability of the British government. He continued to struggle for a living as a journalist and translator, though he started to earn a reputation following his return to Paris in 1785. In his articles, he drew attention to the financial problems that ultimately crushed the French state. His understanding of economics allowed him to explain the deep roots of the obvious crisis. In order to get their talented critic out of the country, the French government employed Mirabeau as a secret correspondent in Berlin, where **Frederick the Great's** successor, Frederick William II, remained a somewhat unknown entity.

As soon as he returned again to Paris in January 1787, Mirabeau reentered the journalistic and political fray against the king's ministers Calonne and, later, **Necker**. He watched the new minister **Loménie de Brienne** vainly struggle to control the Paris Parlement, and he refused the offer of a job, preferring "obscurity...until an orderly state of affairs emerges from the tumult we are in now, and until some great revolution compels every responsible citizen to raise his voice. This revolution cannot be delayed." As much as he disliked the obvious despotic inclinations of the

Paris Parlement, he also criticized the king for his unwillingness to summon the **Estates-General**.

In May 1788, Mirabeau anonymously published the important *Réponse aux alarmes des bons citoyens*, in which he averred that the **parlements** did not defend the people's interests, given that the people had no voice in them. He advised citizens to focus their hopes on the upcoming meeting of the Estates-General, conceded to by the king in August and set for 1789. Mirabeau wanted the Estates-General to tackle an agenda that included consent to taxation and loans, the establishment of civil liberty, and a provision to ensure regular assemblies. These would all rest on a "precise declaration of national rights," in which he included the end of absolutism and the defense of liberty. Despite his dislike of privilege, he did not embrace **republicanism**: the French would enjoy liberty only if they had both a constitution and a monarch, he believed.

Mirabeau's *Réponse* preceded similar pamphlets by men such as the abbé **Sieyès** and helped the public to comprehend the potential import of the Estates-General and of the Third Estate in particular. Yet his monarchism irritated the radicals, who favored a republic, while his suggestions about the power of the people worried conservatives. His blend of democratic monarchism puzzled many of his colleagues and ultimately made him unsuited for a long-term leadership role during the Revolution.

Mirabeau turned to the people in order to attend the Estates-General. His father refused to yield the **fiefs** that entitled him to a place in the **Second Estate**. Honoré-Gabriel determined to wage an election campaign in Aix and Marseilles. In both cities, he received great acclamation, much to the dismay of the local **nobility**, which attempted to prevent him from acquiring a seat in the Second Estate because he did not actually own any property. Mirabeau responded in print, pondering the nature of representative government and rejecting the notion that the right of election should belong only to property owners. He warned the nobles, "Take care, do not disdain the people who are the producers of everything, who have only to remain immobile to become formidable." Yet the famine and food shortages in Provence did not incline the people toward passive resistance, and violence broke out in various cities of the region as the elections approached. Mirabeau came to the aid of the citizens of Marseilles as vigilante groups began to form against the rioters. He organized the first civil militia in France from a number of dock workers. With the violence temporarily calmed, Mirabeau distributed a pamphlet explaining the causes of high prices and proposing a reasonable price that all shopkeepers should maintain during the crisis. He provided a similar service in Aix. The nobility blamed Mirabeau for causing the riots, but this did not stop him being chosen representative from both Aix and Marseilles; he declined the latter, though he lived up to his promise to support their interests in the National Assembly. As he left Provence for Paris, supporters crowded around his carriage in each village. He had become "the Friend of the People."

In the early days of the Estates-General, he attempted to keep the Third Estate unified so that it could act as a single focus for public opinion. To that end, he avoided affiliating himself with any particular faction or tendency. He created the *Journal des Etats-Généraux* (later renamed *Lettres du comte de Mirabeau*) to publicize the cause of the Third Estate and gather support for its reconstitution as the National Assembly. Within the Assembly, though, his noble birth, his writings, and his enormous personal popularity made him suspect among many of his fellow

deputies. Further, his enemies spread a libelous characterization of Mirabeau as venal and in the pay of the crown. His effectiveness as a revolutionary was ultimately limited mainly by the combination of a determined preference for a constitutional monarchy over a republic and a strong sympathy for the popular demonstrations that became common in the streets of Paris in the early 1790s. He worried only that these movements would inspire counterrevolutionary activity in response.

In the year and a half prior to his death, Mirabeau led the committee that produced a draft of the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**. Although vehemently criticized when initially introduced, the draft became the basis for the first version of the declaration, which was adopted by the National Assembly. Conservatives labeled Mirabeau an atheist after he pushed for the abolition of tithes, as a form of privilege, in favor of state compensation for clergy. He was a member of both the Jacobin Club and the Société de 89, the group of moderates who had split from the **Jacobins** in 1790; he became president of the former group in November 1790. Although he disliked Maximilien **Robespierre's** demagogic tendencies, he shared his opposition to the principle that distinguished between "active" and "passive" citizens based upon property ownership. Mirabeau was also a founding member of the Société des Amis des Noirs, which sought the abolition of slavery in all French-controlled territories.

In December 1791, Mirabeau published *Aperçu de la situation en France et des moyens de concilier la liberté publique avec l'autorité royale*. This pamphlet represented his last effort to convince his fellow Assembly members and the public that the king could play a vital role in defending public liberty. His influence steadily declined as the Revolution grew more radical. Yet he never stopped hoping that the Revolution would provide for a constitutional government, for a just and compassionate society, for protection of the poor against the wealthy, and for peace. His death, due to natural causes, on April 1, 1791, may have protected him both from disappointment and from the **guillotine**.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

## Monarchy

See Abolition of the Monarchy (France)

## Montagnards

See The Mountain

## Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de le Brede et de (1689–1755)

Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de le Brede et de Montesquieu, was born on January 18, 1689, at the castle of La Brede, near Bordeaux. He was the son of

Jacques de Secondat and Marie Françoise de Pesnel. His father was a soldier and of long noble ancestry. His mother inherited the barony of La Brede, but she died when Montesquieu was only seven.

In 1700, Montesquieu entered the Oratorian College de Juilly at Meaux, where he received a classical education. In 1705 he went to Bordeaux to study law. In 1708 he was admitted to the bar before the Bordeaux Parlement, which was at the time one of the most venerated in the country. The Bordeaux Parlement has been one of the agencies that had enabled the French monarchy to outmaneuver the church and the feudal **nobility**. Its seats were acquired by hereditary right, which enabled it to act with more independence than the successive French kings had wished. This air of independence was imparted to Montesquieu during his experience serving the Bordeaux Parlement.

From 1708 to 1713, Montesquieu continued his legal education in Paris. His negative experiences led to a rejection of the Parisian lifestyle. In 1715 he married a wealthy Protestant, Jeanne de Lartigue. That same year he was elected to the Academy of Bordeaux. In 1716 he inherited the barony of Montesquieu and the presidency of the Bordeaux Parlement from his uncle Jean-Baptiste. The presidency was essentially the post of chief justice of a local court. In this role for some years he championed provincial rights against the centralized power of the king. However, in 1721, uninterested in the routine of legal practice, he sold his office as president of the Bordeaux Parlement. He was now wealthy enough that he could afford to study the law as a social phenomenon and to give up its active practice.

In 1721, despite warnings against publishing, Montesquieu anonymously published on a Dutch press, with a fictional imprint attributed to Pierre Martineau, *The Persian Letters* (*Les lettres persanes*), which was an immediate and sensational success. However, because it was a clandestinely published anonymous book, it was to have a complicated publication history. It would sell steadily for the remainder of the eighteenth century.

Montesquieu's authorship of *The Persian Letters* was soon revealed. It gained him public acclaim and made him some highly placed enemies. He soon made frequent trips to Paris salons, where he mixed with admiring supporters. However, others were outraged by the book. Cardinal André Fleury was angered enough by the book that he successfully blocked Montesquieu's induction into the French Academy until 1728. Problems connected with the book would continue to arise for the rest of his life.

*The Persian Letters* reflected Montesquieu's reading of travel literature, such as Johann Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, and works of fiction from the Middle East such as *The Thousand and One Nights*. The book pretended to be a collection of letters written by two Persian travelers, Usbek and Rica, to family and friends back in Persia. In some places the letters were spiced with titillating sexual innuendos about life in a Persian harem. This gave a sensual quality to the severe social criticism of Europe and France that was the motivation for the book. The book was actually making use of perceived Persian innocence and wonder as a mirror for a witty criticism of the corruptions that Montesquieu found obnoxious. The weaknesses of the Persians were, in fact, meant to be those of Europeans, as well.

In 1729, Montesquieu began a series of journeys in search of liberty. After travels in **Italy**, the **Netherlands**, and elsewhere in Europe, Montesquieu went to **Britain**, where he discovered the sort of liberty he was seeking. In Britain he was well received not only as a nobleman, but because his literary fame had preceded him.



For two years he was feted and celebrated. He was elected to the Royal Society and was given extensive tours of Britain and guided explanations of its system of government. It was at this time that he began to develop his ideas on the separation of powers as a solution to the problem of despotic government.

In 1731 Montesquieu returned to Bordeaux. He began a lengthy study of the history of the Roman Republic and its subsequent empire. In 1734 he published *Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur of Rome and Its Decline* (*Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence*). The book was not a history in the sense of a narrative story. Instead Montesquieu was trying to discover the natural causes for historical events. Montesquieu wrote that Rome had risen to power because its martial qualities had made its citizen virtuous. In addition it contained institutions that were flexible enough to change so that political and social abuses could be corrected. On the other hand, Rome failed because it allowed imperialism to corrupt its basic virtues.

Fourteen years later (1748), Montesquieu published his monumental work, *The Spirit of the Laws* (*De l'esprit des lois*). The book presents Montesquieu's views on the environment and social relationships. *The Spirit of the Laws* is one of the greatest books in the history of political theory and jurisprudence, exercising enormous influence on historical method and sociology. However, it was to gain from the Jesuits, the **philosophes**, and others a mixture of opposition and support. Scholars have differed greatly in their interpretations of Montesquieu's organizational scheme for *The Spirit of the Laws*. Some have found a rigid order, while others have found none. Despite its apparent lack of a clear structure, which makes it difficult to reduce to an orderly interpretation, it was read widely in the eighteenth century.

*The Laws* is divided into 33 books (*livres*) of chapter length beginning with a short book about laws in general. For Montesquieu the "spirit" of the law lay in the origin and development of the law through custom. This included the development of the meaning of legal terms, rules, and the adoption of laws. After discussing general matters, Montesquieu used Books II–VIII to address numerous issues and laws regarding monarchy, republics, and despotism and their relationship, sumptuary legislation, problems of luxury, and the condition of women. In Books XI and X he discussed the laws of war and defense. These laws recognize the army and navy as means for the protection of the individuals. Book XI discusses the protection of individuals and the meaning of political liberty, including the form known in England. Books XII–XIII discuss domestic security, protection of property, justice, courts, public finances, and taxes.

Books XIV–XIX discuss the concept of space and its relationship to government. Montesquieu wrestled with two problems first noted by Plato and Aristotle. The problems of space and of numbers had to be met by every government. Not every type of government was capable of ruling beyond a certain size territory, nor beyond a certain size population. The principal form that had historically ruled great numbers of people in vast territories was the empire. However, great empires, while providing peace, economic opportunity and security, and other benefits did not provide liberty, which was Montesquieu's goal.

Books XX–XXV discuss economics and religion. Montesquieu, in Book XX, reviews the laws related to commerce and poverty—how these differ in various legal systems and among different persons, such as merchants or nobles—and the impact they have upon them and they upon the political system. In Books XXI–XXV he

discusses the impact of the natural environment on commerce and links this to the impact of money, usury, wars, and political changes. His discussion of religious laws and practices and their impact upon civil laws and practices covers a wide range of historical examples.

In Books XXVII–XXXI Montesquieu discusses a number of matters dealing with the founding of political institutions, the Roman law of succession, and other matters. He then discusses the origin and development of French civil laws. The discussion reveals his lengthy study of Roman history because the discussion is entirely focused on the Roman roots of French laws, which were in Montesquieu's day composed of a mosaic of conflicting systems. Montesquieu then discusses the development of law among the Franks versus the Germans. His discussion of trial by combat and its relationship to duels is quite extensive. He finishes with discussions of French feudalism and an explanation on how laws are made. After the publication of *The Spirit of the Laws*, Montesquieu, whose eyesight was failing him, retired to La Brede. He died on February 10, 1755, during a trip to Paris.

Montesquieu's political discussions essentially focused upon the issue of the relationship of the individual to the state. For Montesquieu the question was how to achieve a balance between order and liberty. For him, the local judge from Bordeaux, the threat of monarchial absolutism was real; a solution to the problem had to be found. He determined that the kind of political system that employed the separation of powers as existed in Britain proved to be an important mechanism for reducing the coercion inherent in the state.

Apart from Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, Montesquieu was the most important French political philosopher in the eighteenth century. His study of government to satisfy a love of liberty provided materials that were used to bring liberty to millions in both Europe and the Americas. For Montesquieu the key to liberty lay in the separation of powers. In Book XI, section 4, he states that political liberty can be found only in moderate governments.

In section 6 of Book XI, he discusses separation of powers, that is, the division of government into three branches with legislative, executive, and judicial powers only. He describes this as he thought he had found it in the laws of England. He concludes Book XI with a mild rebuke to James Harrington, who in *Oceana* had discussed the separation of powers, for being too utopian.

Montesquieu's ideas had a major impact in France, but also a lasting impact in the United States. To the Americans who wrote the **United States Constitution**, Montesquieu was an important source of political wisdom. In section 5 of Book XI of *The Spirit of the Laws*, he had observed in passing that the central responsibility of all governments, the protection of persons and property, was always accompanied by additional ends such as expanding dominion (Rome), war (Sparta), or religion (ancient Israel). To Montesquieu, each government desired this additional goal. The authors of the American Constitution chose political liberty as the American goal.

Indeed, Montesquieu's work had a profound influence on the those who drew up the U.S. Constitution. **The Federalist Papers**, a series of 85 newspaper articles, were written by James **Madison**, Alexander **Hamilton**, and John **Jay**. Published in a New York City newspaper, they persuaded the people of New York to ratify the Constitution. Montesquieu's ideas are discussed in three articles. In *Federalist* nos. 9 and 43 his ideas are used to expound the idea of a federal union.

The most famous of Montesquieu's political ideas that influenced the U.S. Constitution were those bearing on the separation of powers. Montesquieu's conception

of the separation of powers as refined by the Framers of the Constitution is embodied in the Legislative Article (Article 1), the Executive Article (Article 2), and the Judicial Article (Article 3), as well as institutionally in the **Congress**, the presidency, and the judiciary. His views are discussed at length in *Federalist* no. 47.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

### Montmorin de Saint Hérem, Armand Marc, Comte de (1745–1792)

A prominent French politician, Armand Marc, the comte de Montmorin de Saint Hérem, was from the cadet branch of a noble family from Auvergne.

Montmorin was born on October 13, 1745, in Paris. He became a gentleman-in-waiting to the dauphin (later **Louis XVI**) and in 1777 was appointed ambassador to Madrid. At the court of King Charles III, he helped persuade **Spain** to enter the **American Revolutionary War**. After such a successful posting, he was recalled to become governor of Brittany. In 1787 Louis XVI named him as the successor of Charles Gravier, the comte de **Vergennes**, at the ministry of foreign affairs.

Montmorin became a close friend and political ally of **Mirabeau** and strove hard to try to work out a compromise between the ardent royalists and the revolutionaries. He tried to persuade Louis XVI to accept the inevitability of change but failed. After Mirabeau died in April 1791, Montmorin was placed in a difficult position when the royal family fled to **Varennes**, where they were captured and brought back to Paris. He did not know of the escape attempt but there was always suspicion despite his being cleared by an investigative committee of the **National Assembly**. After the event, he continued to serve as an adviser to Louis XVI. In June 1792 officials seized his papers but could find no incriminating material in them. He was, however, denounced and fled. Captured and brought before the **Legislative Assembly**, he was taken to the Abbaye, where he died in the **September Massacres**. His distant cousin Louis Victor Henri, Marquis de Montmorin de Saint Hérem, leader of the senior branch of the family, was also killed in the same massacres.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### Morris, Gouverneur (1752–1816)

An American politician, Gouverneur Morris served as a delegate to the Second **Continental Congress** and the **Constitutional Convention** and later as minister plenipotentiary to **France**.

Born in New York City to a wealthy couple, Lewis Morris Jr. and his second wife, Sarah Gouverneur, Morris inherited not only wealth and privilege, but also a tradition of service to the state; his father was a judge of the court of vice admiralty, his grandfather, governor of **New Jersey**; and his mother, the daughter of the Speaker of the **New York** Assembly. He attended the Academy of Philadelphia and King's College (now Columbia) and was admitted to the bar in 1771. Because he was the youngest of three sons, his inheritance was limited. As a young man he was tall, handsome, self-assured, and a gifted, if somewhat verbose, speaker.

When the **American Revolution** broke out, Morris initially urged compromise with the British but soon joined the Patriot cause. In 1775, he was elected to the New York Provincial Congress, where he advocated the issuance of a paper currency and the abolition of slavery. An enthusiastic supporter of George **Washington**, he served in the Continental Congress (1777–1779). Thrown from a coach in 1780, Morris had to have his leg amputated below the knee and replaced with an oak limb, a feature that became his trademark. Robert Morris (no relation), then superintendent of finance, appointed him his assistant from 1781 to 1785. As such, Gouverneur Morris urged the adoption of a decimal system and of the terms “cent” and “dollar,” essentially the basis of the American financial system.

He continued his career as a businessman, buying property and investing in companies before his election in December 1786 to the Constitutional Convention, where he defended the principles of both property ownership and civil rights and argued for an independent executive. A skilled writer, he served on the committee that drafted the **United States Constitution**. In 1788, Morris traveled to Europe on business and while there was appointed minister plenipotentiary to France (1792–1794). During this time mobs invaded his home, and officials searched his mail and arrested him twice. Morris, who detested the **French Revolution** and the carnage of the **Reign of Terror**, was eventually recalled.

In 1798, he returned to the United States and reentered politics, serving as a senator from New York (1800–1803). He later supported the Louisiana Purchase (1803), championed plans for an Erie Canal, and opposed the War of 1812. He married Anne Cary Randolph late in 1809 and died seven years later. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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LINDA S. FREY AND MARSHA L. FREY

### Mounier, Jean Joseph (1758–1806)

French revolutionary and statesman, Mounier was born to a merchant family in Grenoble. He initially dreamed of a military career but his non-noble origins presented a major obstacle to this pursuit. Instead, young Mounier chose to study law at the Collège Royal Dauphin and the University of Orange, receiving the

bachelor of law in 1776. In 1779, he was admitted as an advocate at Grenoble and, in 1783, purchased the office of *juge royal*, one of the two criminal judgeships of his province. Over the next five years, he studied politics and English institutions, of which he became a profound admirer. In 1788, he participated in the meetings of the Estates of Dauphiné at Grenoble, Vizille, and Romans, where he served as a secretary of the Assembly of the provincial Estates-General of Dauphiné province, drafting the cahiers of grievances and enhancing his political reputation. After the king summoned the **Estates-General**, Mounier was elected deputy of the **Third Estate** from the Dauphiné in January 1789 and published *Nouvelles observations sur les Etats-Généraux de France*, in which he criticized the ancient constitution and the procedures of the Estates-General, and campaigned for more powers to be granted to the new deputies.

As the Estates-General gathered at Versailles in May 1789, Mounier played a prominent role in the ongoing dispute over the issue of voting and was in favor of the union of the Third Estate with the two privileged orders, the **First Estate** and the **Second Estate**. On June 17, the Third Estate made the bold move of declaring itself the **National Assembly**. Three days later, when the deputies of the Third Estate gathered for a regular meeting, they found the doors of their assigned meeting hall closed and guarded by royal troops, a sign of King **Louis XVI**'s resolution to use force to dissolve the seditious estate. As the deputies moved to a nearby empty hall, which was often used to play tennis and was known as *jeu de paume* (tennis court), some of them called for moving the Third Estate to Paris, where the population would defend them from any actions on the part of the crown. However, Mounier eloquently opposed this motion and instead proposed staying at Versailles and swearing an oath not to separate until a new constitution for the kingdom was accepted. As a result, the famous **Tennis Court Oath** was pledged by the deputies. On June 23, Mounier was among the few who protested against King Louis XVI at the *séance royale*. He took active part in the work of the **Constituent Assembly** and was elected to the first Constitutional Committee, where he proposed establishing a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral legislative branch—a system similar to that of the British.

On September 28, 1789, Mounier was elected president of the **Constituent Assembly** and served as a leader of liberal monarchists. After the events of October 5–6, 1789, he disapproved of the treatment of the king and clashed with more radical deputies. In protest, he resigned both as president and deputy and returned to Dauphiné, where he published an exposition of his conduct, *Exposé de la conduite de Mounier dans l'Assemblée nationale et des motifs de son retour en Dauphiné*, which was critical of the radical tendencies he observed in Paris. His conduct, however, branded him as a traitor to the revolutionary cause, and Mounier was forced to seek refuge in Switzerland in 1790. He remained in exile for the next decade, publishing several works concerning revolutionary events in **France**, among them *Appel au tribunal de l'opinion publique sur le décret rendu par l'Assemblée nationale le 3 octobre 1790* (1792), *Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres* (1792), and *Adolphe ou principes élémentaires de politique et résultats de la plus cruelle des expériences* (1795).

In 1793, Mounier traveled to London, where the British government offered him a lucrative position and salary in **Canada**, which he refused, as he still entertained the hope of returning to France. In 1795, with Switzerland in the midst of revolutionary upheaval, Mounier retired to Germany, where he was sheltered by the Duke

of Weimar and established a school for young noblemen at the castle of Belvedere. While staying here, he produced *De l'influence attribuée aux philosophes, aux francs-maçons et aux illuminés sur la Révolution française*, which was published in Tubingen in 1801.

After General **Napoleon** Bonaparte's coup of 18 **Brumaire** (November 9–10, 1799), Mounier was included in the amnesty of **émigrés** and returned to France in 1801. **First Consul** Bonaparte named him a prefect of the department of Ille-et-Vilaine in 1803, and Mounier reorganized and directed this department for the next three years. In 1804, Mounier was appointed to the **Senate** and then, in 1805, made a councilor of state. However, already in poor health, he died at the age of 48 in Paris on January 26, 1806. *See also Cahiers de Doléances.*

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## The Mountain

The name “the Mountain” (La Montagne) was given to a political group of radical left-wing deputies during the **French Revolution** who sat on the highest benches in the Manège, where the **National Convention** met in 1792–1795; its members were known as the *Montagnards*. The Mountain emerged as a radical group known for its democratic ideals in the fall of 1792 and opposed the moderate Girondin deputies in the Convention. In 1791–1792, many future Girondin and Montagnard deputies belonged to the Jacobin Club but became split in the subsequent disagreement between Jacques-Pierre **Brissot** and Maximilien **Robespierre**. The support base for the Mountain was among the *sans-culottes* (radical elements of the poorer classes) of Paris, as well as the petty bourgeoisie, who welcomed radical changes. Despite consisting of about a third of the 749 deputies of the Convention, the Montagnards exercised a dominating influence over many moderate deputies, jointly known as the **Plain** or Marshes, and had close connections with the Paris Commune.

In the Convention, the Mountain was engaged in a bitter fight with the Girondin faction, which initially controlled the government from September 1792 to June 1793. This conflict proved to be a driving force behind many events of the Revolution, including the trial and execution of King **Louis XVI**. The Mountain proved successful in the end and overthrew the **Girondins** in the insurrection of May 31 to June 2, 1793. It then dominated the Convention and effectively controlled the French revolutionary government for the next year, a period sometimes referred to as the Montagnard Dictatorship. The Montagnards' temperament was democratic, and they drafted the Constitution of 1793, which was the most democratic constitution at the time. The Mountain also implemented radical policies to stabilize the country in the midst of civil strife and foreign invasions. They employed terrorist measures widely to fight political enemies and perceived counterrevolutionary activities and established strict state control of the economy through the Law of the **Maximum**, which benefited the poor. To fight the very real threat of

foreign invasion, the Montagnard government declared the *levée en masse* that transformed the nature of military conflict and helped turn the tide of the war.

Nevertheless, these policies, especially the use of terror, backfired by early 1794, when a series of intra-Montagnard conflicts took place. The spring of 1794 saw the fall and execution of the Hébertiste and Dantonist factions as Robespierre became more isolated and conspicuous, insisting on a continuation of the **Reign of Terror**. By June 1794, the Mountain, never a solid block, disintegrated and collapsed in the coup of 9 Thermidor, or the **Thermidorian Reaction**. Following this coup, the Mountain itself ceased to be an influential political force. The Jacobin Club was closed in November 1794, and the Montagnards were purged from the Convention, where the remaining deputies organized a minority faction known as the *crête* (crest). The Germinal-Prairial uprisings in April to May 1795 were the last powerful show of force by the former Montagnards, and they were suppressed and persecuted throughout the country. Nevertheless, some Montagnards made a successful comeback during the period of the **Directory**, though their brief neo-Jacobin revival in 1799 ended with the coup of the 18 **Brumaire** and the establishment of the **Consulate** under **Napoleon** Bonaparte. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Danton, Georges-Jacques; French Revolutionary Wars; Hébert, Jacques; Hébertistes; Jacobins.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### **Muir, Thomas (1765–1799)**

Muir, the son of a devout Presbyterian father who was a hop merchant and grocer, was born in Glasgow. He started reading law at Glasgow University but transferred to Edinburgh University after getting into trouble for urging university reform. He was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in November 1787 and soon built up a successful legal practice in Edinburgh, though he sometimes waived his fees when pleading for poor clients. He sat in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as an elder and supported the more popular evangelical party. In late 1792, inspired by events in **France**, he helped found the Scottish **Association of the Friends of the People** in Edinburgh. He became a vice president, promoted reform societies elsewhere in Scotland, and made contact with leading United Irishmen.

At a convention of reformers held in Edinburgh on December 11–13, 1792, to promote a petition for parliamentary reform, he supported reform, read out a printed address from the **Society of United Irishmen**, and called for reformers throughout the British Isles to support similar conventions. On January 2, 1793, Muir was arrested on a charge of sedition, but released on bail. He went to London to meet Whig leaders and then on to France, where he arrived too late to remonstrate against the execution of **Louis XVI**. When war broke out in February 1793, he was unable to return home. He eventually took an American ship bound for

Baltimore but left it at Belfast and returned to Scotland to stand trial. His trial on August 30 was before the harsh judge Lord Braxfield. He unwisely chose to defend himself, which he did with spirit, vigor, and dignity, but, in a trial that was far from impartial, he was convicted and sentenced the next day to be transported. He was imprisoned for some months in a prison hulk on the River Thames, which badly affected his health, before sailing to Australia on May 2, 1794, with three other political prisoners convicted by the Scottish courts.

Muir was not incarcerated in Australia but was allowed to buy a small farm. In February 1796 he was picked up off shore by an American trading ship that took him to Nootka Sound on the Pacific coast of North America. He made his way down to California, crossed Mexico, and reached Havana, where he was imprisoned for a time. Taking a Spanish ship, he crossed the Atlantic, but off Cadiz, this ship was attacked and captured by two Royal Navy warships on April 26, 1797. During the battle, a flying splinter removed Muir's eye and part of his cheek, leaving him heavily bloodied and severely disfigured. Not recognizing him, the British sent him on shore with the rest of the wounded. The Cadiz authorities promptly imprisoned him, but efforts made by the **Directory** in France secured his release in September. Muir set off for France, reaching Paris in December, and was welcomed by government officials. In poor health and in financial difficulties, he was involved in petty intrigues, wrote some essays for De Bonneville's *Le Bien Informé*, and met Thomas **Paine** and various British exiles, including several United Irishmen. He dropped out of sight in September 1798, and his death was recorded in *Le Moniteur* in late January 1799. *See also* Whigs.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Murray, David, Earl of Mansfield (1727–1796)**

David Murray, seventh viscount Stormont and second earl of Mansfield, was a British diplomat and Northern secretary of state during the second half of the American Revolution, from 1779 to 1782.

Born in Scotland, he was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and largely owed his career to the influence of his uncle William Murray, first earl of Mansfield, who became lord chief justice of England. Mansfield secured Stormont's first appointment to Saxony-Poland, then jointly ruled by Augustus III, in 1755. His marriage to a Saxon aristocrat in 1759 afforded Stormont entry into the Habsburg family circle when he was appointed ambassador to Vienna in 1763.

Largely responsible for the Anglo-Austrian rapprochement after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), his long-standing regard for Stanislaw Poniatowski, elected king of Poland in 1764, led Stormont to publicly oppose the first partition of Poland in 1772. Failing to prevent Austrian involvement, Stormont nonetheless attempted to mobilize British public opinion against partition by sponsoring John Lind to publish *Letters concerning the Present State of Poland*, in 1773. Appointed ambassador to Paris in 1776, Stormont unsuccessfully attempted to prevent French involvement in



the **American Revolutionary War**, and in October 1779 he was appointed secretary of state for the Northern Department.

Stormont was undoubtedly intelligent, diligent, and vastly experienced, but he proved to be rather rigid in his outlook and clung to the old system of diplomacy in a rapidly changing world. While firm in protecting British interests during the **American Revolution**, his Anglocentric vision, especially over neutral trading rights, not only helped provoke the Anglo-Dutch War of 1780 but also alienated **Catherine II** of Russia, who played a leading role in the creation of the League of Armed Neutrality in 1780. Leaving office with the fall of the Lord **North** ministry in March 1782, Stormont was later an important supporter of William **Pitt** the Younger. Stormont supported his country's participation in the war against revolutionary **France** that began in 1793 and returned to office as lord president of the Council, which he held until his death in Brighton in 1796. *See also* Franco-American Alliance; French Revolutionary Wars; Poland, Partitions of.

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RORY T. CORNISH

### **Murray, John, Earl of Dunmore (1732–1809)**

In 1769, John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore, was appointed governor of **New York** and, in 1772, governor of **Virginia**. During his tenure as governor of Virginia he helped initiate a war against the Ohio Valley Indians. He also recruited a regiment of slaves to oppose Whigs in the early stages of the War of Independence. It is unclear whether the conflict with the Ohio Indians, known as Dunmore's War, was motivated by a desire to distract Virginians' revolutionary politics or a genuine interest in expanding the colony. It ended with a disadvantageous peace for the colony in the autumn of 1774.

When armed defiance of the mother country began in 1775, Dunmore raised and led several loyalist units. On November 7, 1775, Dunmore proclaimed freedom to all slaves who took up arms in support of the king. His proclamation led to the creation of the Royal Ethiopians, a unit consisting of freed slaves who, in the event, achieved little militarily. Dunmore returned to Britain for a brief time before taking up his post as royal governor of the Bahamas, which he filled from 1787 to 1796. He died at Ramsgate in May 1809. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War; Loyalists.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

### **Murray, Judith Sargent (1781–1820)**

Judith Sargent Murray is regarded as America's first feminist. She was born in 1751 in Gloucester, **Massachusetts**. She married John Stevens in 1769. Both she and her husband strongly supported the **American Revolutionary War**. In 1784, she

began to write poems and essays. Her husband died in 1786. She and her family had a long-standing friendship with the Reverend John Murray, a Universalist. After her husband died, she converted to Universalism, and in 1788 she married John Murray. They had a daughter named Julia in 1791.

She continued to write poetry, essays, and plays and became a regular contributor to *Massachusetts Magazine* in the 1780s. She published an essay entitled "On the Equality of the Sexes" in 1790. In the essay, Murray championed equality for **women**. The essay compared the intellectual abilities of men and women and concluded that while men were superior to women in regard to reason and judgment, this was simply because men were permitted to obtain an education, while women were not. In other essays, she supported the education of women, as well as greater economic autonomy and political participation for women.

Owing to her writings, she is considered to be the earliest public feminist in America. A collection of Murray's essays was published in 1798 in book form under the title *The Gleaner*. Many prominent people, including George **Washington** and John **Adams**, read her book. Following the death of her second husband, she edited and published his sermons, letters, and autobiography. Murray was a frequent letter writer herself. She seemed to understand the importance of leaving behind a written historical record, so at the age of 23, she started copying her letters to family and friends into books. Murray copied over 2,500 letters, creating an important record of eighteenth-century America. Judith Sargent Murray died in 1820.

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GENE C. GERARD

# N

## Naples, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Naples was formed after the division of the Kingdom of Sicily in 1282. During its long history, the Kingdom of Naples had come under the governance of the French, the Spanish, and, from 1714 after the Treaty of Rastatt, Charles VI of the Holy Roman Empire. However, in the decades following the **French Revolution**, the Kingdom of Naples was subject to much instability, and from 1798 to 1816 the territory was governed by a succession of leaders with affiliations with the Spanish and British monarchy, as well as to Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

In 1798, the Bourbon dynasty led by Ferdinand VI was overthrown and replaced by the French-led Parthenopean Republic, although in 1799 Bourbon rule was reestablished thanks to the intervention of British forces. Ferdinand VI remained in power until 1806, when the French invaded the south of **Italy** and reshaped the political landscape of the peninsula. Joseph Bonaparte, **Napoleon's** brother, was installed as king of Naples, although upon his crowning as king of Spain, he was replaced in 1808 by Joachim Murat, one of Napoleon's marshals. Murat's grip over Naples was firmly maintained in the succeeding years, although following the Battle of Leipzig in 1813, he switched allegiance from the French to the Austrian cause to save his throne. However, during the Hundred Days (March to June 1815), Murat deserted his Austrian allies and reverted back to the French side, in an attempt to strength his rule within Italy. His defeat, however, at the Battle of Tolentino on May 2–3, 1815, led to his removal from power in Naples. His successor, the restored Bourbon king Ferdinand VI, in the following year merged the Neapolitan mainland possessions with that of Sicily, thus forming the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

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IAN MORLEY

## Napoleon I (1769–1821)

Napoleon I, emperor of **France**, whose full name was Napoleon Bonaparte, is generally acclaimed as one of the greatest military leaders of all time. He changed the face of warfare forever, but his political legacy was equally important and helped shape the modern world. He is often dismissed as a precursor to Stalin and Hitler by his critics or hailed by his admirers as a enlightened liberator. Neither polarized view does complete justice to the emperor, his effect on the political stage, and his flair for administration. As Max Sewell, among others, noted, Napoleon's achievements lay in his ability to dovetail the achievements of the **French Revolution** with the needs of a country torn apart by war and internecine strife. His involvement in the codification of the law, which resulted in the **Civil Code** of 1804, which endures to this day, embodied **France's** social changes and gave the country a much-needed element of stability.

He also formed an uneasy peace with the Catholic Church under the **Concordat**, making it subordinate to the state, and allowing religion to exert a steady influence on society. Philip Dwyer calls Napoleon a "consolidator" who managed to rein in the Revolution by helping eliminate the factionalism that had split France asunder. He facilitated a rapprochement with Catholics, royalists, and **émigrés**; codified the aforementioned laws; and introduced monetary reforms (such as the creation of the Bank of France in 1800) in a bid to develop the socioeconomic and political stability that the country so badly needed. As Tulard said, "The only way in which the Revolution could be brought to a close was through an alliance of the bourgeoisie and the peasantry around one or another principle. The man was found: Bonaparte."

The emperor set stable government above much else, as his admiration for Maximilien **Robespierre**, the Revolution's arch ideologue, shows. His affinity with the revolutionary disciple stemmed not from a liking for the former lawyer's zeal or modus operandi but from a desire for strong government. Englund shows the incongruity of the link between the two men and their shared vision for a strong, unified France: "The first Emperor of the French is generally regarded as the last word in pragmatic governance and the French Revolution's great stifler, while the 'Incorruptible' is construed as its most advanced avatar, a Jacobin illumine who put ideology ahead of everything."

To achieve a strong government, Napoleon also strengthened a massive administrative and judicial apparatus, which ensured that all roads figuratively led to Paris. The highly centralized system of appointed officials (prefects, subprefects, mayors, and judges) took the onus away from the people who been such a prominent (and fearful) part of the Revolution. The elite, from which Napoleon sprang, was simultaneously strengthened by these changes. As Dwyer points out, despite his early flirtations with Jacobinism, Napoleon was not a true revolutionary. As an **ancien régime** noble, he had a nobleman's contempt for that nebulous concept, the people. Wealth and property, therefore, were an integral part of the Empire, although they did not totally eclipse the Revolution's meritocracy, which left some careers and positions open to talent. To ensure the smooth operation of the state and its branches, the emperor's pragmatic, conciliatory approach extended to landowners, government officials, professionals, and businessmen. In 1808, he even went so far as to create a new tier of notables supposedly based on merit in contrast to the

ancien régime's emphasis on birth and privilege. However, more than one-fifth of the Napoleonic nobility were made up of remnants of the Old Regime. The Legion d'Honneur was created in 1802 to reward servants of the state. Napoleon wanted to form entire echelons of society, which remained entirely devoted to him and the Empire.

Considering Napoleon's reputation among some historians as a dictator and precursor of Hitler, it is little surprise that he also used repression to consolidate society and state in the aftermath of the Revolution. The period when Napoleon became **First Consul** for life in 1802 coincided with a time when, according to Dwyer, "traditional methods of repression were used on an unprecedented scale to restore order in large areas of endemic lawlessness so that more modern methods of surveillance, policing, and control could maintain order thereafter." However, it is worth noting that repression was on the rise well before Napoleon took power. In 1799, some 40 percent of the country was under the control of generals who could and did use extreme methods to stifle unrest. Napoleon used the army to instill order at the point of a bayonet and continued the **Directory's** strategy of using military, extra-judicial measures, especially in the rebellious countryside. In 1801, Napoleon resurrected Special Tribunals, with civil and military judges, which had been a feature of the **Reign of Terror** and, indeed, they became a central part of his criminal justice framework.

But the Napoleonic regime largely adhered to the rule of law, and comparisons to Nazi Germany or Stalinist Russia are somewhat spurious. Repression during this period was also not restricted solely to the Napoleonic regime, although he, as leader of an authoritarian state, made his own ambitions synonymous with those of France. As Sewell makes clear, almost all the European states reflected the egos of their monarchs, and few of them were intent on fostering democracy, limiting their borders, or improving civil rights. Nations were not averse to pursuing their own agendas, satisfying their ambitions, expanding their borders, and increasing their control over the populace.

Considering Napoleon's reputation as one of history's foremost military leaders, it comes as little surprise that his rule led to a general militarization of society. He was primarily a soldier, not a statesman, so the advent of the Legion d'Honneur was just one aspect of a much wider phenomenon. The demands of Napoleon's war machine were far reaching and added the woes of requisitioning and conscription to the scars left by the Revolution. Bonaparte's ascent to power came through the army, and it was arguably with the military that he felt most comfortable. As Forrest shows, it was almost inevitable that the military should play such a prominent social and political role, considering not only Napoleon's background but the fact that the country was almost continually at war.

In a style similar to the army, the country was run in a linear, hierarchical fashion. The state was highly centralist, with a clear chain of command in which, Dwyer says, "everyone reported up to the ministries and the ministers in turn reported to Napoleon. Little was left to local consultation." Napoleon's educational policy, based on the *lycées* and the University of France, was also geared toward the military and creating the next generation of technocrats.

In the beginning, the quest for *la gloire* had an unmistakable attraction for many, but as the depredations of years of war took their toll, this quickly dimmed. The bourgeoisie could secure an exemption for their sons, but poorer sections of society

were not so lucky. In 1809, after the brief war against **Austria**, as many as 100,000 men were pardoned for failing to take part in the campaign.

Bonaparte emerged as more of a pragmatist than an idealist. Despite his attempts to rewrite history during his exile on St. Helena, his reputation remains open to interpretation. He is often blamed for the wars that bear his name, as critics argue that he should have prevented conflict through negotiation and persuasion and more subtle diplomacy. However, the Revolution had set off cataclysmic changes that aggravated centuries-old rivalries. Napoleon's use of "war as a continuation of politics by other means" à la Clausewitz was not necessarily unique, nor was his single-minded determination to defend and enrich the state of France. It was often successful, something his Bourbon forebears may have envied.

Napoleon's downfall is well documented and his ego, perceived megalomania, and contempt for political institutions and democracy are often cited as lying at the heart of his hubris. However, as Sewell points out, this theorizing with the lucidity of hindsight is perhaps too straightforward: "If Bonaparte was indeed unique, and expected to accomplish deeds other men could only dream of, would he not need an ego as large as his ambitions? Achieving democracy in France and peace for Europe is not a task for a modest man, so was Napoleon's ambition simply a sin because it pursued goals we disapprove of, or that it pursued those goals using methods we disapprove of?"

Napoleon would probably enjoy a better historical and political reputation had he perished before 1804. He would possibly have been remembered as a representative of the armed wing of the **Enlightenment**. His eventual denouement, including factors such as the disastrous Continental System, the division of Europe among his troublesome siblings, and the adoption of de facto monarchical garb, has tarnished his legacy. Even his staunchest advocate would not argue that he was placid, pure, modest, democratic, and a peacemaker, but he is nonetheless interesting and important for that. He holds a special place in the collective political consciousness, especially in France. For all his flaws, he was a political and military genius but was still human.

Today, much of the legal structure of the nations that Napoleon helped to define are based on the precepts laid down in his Civil Code. Considered to be his greatest legacy, Napoleon's Civil Code ensured the spread of the ideals of the French Revolution long after the end of his rule. But it was through the image he presented of himself that the people of Europe found a symbol of revolutionary change. Debate still rages about Napoleon and the period of his rule. Students of the period should avoid seeing the politics of the era as a monolithic whole. Bonaparte was many things to many people: Jacobin, republican, reformer, consolidator, liberal, and despot. Few figures can claim such a diverse legacy.

The historiography of Napoleon has been subject to huge differences in interpretation. Anglo-Saxon authors, on the whole, have been more prone to point out his dark side and that of the regime. Some have argued that the country changed less between 1800 and 1825 than it did between 1795 and 1800. Napoleon's life, career, and politics were fascinating but deceptively multifaceted. Two things remain clear: first, his influence is difficult to underestimate. His wars and conquests, particularly in **Italy** and Germany, fuelled the nascent passions of nationalism and exacerbated a Franco-German enmity, which was to have enormous ramifications for Europe and the world. He changed the map of Europe and swept away a plethora of feudal duchies and principalities. Unlike the totalitarian rulers of more recent times and

despite the bloodshed and war carried out in his name, Napoleon is still acclaimed for his political and legislative feats. Secondly, the controversy over what Napoleon meant for Europe and the world will continue to rage as it has done for the last 200 years. In a world where politics has been largely sanitized, his legacy assumes even greater significance and is undoubtedly very much alive today.

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STEPHEN STEWART

## Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815)

The Napoleonic Wars comprise a series of campaigns fought between 1803 and 1815, and, in every case, pitting **France** and her allies against various shifting alliances involving one or more of Europe's great powers, including **Britain**, **Austria**, **Russia**, and **Prussia**, and lesser nations.

### *The War of the Third Coalition, 1805*

Following the signature of the Treaty of Amiens between Britain and France in March 1802, the decade-long **French Revolutionary Wars** came to an end with a tenuous 14-month period of peace. French territorial annexations made during what amounted to an armistice, in addition to Britain's refusal to evacuate Malta, led to a renewal of hostilities in May 1803. The French prepared to invade Britain by assembling an army of 160,000 men along the Channel coast, to be transported by a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats built for the purpose. The British, meanwhile, in the absence of any continental allies, confined themselves to blockading French ports and persuading through an active diplomatic campaign to win the support of the Great Powers against the perceived Napoleonic menace. Through the inspiration of her prime minister, William **Pitt**, Britain managed first to secure the aid of Russia, and then Austria and Sweden, over the course of 1805.

Aware of the formation of a coalition against him, **Napoleon** broke up his invasion camp at Boulogne in August and rapidly marched his army to the Danube, thus averting for Britain the threat of invasion for the remainder of the year. Britain's security was effectively confirmed when on October 21 Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson decisively defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar, leaving the Royal Navy supreme at sea for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars. On land, however, Napoleon broke the power of the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, in Moravia, on December 2, forcing **Francis II** of Austria to withdraw from the Third Coalition and obliging Tsar **Alexander I** to withdraw with his troops to the east. By the Treaty of Pressburg, Austria ceded substantial territories in Germany and Italy to France and her allies.

### *The War of the Fourth Coalition, 1806–1807*

The following summer, Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine, a conglomeration of German satellite states from which he could recruit soldiers and find a ready market for French goods. Such interference in German affairs,

including the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire, became a particular source of annoyance to Prussia, whose king, Frederick William II, had remained neutral during the campaign of 1805. When Prussia took the field in October 1806, she had promised support from Russia, though it would be some time before the tsar's troops could reach the theater of operations in Saxony, while Austria was still prostrate from her defeat at Austerlitz and the annexations that followed. The Prussian army, still organized and trained in the fashion of **Frederick** the Great, proved itself incapable of meeting the demands of the new form of warfare to which the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras had given birth and crumbled in two simultaneous battles, Jena and Auerstädt, fought on October 14. Thereafter, the French conducted a masterly campaign of pursuit, rounding up the scattered remnants of the Prussian army, seizing the principal fortresses, and pushing on into Poland to confront the Russians, whom Napoleon fought to a bloody standstill at Eylau on February 8, 1807, before defeating them comprehensively at Friedland on June 14. By the subsequent treaties of Tilsit, concluded with Russia and Prussia on July 7 and 9, respectively, Napoleon effectively divided the Continent into spheres of influence between himself and Alexander, with Prussia drastically reduced in size and population and consigned to the status of a second-rate power.

#### *The Peninsular War, 1807–1814*

Having vanquished the major powers of Europe, with a single notable exception, Napoleon turned his attention to the defeat of Britain. Without a navy capable of opposing that of his principal remaining opponent, the emperor adopted a strategy of economic strangulation, known as the Continental System, already in place since the winter of 1806, by which he would enforce a ban on all trade between Britain and the Continent. In order to ensure the total exclusion of British goods from European markets, Napoleon resolved to control the entire continental coastline, whether through occupation, the cooperation of his allies, or compulsion. Thus, as Portugal, one of Britain's oldest trading partners, refused to comply, the French duly marched through friendly **Spain** and invaded the defenseless country in November 1807, partly with a view to seizing the Portuguese fleet, which, however, escaped to Brazil. To ensure complete control over Iberia, the French used the pretext of guarding the coasts of Spain to occupy her ally in March 1808, soon thereafter forcing the king and his son to abdicate. On May 2 rebellion broke out in Madrid, while a general insurrection rapidly spread across the country. Despite initial setbacks, including the capitulation of a French army of 20,000 men at Bailen on July 19, the invaders soon established control of most of the country.

The British responded by dispatching an expeditionary force under Sir John Moore to Portugal in the autumn of 1808. After a British victory at Vimeiro on August 21, the French in Portugal agreed to the Convention of Cintra, which led to their evacuation of the country. This was a comparatively minor setback, however, for over 100,000 troops remained in Spain, and it became the task of Sir John Moore to march on Madrid. In November, however, Napoleon entered Spain at the head of 200,000 men to lead the campaign in person. Moore, unable to resist such numbers, conducted a horrendous retreat through bitter winter conditions to Corunna, on the northwest coast of Spain, in late December. Barely holding off the French, Moore's army was evacuated by the Royal Navy, though Moore died in the fighting at Corunna on January 16, 1809. Elsewhere, the French consistently



defeated the various ill-equipped and badly led Spanish forces sent against them, while guerrilla operations sprouted across Iberia, destroying small French detachments, intercepting scouts and messengers, and harassing convoys. A largely unseen aspect of the conflict, it would eventually account for over 100,000 French casualties. The war would also be distinguished by a series of dreadful sieges, among these the epic defense of Saragossa, where between December 1808 and February 1809 the defenders grimly held out until disease and starvation forced them to capitulate.

In March 1809, the French invaded Portugal for a second time, though they were again driven out after the Battle of Oporto on March 29, thanks to the imaginative strategy of the new British commander in Portugal, Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington). Wellesley now took the offensive and crossed the frontier into Spain, supported by the guerrillas, but less so by the Spanish regulars. At Talavera on July 28, Wellesley fought a drawn battle, though the French withdrew into central Spain as a result. The Spanish lost badly at Ocaña on November 19, while Wellington assumed a defensive posture in 1810, secretly constructing a line of redoubts and entrenchments across Portugal meant to protect Lisbon, the vital point of entry for British reinforcements and supplies, and known as the Lines of Torres Vedras. The French invaded Portugal again in July 1810 and confronted Wellington at Busaco on September 27, only to be repulsed by disciplined fire from British infantry deployed on a ridge. In the wake of the battle, Wellington withdrew behind the Lines of Torres Vedras, which the French probed and found impregnable. Finding his troops unable to live off the devastated countryside in front of the Lines, Marshal Masséna finally withdrew his exhausted and semi-starved army back into Spain in November. In 1811, operations centered around the strategic border fortresses of Almeida, blockaded by the Anglo-Portuguese, and Badajoz, under siege by a British force under Marshal Beresford. Wellington brought the French to a standstill at Fuentes de Oñoro on May 5, and Beresford narrowly defeated Marshal Soult at Albuera on the May 16, but the remainder of the year remained relatively uneventful.

His army now reorganized, well supplied, and experienced, Wellington finally took the offensive at the beginning of 1812, when he besieged and stormed, at very heavy cost to his dauntless infantry, the fortress towns of Ciudad Rodrigo on January 19, and Badajoz on April 19. He then advanced into the heart of Spain, where he decisively defeated Marshal Marmont at Salamanca on July 22 and entered Madrid on August 12. Still, Wellington had shown himself to be clumsy in his conduct of siege warfare, and while he took Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz by the sheer determination of his troops, he failed to repeat these successes at Burgos in November.

In the campaign of 1813, Wellington, now in supreme command of Spanish, as well as Anglo-Portuguese forces, assumed the offensive, forcing the French to abandon Madrid and decisively defeating them on June 21 at Vitoria, where their rout was so complete that they retired over the Pyrenees. The Anglo-Portuguese followed up their success by engaging Soult along the frontier at Sorrauren in late July and at the rivers Nivelle and Nive in November and December, respectively. The campaign of 1814 in southern France opened in February, when Wellington drove back Soult at Orthez on February 27 before capturing Toulouse on April 10, several days after Napoleon had already abdicated in Paris, far to the north.

### *Naval Operations, 1806–1815*

The war at sea did not come to an end even after the overwhelming British victory at Trafalgar on October 21, 1805. Thereafter, the Royal Navy would perform an indispensable service supplying Anglo-Portuguese, and later Spanish, forces in the Iberian Peninsula between 1808 and 1814. Undramatic though blockade duty might be, this was a service of vital importance patiently carried out by the navy against the major French ports. The navy also seized enemy shipping and provided transport and supply for various military expeditions dispatched to capture the colonial possessions of France and her allies. Only months after Trafalgar, the Royal Navy transported troops to the Dutch possession in southern Africa known as Cape Colony, which fell in January 1806. The following month a squadron under Sir John Duckworth destroyed the French West Indian squadron off Santo Domingo in the West Indies, and in 1806–1807 the navy conveyed troops to Buenos Aires, in Spanish South America. The navy also conducted raids against Calabria, on the Italian coast, and against Boulogne, in June and October 1806, respectively. Major operations also took place at the Dardanelles against Turkey in February and March 1807, and at Copenhagen in September of that year. Large-scale amphibious landings were made on the Dutch island of Walcheren in July 1809 as a diversion during Napoleon's operations against Austria, while various colonies fell by virtue of British naval power, such as Martinique and Santo Domingo in 1809, and Guadeloupe and Mauritius in 1810.

### *The War of the Fifth Coalition, 1809*

Stung by, yet recovered from, its defeat of 1805, Austria prepared to renew the contest with Napoleon in 1809. The emperor wisely left Spain to gather his forces in Germany for a campaign he planned to pursue along the Danube. In the spring the Austrians invaded Bavaria but were forced back at Abensberg on April 18–19, and again at three actions in rapid succession—Landshut, Eggmühl, and Ratisbon. On May 12 the French entered Vienna before crossing the Danube and fighting a bitterly contested engagement on May 21–22 at Aspern-Essling, where Napoleon suffered his first defeat and was obliged to withdraw back across the river to lick his wounds. He was not ready to recross until July, when, in a massive battle on July 5 and 6, he inflicted heavy casualties on the Austrians, who requested an armistice on July 10. By the Treaty of Schönbrunn, concluded on October 14, the Habsburgs ceded over 30,000 square miles of territory to France and her allies and agreed to join the Continental System.

### *The Russian Campaign, 1812*

In the years following the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, Russia gradually separated itself from the French sphere, for it harbored three particular grievances: its economy was struggling as a result of its embargo against Britain; it suspected Napoleon of wishing to resurrect an independent Polish state out of the Duchy of Warsaw, the French satellite then situated on Russia's western border; and it resented Napoleon's failure to support Russia's bid to defeat the Ottoman Empire in a war that had begun in 1806. Britain, always keen to secure continental allies, made peace with Russia in June 1812, as did Turkey, thus freeing Alexander to confront the inevitable backlash from Napoleon.

The emperor, furious at Russia's defiance, particularly with respect to its failure to enforce the Continental System, assembled an army of over a half-million

men in the spring of 1812 and on June 22 crossed the river Niemen. The great distances to be covered, the heat, and the horrendous logistical problems encountered by Napoleon's Grande Armée took a heavy toll on this massive though almost unmanageably large force, over half of which consisted of troops from states allied to France. The Russians offered stubborn resistance at Smolensk on August 17, at Valutino two days later, and most impressively on September 7 at Borodino, where Napoleon launched a series of massive frontal attacks against prepared positions, suffering almost 30,000 casualties while inflicting over 40,000 on the Russians. By the time Napoleon entered Moscow on September 14, his army was down to less than half its original strength and was exhausted by the long march into the Russian interior. Worse still, much of the capital burned down during the first days of occupation, Alexander unexpectedly refused to negotiate with the invaders, and after wasting weeks in possession of a city whose supplies would not outlast the winter, Napoleon made the fateful decision to retreat west in October. Elements of the Grande Armée fought the Russians at various points, sometimes with success, but winter proved its greatest enemy and was rendered all the worse by constant Cossack forays and harassment from enraged peasants. The once mighty Grande Armée gradually dissolved into a straggling column of frostbitten fugitives and a few ad hoc fighting units just capable of offering limited resistance to the increasingly bold attacks conducted by the pursuing Russian army, cautious though it was. Napoleon's army suffered almost complete catastrophe when, at the crossing of the Berezina River in late November, tens of thousands of its troops and civilian camp followers were left stranded on the right bank of the river when the bridge collapsed, consigning them to the mercy of a vengeful enemy. Finally, at the end of December, the last remnants of the shattered army reached safety in East Prussia and the Duchy of Warsaw.

### *The Campaign in Germany, 1813*

Taking advantage of Napoleon's irreparable losses in Russia, Prussia defected from its half-hearted alliance with France and opened a campaign in Germany, supported by the numerically superior Russians, who were prepared to prosecute the war all the way to Paris. By April, however, Napoleon had partially rebuilt his forces to a strength of 200,000—albeit largely conscript—troops with little in the way of battlefield experience or cavalry. Such was his reputation for martial prowess that the emperor could still inspire his men—young and ill equipped though they were—to victory. At Lützen on May 2, and again at Bautzen on May 20–21, he defeated the Russians and Prussians, though the exhausted state of his men and the absence of a cavalry rendered pursuit, so much a feature of past Napoleonic victories, impossible. Numbers, moreover, were never on the emperor's side; Napoleon could never hope to field armies to match the strength of the Allies, and after an armistice between June and August, France had to confront an enlarged coalition—the Sixth—with Austria's military weight thrown in. While with his military genius increasingly taxed but still undimmed, Napoleon could inflict a limited defeat on the Allies at Dresden on August 26–27, three of his subordinates were nevertheless drubbed at Grossbeeren (August 23), at the river Katzbach (August 26), and at Kulm (August 29–30), thereby effectively negating their emperor's victory. Marshal Ney, the hero of the retreat from Moscow, was also badly mauled at Dennewitz on September 6, though the decisive encounter of the campaign would not come until the following month, between October 16 and 19, at Leipzig, where over a half-million men

fought in the largest battle of the Napoleonic Wars. The French were driven from the city, their German allies defected to the Allies, and the Napoleonic occupation of Europe east of the Rhine collapsed.

### *The Campaign in France, 1814*

While 100,000 French troops were fighting Wellington in the south of France, the Allies' main effort was in the east of the country, where three major armies—under the Prussian commander, Field Marshal von Blücher; the Austrian commander-in-chief, Prince Schwarzenberg (to whose headquarters were attached the tsar and the king of Prussia); and the crown prince of Sweden, Bernadotte—were converging on Paris. Napoleon beat his opponents at La Rothière and Brienne in late January, and again in a series of remarkable engagements between February 10 and 14, where he drubbed the Prussians at Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, and Vauchamps, but the emperor simply could not be everywhere at once, and his subordinates could not match his tactical ingenuity. At Craonne, on March 7, Napoleon defeated a Russian corps, and the Prussians again at Laon on March 9–10, and at Rheims on March 13. Nevertheless, these mostly constituted small-scale victories, and superior enemy numbers began to tell.

After Allied successes at Arcis-sur-Aube on March 20–21 and La-Fère-Champenoise on March 25, the French were unable to halt the advance on their capital, which the Allies attacked at Montmartre on March 30. Paris, its defenses neglected and its troops outnumbered, surrendered, and the Allies entered the following day. Losing the support of his marshals, who refused to fight on in a hopeless struggle, Napoleon abdicated on April 6 (unconditionally so on the eleventh) and agreed to live on the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean. The Allies restored the Bourbons to the French throne, with **Louis XVIII**, brother of the guillotined **Louis XVI**, as king. By the Treaty of Paris, France accepted a reduction of her frontiers to those of 1792 and recognized the sovereignty of the states resurrected or newly constructed out of the former Napoleonic Empire.

### *The Waterloo Campaign, 1815*

Disillusioned with his life of exile on Elba, Napoleon left the island on March 1, 1815, and made for the south of France. He reached Paris on March 20 and resumed control of the country, with the whole of the army and most of the populace supporting his restoration to power. The Allied monarchs, in the meantime, declared the emperor an outlaw and pledged to defeat him. Forces supplied by all the major states began marching on France, though only the Anglo-Allied and Prussian armies then situated in **Belgium** were within immediate striking distance, the former under the Wellington and the latter under Blücher. Napoleon, however, sought to preempt his opponents and crossed the frontier to confront the Anglo-Allies at Quatre Bras, and the Prussians at Ligny, both battles taking place on June 16. The Anglo-Allies were driven off and established themselves around Mont St. Jean, just south of Brussels, while the Prussians, more seriously defeated, retreated to the village of Wavre, about 12 miles east of Wellington's position. Detaching a corps to follow the Prussians and contain them at Wavre, Napoleon then sought to destroy Wellington's force at **Waterloo** on June 18. A combination of unimaginative French tactics, stalwart resistance from the Anglo-Allied troops, and the intervention of elements of the Prussian army that had disengaged themselves from the simultaneous fighting at

Wavre to aid Wellington led to the rout of the French army and Napoleon's second abdication.

Napoleon surrendered himself to British authorities and was exiled on the remote South Atlantic island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821. By the second Treaty of Paris, concluded on November 20, 1815, an indemnity of 700 million francs was imposed on France, an Allied army of occupation was to remain in place until full payment was made, and the French borders were reduced to those of 1790.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

## National Assembly

The National Assembly was the name adopted by the government of revolutionary **France** created on June 17, 1789, during the meeting of the **Estates-General**. It governed France in an increasingly tense relationship with King **Louis XVI** until July 9, 1789. The Assembly thus presided over the first phase of the **French Revolution** and set in motion numerous legal and administrative changes. These modifications were not enacted by the Assembly, which remained in session for less than a month. Still, the National Assembly laid the ideological foundations that made the reforms possible for later governments of the Revolution, many of which remain to the present day. A number of these early reforms were administrative in nature and, when they came to economics, showed distinct support for the capital segments in society, the investors and entrepreneurs. For these reasons, the period that began under the National Assembly is often referred to as the Administration of the Bourgeoisie phase of the Revolution. Likewise, it was under the National Assembly that a fundamental shift in the perception of government and its legitimacy occurred without which it is doubtful that the remainder of the Revolution would have possessed the character it did. During this time, many of the leaders who would go on to achieve fame or infamy during the more radical phases of the Revolution had their first experiences in national government.

As previously stated, the National Assembly came into being on June 17, 1789, when, at a prearranged signal, members of the First (clergy) and Second (nobility) Estates joined with members of the **Third Estate** (commoners) in meeting in the Estates-General at Versailles. This symbolic act created a new government that perceived itself as deriving much of the legitimacy for its actions from the people rather than from the monarchy. The new government, which considered itself much more representative of the nation as a whole, adopted the new title of National Assembly at the behest of the abbé **Sieyès** to signify this fact. The formation of the National Assembly can be read as an answer to the call Sieyès made in his pamphlet *What Is the Third Estate?* The new government quickly began to discuss sweeping reforms in the state apparatus of France. For instance, one of the Assembly's first actions was to revoke all the taxes passed under the monarchy, which they regarded as illegal. Shortly thereafter, they reimposed these taxes on their own authority. At the same time, they consolidated the public debts and began to search for a means of paying them off. The motivations behind these actions on the part of the National Assembly fell in line with the notion that the basis of rule was not the monarchy but rather the people, whom the Assembly represented. These actions began to alarm many of the more conservative elements at the king's court. Soon after the Assembly's creation, its members found themselves locked out of their usual meeting place in the palace compound at Versailles. They began meeting in the nearby royal tennis court, where the members swore an oath not to disband until they had written a constitution for France. The so-called **Tennis Court Oath** occurred on June 20. Initially, the king felt forced in the interim to accept the decrees of the revolutionaries while he sought an alternative solution.

While Louis XVI seemed at first caught off guard by the actions of the legislative body, he quickly regrouped. Still, his attempts to curb the reforming agenda of the body seemed to only exacerbate an already-difficult situation. For instance, on June 23 the king gave a speech to the body in which he agreed to support some governmental reforms. At the same time, he pushed forward the notion that the social hierarchy should remain intact, and thus the various estates should meet separately, and not as a single group. The reason behind this was that it was felt that if the estates continued to meet separately, the more conservative elements among the clergy and nobility would support the crown against radicals of common birth. It is significant that in this early phase of the Revolution, there were members of the First and Second Estates who recognized the necessity for reform as well. The call on the part of the king for the maintenance of the status quo has often been seen by historians as a means of controlling the Assembly and suppressing the forces of change then sweeping across France.

To some extent, there are grounds for the assertion that the king was attempting to oppose the transforming forces at work within France. It is clear that during this period he was falling more under the sway of conservative voices in the court at Versailles. It was these conservatives who were responsible for the king's order that summoned troops to the outskirts of the capital in the summer of 1789. The concentration of troops, and the rumors as to their real purpose, set underway the series of events that eventually led to the storming of the **Bastille** on July 14. In addition, these conservative advisers were the same voices that urged the king to dismiss the reformist minister of finance, Jacques **Necker**. A number of the more liberal members of the Third Estate saw Necker as an important voice for reform among

the king's close advisers. Thus, his dismissal was perceived by many as a clear sign of a coming conservative backlash from the throne.

Each of the kings' attempts, real or perceived, at suppressing the reforms being discussed in the National Assembly seemed to have the opposite of the intended effect. Instead of drawing strength away from the body, it gained them the support of more members of the nobility and clergy who had at first refused to join it. All these growing tensions would come to a head in the late summer and early fall of 1789 with the first major involvement of the people of Paris over the course of the Revolution.

Finally, on July 9, 1789, the members of the National Assembly voted to change their name to the National **Constituent Assembly**. While membership in the body remained essentially unaltered with the change in designation, the perceived mission of the body did. Their main focus became the writing of a constitution for France. This has led to some controversy among historians as to when the tenure of the National Assembly truly came to a close. For the purposes of this entry, the date of July 9, 1789, will stand.

It is unsurprising that a government that lasted for less than a month has left little in the way of concrete accomplishments on which to judge it. Still, it is for the ideology of government, much derived from the **Enlightenment** thinkers, that the National Assembly is remembered. The most significant idea that the members expounded was that the government derives its legitimacy—its right to govern—from the people rather than from the monarch. This concept stood as a profound departure from the notions of contemporary European political thought. In addition, the National Assembly remained in session and managed to avoid being disbanded. It therefore set a precedent for later bodies to draw upon. It is, therefore, fair to assert that the National Assembly set the stage for what is commonly referred to by historians as the legislative phase of the Revolution, and possibly even the **Reign of Terror** as well. Likewise, the Assembly served as a training ground in which the leaders of the later stages of the Revolution gained their first valuable experiences in government at the national level. Among those who were introduced to national politics through their service in the National Assembly were Georges **Danton**, the comte de **Mirabeau**, Maximilien **Robespierre**, and the abbé Sieyès. These men, and numerous others of less note, gained valuable experience during their tenure in the National Assembly. A number of these men would put this knowledge to use in the later, more radical, stages of the Revolution, and in the case of Sieyès in particular, down to the formation of the **Consulate**. By the same token, many of the men who first served France in the National Assembly would not survive the Revolution, falling victim to the Reign of Terror. It can be said, then, that the National Assembly set the stage and answered the casting call for the great drama that became the French Revolution. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; First Estate; Second Estate.

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JAMES R. MCINTYRE

## National Constituent Assembly

*See* Constituent Assembly

## National Convention (1792–1795)

The National Convention was the title taken by the government that ruled **France** between September 21, 1792, and October 26, 1795. It produced two constitutions during its tenure in power, one in 1793 and the other in 1795. The Convention came to power shortly after the overthrow of the monarchy under the government of the **Legislative Assembly**. Since the removal of **Louis XVI** from power created a vacuum in the executive branch of the government, the National Convention essentially combined both the legislative and executive functions. While in power, the National Convention guided France through the most radical phases of the Revolution, including the period known as the **Reign of Terror**. Simultaneously, the government took on the role of guiding the French war effort. France was then at war with a coalition comprised of **Austria**, **Britain**, and **Prussia**, among others. The combination of directing the war and continuing the reforms of the Revolution led the National Convention to enact a variety of changes that profoundly affected France at the time and continue to influence revolutionary movements to the present day. The chief work of the Convention fell into three broad categories: government, the war effort, and social reform.

To carry out its governing tasks effectively, the Convention dispersed its various responsibilities among a number of committees. Out of these, the Committee of General Security and the **Committee of Public Safety** came to overshadow the rest, both in their importance and in the scope of their power. The Committee of Public Safety soon became the more powerful of the two agencies. The Convention invested its executive authority in the Committee of Public Safety, which was subject to renewal by the full Convention on a monthly basis.

Among the legal issues the Convention had to contend with was the fate of Louis XVI. The king was charged with treason under the Legislative Assembly. Now, the National Convention had to decide how to proceed in prosecuting the charge. The king's trial began before the Convention on December 11, 1792. Between January 16 and 18, 1793, the Convention deliberated on his fate. While there existed serious internal division within the governing body regarding the destiny of the former monarch, the members eventually decided in favor of execution. Officials imposed the penalty on January 21, 1793, when the executioner guillotined citizen Louis Capet in Paris. Later that same year, on October 16, the king's wife, **Marie Antoinette**, would follow her husband to the scaffold.

In addition to the fate of the royal family, other problems existed within France as well. One of the most pressing of these encompassed a series of antigovernment uprisings. The leading factors driving these revolts were dislike of the conscription of men to fight the war and the efforts of the revolutionaries to dechristianize France. The Convention dealt with insurrections by sending some of its members, called **representatives on mission**, to the affected areas with special powers delegated to take necessary actions on the spot. The first representatives were dispatched on March 9, 1793. They were aided in their efforts by **revolutionary tribunals**, which had been established in August 1792. These bodies possessed special powers that



superseded many of the guarantees contained in the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**. For instance, they could try anyone suspected of betraying the Revolution, with no appeal to their decisions. In addition, on September 17 the Convention passed the **Law of Suspects**, a decree making the conviction of people on charges of working against the Revolution much easier to obtain. The various measures enacted in order to safeguard the Revolution from internal dissent came to be known as the Reign of Terror. A great deal of the concern in the Convention over treason stemmed from the fact that France was at war at this time, a point that will be discussed in greater detail below. In order to maintain internal order and prosecute the war, the government expanded and centralized its powers over the entire nation. The Constitution of 1793 enshrined many of the centralizing policies of the Convention. This document was very radical in the type of government it devised for France. Due to the stresses of the war, however, the Constitution of 1793 was never implemented, and on October 10 the revolutionary government was declared in power only until the return of peace.

The war brought with it a greater emphasis on the supply of both the armies in the field and the urban centers of France. Thus, on September 29, 1793, the Convention introduced the **Maximum** on grain and fodder. This set price limits on a number of basic necessities. The Maximum came as a result of an alliance between the **Jacobins** and the working people of Paris known as the *sans-culottes*. The combination of these two groups, which often held contradictory political objectives, allowed the Jacobins to force legislation through the legislative branch.

At its high point, the Convention achieved a greater degree of consolidation of power than had ever been the case under the monarchy. This began to unravel with the fall of **Robespierre** from power on July 27, 1794, a date known as the **Thermidorian Reaction** for the month of the revolutionary calendar in which it took place. After Robespierre and his supporters were out of power, the government eventually removed the *sans-culottes* from an active role in politics. The period from July 1794 to October 1795 stood as one in which the Revolution took a more conservative turn. In addition, these 15 months witnessed the reversal of much of the more sweeping social legislation of the earlier radical period. As a result of the conservative reaction, the Convention passed the Constitution of 1795, adopted on August 22. Many historians attribute at least a part of the relaxation of radicalism to the success of the revolutionary armies.

The Convention inherited a country at war. While the Republic declared under the Legislative Assembly had managed to beat back an invasion by a combined Austrian and Prussian force after the great turning point at the decisive Battle of Valmy (September 21, 1793), the country still remained in danger. Still, even after this victory, the symbolic value of which far outweighed events in the field, the Convention had to defend France with an army that was itself undergoing profound internal transformations. Many of the veteran officers from the nobility were leaving France and there were numerous new levies joining the army. If these difficulties were not pressing enough, there were sizeable insurrections in several areas within France, and a number of the other European powers were joining in what would later be known as the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797). As a result of these circumstances, the Convention and its various committees directed much of their energy at the war effort. A great deal of the burden for the direction of the military capabilities of the Republic fell to the Committee of Public Safety, and especially to

Lazare **Carnot**. Carnot played a major role in mobilizing the resources of the nation behind the defense of France to an unprecedented degree.

Though the French people had already attested to their support for the Revolution through the assembling of various groups of volunteers beginning in 1791, by 1793 the people had lost some of their patriotic ardor. This led the Convention to call for a draft in March of that year. While some additional troops were raised in this fashion, an unintended result came in the **Vendéan rebellion**. The region of the Vendée would be dominated by a bloody insurgency for some time to come.

The notion of a true national draft came into play on August 23, 1793, with the *levée en masse*. The *levée* involved a call by the government for the entire nation to take some role in the war effort—from soldiering to provisioning. All the resources of the nation were thus dedicated to the prosecution of the war effort. Such a massive commitment was very different from that exercised by other contemporary European states. Therefore, revolutionary France is often credited with being the first nation to approach what is referred to as a total war footing. By the same token, this allowed France to field a much larger army than any of its enemies.

Even with the number of troops yielded by the *levée en masse*, there remained the need to train them to serve as an effective fighting force. This project came to absorb much of the energy of the Convention, as well as its committees. The Convention finally solved the difficulty with the introduction of the *amalgame*. This action combined elements of the old royal army with units of revolutionary volunteers. The result was a powerful combination of revolutionary zeal and discipline. The army that emerged from these transformations began to push back the enemies of France from its borders, and even to live off occupied territories. Still, the vast scope of the war imposed drastic internal changes on France as well. These transformations, which were implemented by the Convention, were broad in scope and profound in intent.

The area in which the Convention most profoundly affected France was certainly society. While the reforms the body enacted were all repealed in the later years of the Revolution and under the Empire of **Napoleon**, they have since received a great deal of scrutiny from various historians as examples of early attempts to transform a society. Many of the changes implemented by this body were extremely radical in nature, though they did fall in line with many of the tenets of the **Enlightenment**. For example, the Convention approved the revolutionary **Calendar** on November 24, 1793. The new method of tracking time replaced the older church-based calendar for a period. Under the revolutionary reckoning, there were 12 months of 20 days each. All the months were named after various seasonal conditions. Each month, in turn, was composed of three 10-day weeks known as *decadi*. Five days were added at the end of each calendar year. In essence, the new calendar endeavored to impose the rationality of the Enlightenment on the organization of everyday life to an extraordinarily profound degree. The end result came in the form of a drastic alteration of the manner in which people ordered their temporal lives, if only for a short duration. Likewise, the Convention attempted to give the people of France a new religion in the Cult of the Supreme Being.

The Cult of the Supreme Being constituted a state-sponsored religion. In addition, it stood as a continuation and radicalization of the struggle with the Catholic Church that began with the seizure of church lands of November 2, 1789. The cult

attempted to mold a new religion for France, one modeled after the Enlightenment concept of deism. Ironically, one of the chief opponents of early dechristianization efforts, Maximilien Robespierre, became one of the strongest advocates of the cult. The fullest expression of the cult came with the Festival of the Supreme Being held in the Temple of Reason, the name given to the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris on June 8, 1794. Robespierre presided over this event, and the chief architect of the festival was Jacques-Louis **David**. The majority of the French people never accepted this new belief system, and it essentially ended with the fall of Robespierre and the other radical Jacobins.

Finally, the Convention led France through a truly tumultuous period of the Revolution. Under its direction, the Revolution progressed in such a way as to transform virtually all aspects of French life, if only for a short duration. Much of this work of transformation was done on a purely ad hoc basis, however, as the Convention seemed perpetually on the move from one crisis to the next. Still, the Convention achieved an unprecedented level of centralization in regard to government power. This centralized state has often been seen as a model for later regimes. It also mobilized the resources of the nation for the effective prosecution of the war effort to a degree not achieved before. In this regard, the efforts of the Convention have been seen by some historians as marking the beginning of total war. While the effort never yielded results solid enough to really justify this assertion, the fact remains that prior to revolutionary France, no states in the modern world had even attempted to produce such a concentration of manpower and materiel. Likewise, while the efforts of the government to transform society were met with markedly less success than government reforms or military mobilization, the reforms attempted in the social realm certainly influenced later revolutionary thinkers. The Convention encompassed a truly radical approach to the government of France—one with profound consequences not only for contemporaries, but for later generations as well. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Guillotine.

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## National Guard

Created during the political crisis of 1789, the National Guard developed as a confederation of citizen-soldier units that policed local communities during the **French Revolution**. The impetus to create such a force emerged during the events of July 1789, when it became clear to municipal leaders that some form of check on popular violence was necessary to secure law and order. Amidst growing popular

agitation and the reluctance of the royal French Guard to fire on the Paris crowds, Nicolas de Bonneville proposed the formation of the traditional Bourgeois Guard, reviving the medieval right of the local community to control its own security and policing. The National Guard would replace the bands of armed citizens, members of the French Guard, and regular army deserters who were forming a spontaneous citizen militia within Paris. The electors of Paris voted to establish such a citizen guard, and the Marquis de **Lafayette** was nominated to lead the Parisian National Guard. Over the next few months, National Guard units were formed in provincial towns under the control of the new municipal governments, with the same mandate to maintain order, property, and public safety.

The National Guard played a significant role in minimizing the volatile situation of 1789 and it was a central part of the “municipal revolution.” The creation of the National Guard secured the new municipal authorities and provided a force that could defend both the local government and the revolutionary changes being instituted. It became the responsibility of the National Guard to protect grain shipments from brigands, maintain order at the markets and major public spaces, and disarm the bands of armed citizenry who threatened to destabilize the work of both the municipal government and the **National Assembly**. In addition to its everyday policing duties, the National Guard actively participated in revolutionary politics, exemplified by its participation in the **October Days** and the so-called massacre at the Champ de Mars in July 1791.

While its primary task was the restoration of law and order, the National Guard emerged as an important civic institution, and membership in the Guard was central to the experience of **citizenship** that was developing within the new political community being forged by the Revolution. Theoretically open to all male citizens between 20 and 50, the National Guard established a series of exclusions that limited membership further, making it an important institution defining who could exercise the power of citizenship and who could not.

Through the years of 1790 and 1791, Lafayette and the National Assembly worked to centralize the National Guard, defining its national structure and organization. This work culminated in the decrees of July 28 and September 29, 1791, where definitive regulations were established for the National Guard. *See also* Bastille, Fall of the; Cockades.

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BRODIE RICHARDS

## Nationalism

Nationalism is the belief that every nation is a unique cultural and political community, usually seen as united by a common history and language, and that each such nation should have autonomous control over its own territorial state. According to nationalist belief, a nation gives to its members a shared sense of identity and purpose. In the revolutionary era, this sense of collective destiny inspired democratic uprisings against old aristocracies but also fueled patriotic passions in bloody wars between nations. Hence the age of nationalism that began in the eighteenth

century led to a series of powerful political movements that transformed the politics of Europe and its colonies.

### *The Development of Nationalism in the West*

Before the eighteenth century, Europeans saw themselves as united not by nationalism but by religion. Under the Catholic Church, before the Reformation, all people were seen as members of a single universal civilization united under God, which kings and queens governed regionally only by divine right. After the Protestant Reformation came the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between and within European states. In the understanding of the time, these were conflicts not between national peoples but between defenders of religious factions. With the fracturing of political unity under God, a series of ideological changes began that would lead to new concepts of each people as a unique social whole. The regional states that had developed under Christian monarchs eventually came to be seen as the homelands of national peoples.

By the eighteenth century, a range of factors had led to the breakdown of the theory of the divine right of kings and queens and the rise of a new era known as the **Enlightenment**. The new scientific age produced the belief that earthly events were ruled by natural forces rather than by God's direct will. With science came the optimism that humans had the power to control their conditions of life. The belief in human autonomy led to new theories of political legitimacy that emphasized the consent of the people. According to social contract theories, political society was based on an agreement in which the people at once united themselves into states and delegated power to their rulers. While religion in the eighteenth century was still central to social life, it was increasingly separated from politics. The growing distinction between the state and civil society encouraged a search for new understandings of the principles, apart from pure authority, that governed the development of each society.

Various theories of each people as a distinct social whole began to emerge. The philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, like Adam **Smith** and David **Hume**, emphasized the history of each culture as a process of increasing civilization. In France, Jean-Jacques **Rousseau** argued that new political societies should be founded on the united will of the people, to which all citizens would owe their highest allegiance and from which they would receive a new common identity. In Germany, Immanuel **Kant** developed Rousseau's idea of liberty into a doctrine of autonomous self-determination. Other German writers like Johann Herder and Johann **Goethe** contributed to the romantic notion that each people is defined by creative activities like folk songs and stories. In contrast to the conservative Scottish understanding of culture as a set of customs and morals, the romantics saw it as based on language and the expressive arts. Meanwhile, those who followed Rousseau and Kant envisioned new societies based on collective self-determination. Born of these various sources, nationalism is a hybrid ideology that in its fully modern form combines a retrospective traditionalism with a prospective desire for communal autonomy.

The earliest political movements that displayed elements of modern nationalism, a label that began to be used in English only at the end of the eighteenth century, were led by groups who believed themselves to be oppressed by illegitimate political authorities. Hence nationalist sentiments arise in reaction to established powers and are driven by perceptions of historical grievances. In this partial sense,

the English Civil War in seventeenth century was an early nationalistic uprising in the name of historical English freedoms, though this idea was dominated by the religious understandings of the time. Only in the eighteenth century did revolutions occur not in the name of God but in the name of the united people. The first major movements that produced or were driven by recognizably nationalistic sentiments occurred in America with the rejection of British colonial power and in **France** in the democratic revolt against its own aristocracy.

### *“We the People”: Nationalism and the American Founding*

The **American Revolution** began as a tax revolt by colonists who saw themselves as unrepresented members of the British Empire, but it ended with independence and the establishment of a new national identity. In the years between the **Declaration of Independence** in 1776, with its Lockean philosophy of *universal* human rights, and the **United States Constitution** of 1787, with its opening reference to a *particular* people—“We the People of the United States”—Americans began to unite themselves as a modern nation. The question of a national government in the early years was contentious. On one side were the Anti-Federalists, who resisted the centralization of authority, and on the other were the Federalists, who believed national institutions were needed for mutual protection and future prosperity. The Federalists won this argument with the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, an event that marked the institutionalization of the founding myth of the American people.

The uniqueness of American nationalism is that its myth of the people was an effect rather than a cause of revolution. Because their social origins were British, the new American people had the ideology of the revolution in place of historical culture as the source of their distinctiveness as a people. The American foundational myth is the belief in universal freedom and equality, which they understood in Lockean terms as the individual right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The **American Revolutionary War** had been fought in the name of these rights, and so the Revolution itself became the mythic historical event for the American national self-understanding.

In short, the American national myth was founded both on a central idea, the ideology of Lockean individualism, and a formative event, the Revolutionary War fought in the name of that ideal. American nationalism combined strong liberal individualism with an equally strong communal **republicanism**. The unlikely combination proved effective: Americans were historically united as a culture by their belief in equality and individualism, for which they fought their founding war. This hybrid nationalism allowed modern America to become at once individualistic and communally patriotic. The strength of American national sentiments demonstrates the power of shared beliefs to unite a political community, even when those beliefs are individualistic and liberal.

### *The Nationalism of the French Revolution*

While the Americans were debating the ratification of their constitution, **France** was in its pre-revolutionary period. In 1789, the **French Revolution** broke out in full with an attempt to establish a new secular egalitarian nation. Its founding document, the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, was adopted by the **Constituent Assembly** in August of that year. Although several of its 17 articles dealt with the rights and freedoms of individuals, the declaration gave overriding

power to the nation itself as the ultimate guarantor of those rights: "The source of all sovereignty lies essentially in the Nation. No corporate body, no individual may exercise any authority that does not expressly emanate from it." All citizens had the right to participate in the creation of law, but no one had real freedom from it; even the freedom of expression and opinion were to be limited by law. Hence the overall effect of the declaration was to establish the French nation itself as the source of all legitimate power, including the power of law by the people over the people.

Where the American founding documents reflected the Lockean theory of individual liberty, the French declaration was animated by Rousseau's philosophy of communal empowerment. In earlier centuries, sovereignty was a purely religious concept, but with Rousseau's idea of the general will, which the declaration named explicitly as the true source of law, sovereignty became a secular notion belonging to the nation. In effect, Rousseau replaced God's will with the general will of the people as the power that should govern social life. By taking this idea as foundational, the French Revolution became the original exemplar of the form of nationalism based on communal unity through the sharing of law-giving power.

Rousseau had argued that all individuals, to join the collective power of the general will, must abandon their selfish interests and give their highest allegiance to the community. But this did not mean allegiance to the state; instead, the general will was to be a source of power outside of and superior to the administration of government. Thus, this form of nationalism is not statism, at least not in its original theory. Instead, it is a movement of the people, for whom the political apparatus of the state is to be a subordinate tool. However, as a communal conception of power based on unified sovereignty, nationalism of this sort is ideologically anti-liberal and anti-individualistic. While both of the great eighteenth-century revolutions, American and French, had tried to balance individual rights and freedoms with a strong sense of national belonging, only the French movement did so by trying to remake individuals into a new whole. Only in France were old titles abolished in favor of the new honorific, "Citizen," to symbolize the creation of this new national identity through a total social revolution.

### *Nationalism in the Napoleonic Era*

While the American nation was born of revolt against a colonial power and France overthrew a domestic regime, elsewhere in Europe nationalism arose as a reaction to a foreign invader. The French Revolution led to the reign of **Napoleon** Bonaparte, who had used the new French nationalist sentiments to raise support for his military conquests. The reaction of those who were subjected to his advances produced another phase of early European nationalism, the leading exemplar of which was in Germany. With German nationalism came special emphasis on shared history and cultural creativity as central to the ideology in its emerging modern form.

Germany in the eighteenth century was disunited and beset by a sense of cultural inferiority compared to the more developed regions of Europe. French military advances at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries had a dual effect in Germany, as in other regions. On one hand, the invaders introduced reforming trends in politics and government in accord with French ideas. On the other, the French were foreigners who enforced their decrees with military might. In reaction, Germans sought their own reforming ideals in the works of those like Herder and Goethe who emphasized the historical uniqueness of the German *Volk*.

Where America had the Lockean myth of the Revolution and France had the sovereignty of the general will, German nationalists had their *Volksgeist*, the unique spirit of the historical German people. Their nationalism was based on the romantic rejection of the universalism of the Enlightenment in favor of the belief that each people has its own self-created cultural identity. This is the ideology of nationalism in its full modern form—the desire for liberation and sovereignty of a people united by its unique history of cultural creativity. Nationalism in this form would be taken up in later generations who similarly saw themselves as unique.

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BORIS DEWEIL

## Navigation Acts

The Navigation Acts were a series of decrees imposed by **Britain** that precipitated discontent among the 13 American colonies. English custom practices dating from 1651 were originally drafted with Dutch shipping in mind, but afterward the acts of 1707 restricted trade with the American colonies. The policy of mercantilism fostered the growth of British trade and shipping at the cost of the colonies. The British, like other European colonial powers, subscribed to the view that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. A favorable balance of trade was maintained for the colonial power by the export of a greater volume of finished goods to the colonies than that of imported raw materials.

The Molasses Act of 1733 levied prohibitive duties on the export of molasses and sugar from the French West Indies to the American colonies, which had to buy more costly British West Indian sugar. Molasses, or liquid sugar, was an essential ingredient in preparing rum, and Boston merchants were particularly hard hit. As a result, rampant smuggling occurred with the connivance of custom officials, thus rendering the Navigation Acts effective. The ministry of George Grenville (1763–1765), seeking to diminish the large national debt accrued as a result of Seven Years' War (1756–1763) while simultaneously trying to raise revenue to defray the cost of protecting the American colonies against French attack, began to take effective measures against smuggling. The ensuing checks on contraband trade resulted in a great loss for the merchants of New England. In the late 1750s, New England purchased commodities with a value of £6 million from money made by smuggling. The seizure of ships by customs officials and the Royal Navy led to further discontentment. Although ship-building activities increased due to the Navigation Acts, the manufacturing sector languished in the colonies. The acts became another factor in alienating the colonies in the years leading up to the **American Revolution**. In 1849, following a policy of *laissez-faire*, the Navigation Acts, which had given British shipping a monopoly over home ports for a century and a half, were repealed.



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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

### Necker, Jacques (1732–1804)

Necker, the Swiss-born French statesman, reformer, and director general of finance under **Louis XVI**, was born in Geneva and began his career in banking. He proved himself a talented banker and, by the 1760s, had become a very wealthy man through his banking and speculative activities. He married Suzanne Curchod, with whom he had a daughter, Anne-Louise Germaine Necker, the future Madame de **Staël**, in 1766. Over the next decade, Necker made a fortune in brilliant speculations in the Indies Company as well as through profitable loans to various governments. He moved to Paris, where he became involved in financial and literary works while his wife hosted one of the popular **salons**. A neo-Colbertiste, he opposed the economic theories of the **Physiocrats**, publishing *Réponse au Mémoire de M. l'abbé Morellet sur la Compagnie des Indes* in 1769 and winning the prize of the Académie Française for a defense of state corporatism with his essay *Eloge de Jean-Baptiste Colbert* in 1773. In 1775, he produced *Essai sur la législation et le commerce des grains*, in which he criticized the free-trade policies of chief Physiocrat Anne-Robert-Jacques **Turgot**.

When Turgot was dismissed in 1776, Necker, although a Protestant, was appointed director of the treasury and then the director general of finance. Necker launched a series of reforms aimed at curbing the French deficit and reorganizing the economy, although these fell short of those of Turgot. Necker's policy of borrowing to fund French involvement in the **American Revolutionary War** further burdened the French economy and drove it closer to bankruptcy. His reforms were strongly resented and opposed by the nobility, including Queen **Marie Antoinette** herself, as well as by financial companies that stood to lose commercial privileges in their respective spheres. He famously published the first public accounting of the state finances in *Compte rendu au roi* in 1781. Facing a vehement pamphlet campaign in 1780–1781, Necker unsuccessfully sought royal support and resigned on May 19, 1781.

During the next seven years, Necker pursued his private business affairs and published various works, including *Traité de l'administration de la France* (1784). He was very critical of his successor, Charles-Alexandre de Calonne, and after a bitter public confrontation with the minister, he was banned from Paris in 1787. Necker nevertheless made his comeback a year later when he was again appointed director general of finance on August 25, 1788, and made minister of state two days later. With the French monarchy in partial bankruptcy and beset by aristocratic opposition, Necker faced an uphill battle and sought to introduce far-reaching reforms with the help of the **Estates-General**, which was to be convened in May 1789. Thus, Necker's foremost preoccupation in the first half of his tenure was making arrangements for the meeting of the Estates-General. He played an important role in the king's decision to double the representation of the **Third Estate**, which, Necker believed, was necessary for the establishment of a truly representative assembly. However, he failed to resolve the problems associated with the method of voting, and his conflict with the privileged classes—and especially the hard-liners in the royal family—eventually

led to his dismissal by the king on July 11, 1789. Yet this event ignited the July uprising in Paris, which resulted in the fall of the **Bastille** on July 14. Under popular pressure, Louis XVI recalled Necker for his third tenure as the minister of finance (July 29, 1789–September 8, 1790).

A liberal but not a democrat, Necker struggled in a new political scene in which he faced opponents on both the Right and the Left. Although the **National Assembly** praised him in July 1789, the relations between the minister and the Assembly quickly deteriorated due to differences of opinion on various political and economic reforms. On September 8, 1790, Necker announced his resignation and fled **France** to Switzerland. He spent the rest of his life at his estate at Coppet Commugny, near Geneva, where he wrote some of his last works—*Sur l'administration de M. Necker* (1791), *Du pouvoir exécutif dans le grands Etats* (1792), *De la Révolution française* (1796–1797, 3 volumes), and *Dernières vues de politique et de finance* (1802)—before his death on April 9, 1804.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### **Nelson, Thomas, Jr. (1738–1789)**

Thomas Nelson was a **Virginia** politician, a signer of the **Declaration of Independence**, and governor of Virginia (1781). Thomas Nelson Jr., the oldest son of prominent planter-merchant William and Elizabeth Burwell Nelson, was born in Yorktown. In 1753 Nelson attended a private school at Hackney, north of London. Although he never graduated, Nelson attended Christ's College, Cambridge. He returned to Virginia in 1761 and was immediately elected to the House of Burgesses and made a justice of the peace and colonel in the county militia. In 1769 Nelson joined the Virginia Association, which demanded repeal of the **Townshend Acts**. In 1774 Nelson joined another association that protested the **Coercive Acts** and called on the colonies to send delegates to a Continental Congress. He attended the Virginia Convention to elect delegates to the First **Continental Congress**. He was elected chairman of the York County Committee of Safety.

In 1775 Nelson took part in the second and third Virginia Conventions, which reorganized the colony's militia. Nelson was commissioned a colonel in command of the second regiment. However, he resigned his command when he was elected to the Second **Continental Congress**. In 1776 Nelson returned to Virginia in time to take part in another provincial convention. Nelson presented a resolution calling for a declaration of independence, which the convention ratified in a modified form. He returned to Congress with the resolution, which Richard Henry **Lee** presented. While working in a committee to draft a confederation, Nelson signed the Declaration of Independence. On a temporary break from Congress, Nelson was elected to the House of Delegates, the successor of the House of Burgesses. In 1777 Nelson's health deteriorated and he resigned from Congress. Hardly recovered, he was appointed brigadier general in command of the Virginia militia. He faced daunting problems of recruiting, retaining, and supplying the troops. The House of

Delegates sent Nelson back to the Continental Congress in late 1778. However, by April 1779, his declining health again prompted him to leave Congress. By June he was back in the House of Delegates, attempting to secure funds for the war effort. In 1780 Nelson commanded the militia against two British invasion forces, including one under Benedict Arnold.

In 1781, the struggle intensified when Lord Cornwallis invaded the state, and Virginia forces were reinforced by the Marquis de **Lafayette**. At the height of Cornwallis's offensive in June 1781, in which the legislature and Governor Thomas **Jefferson** were forced to flee, the legislature chose Nelson as governor and gave him emergency powers that combined civilian and military authority. In September, Nelson took command of the militia around **Yorktown** and directed the artillery to fire on his own house as Cornwallis's probable headquarters. At the conclusion of the siege, Nelson's health again collapsed and he resigned the governorship. He was elected to the House of Delegates and resumed his service in the York County Court in 1782, but his activity was much curtailed. In 1787 he served on a committee that selected Virginia's delegates to the **Constitutional Convention**. Nelson did not support the resulting document. He was chosen to attend Virginia's ratifying convention, but his rapidly declining health prevented further public service.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON

## Netherlands, United Kingdom of the

The United Kingdom of the Netherlands was a new country created at the Congress of **Vienna** that incorporated the 17 historical provinces of the Low Countries under the leadership of King William I (reigned 1813–1840), a descendent of William of Orange. The unification was short lived, though many of the political reforms remain in effect in the modern Netherlands.

The 17 provinces of the Low Countries, once united under the Burgundian dukes, had been split by the Dutch Revolt in the late sixteenth century. The northern and southern regions had gone their separate ways politically, with the south remaining under Spanish (and later Austrian) control and the north becoming an independent republic. Nationalist Dutch historians have described the split as tragic because it separated ethnically and linguistically similar peoples.

They would once again have a chance at unification in the nineteenth century. After a period of French occupation under **Napoleon**, representatives of the Dutch republic made plans to turn their country into a constitutional monarchy, under William's leadership, in 1813. At the Congress of Vienna, however, the British in particular were interested in strengthening the northwestern corner of Europe against future French expansionism. With William's encouragement, they proposed the creation of a United Kingdom of the Netherlands that would incorporate the former Dutch republic and the Austrian Netherlands into a single monarchy. The British agreed to return the Dutch colonial possessions (including various West Indian islands, Surinam, Ceylon, and the Dutch East Indies) to the new state, further strengthening it. The province of Luxembourg was also ceded to the new kingdom, despite Prussian claims to the territory.

One of William's supporters, Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp, drew up a constitution for the new state in 1815. In order to make the central government as strong as possible, the government was unitary, rather than federal, and supported by a bicameral legislature similar to **Britain's**. The Estates-General, as the legislature was known, called for an equal number of representatives from all 16 of the original provinces, including Luxembourg. The Estates would meet at the capital, which was originally designated as Amsterdam but instead moved between Brussels and The Hague. Universal suffrage and proportional representation, legacies from the **Dutch Revolution**, were also continued and expanded to apply to the southern provinces. Some Dutch historians have suggested that the experiment was doomed to failure because political unification did not take into account historical and cultural differences between the north and the south.

These differences did lead to squabbles, especially over religion and finance. In 1830, the southern provinces revolted against William's rule. He attempted to suppress the movement through force but was ultimately unsuccessful, and the new state of **Belgium** declared its independence. Reluctantly, William recognized the new country's independence in 1839 and, as a consequence, resigned his office in frustration in 1840. The northern provinces retained the title of United Kingdom of the Netherlands and the revised constitution adopted in 1848 remains the constitution of the modern Netherlands.

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LAURA CRUZ

### New England Restraining Act (1775)

The New England Restraining Act was a measure that was originally aimed at punishing **Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York** but was soon expanded to include **Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina**. Despite its title and original target, the act was retaliation for the fact that the First **Continental Congress** had convened, the **Continental Association** had come into existence, and a boycott of British goods had been announced.

The act, which **Parliament** passed in March 1775, stated that as of July 1, 1775, New England merchants could trade only with **Britain** and the British West Indies. All other trade was prohibited. A further provision stated that starting July 20, 1775, New England ships would not be able to fish in North Atlantic fishing areas. This last provision would adversely affect the New England fishing economy, which depended so greatly upon access to this area. The act was open ended in that it would remain in force until the colonies recognized Parliament's authority. It is difficult to judge what the effect of this act might have been had it been put into force. By the time word was received in America, the colonies were already in armed rebellion. *See also* Non-Importation Agreements; Quincy, Josiah.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## New Hampshire

Although a small colony, New Hampshire comprised three distinct regions. The first was on the seacoast and had the largest population. To the south was the Merrimack River Valley, and to the west was the Connecticut River Valley and the Hampshire Grants region (which eventually became Vermont).

New Hampshire did not send a delegate to the **Stamp Act Congress** in 1765 but showed significant agreement with the general tide of dissatisfaction. Acts of **Parliament** during these years and denial of access to the forests (pine trees and the land they sat on were off-limits until harvested for the Royal Navy) solidified opposition. The **Sons of Liberty** was organized and active. In 1773 the colony's Assembly met without the royal governor's permission to send aid to the closed port of Boston. A "convention of the towns" convened in 1775 formally suggested that the **Continental Congress** consider the issue of independence. Later this convention became a Provincial Congress with two houses but no executive branch.

New Hampshire declared itself a state in September 1776 and two years later adopted the **Articles of Confederation**. After the war, economic distress affected its rural population: almost at the same time as Shays's Rebellion in **Massachusetts** (1786), a similar demonstration among New Hampshire farmers took place.

New Hampshire sent delegates to the **Constitutional Convention**, but they arrived late and did not participate in all the debates. When the Constitution was sent to the states for ratification, opposition had formed in the state. The vote on ratification was delayed, but in 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the **United States Constitution** by a vote of 57 to 46, thus bringing the United States into existence. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War; Boston Port Act; Constitutions, American State; New England Restraining Act.

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## New Jersey

New Jersey's geography had much to do with its central role as the site of a great deal of military action in the **American Revolutionary War**. The colony's political, economic, religious, and demographic divisions and its particular set of problems shaped its contributions to the development of the **United States Constitution**.

Originally two proprietorships, East and West Jersey were combined under a royal governor in 1702, an arrangement that lasted for over 60 years—although in the years just preceding the **American Revolution**, New Jersey still showed signs that these two areas had not been well integrated and the differences were not only centered on geography. Religiously, there were three divisions. As might be expected in the west,

which bordered on **Pennsylvania**, the population was predominantly Quaker. The east, populated in large part by immigrants from **Connecticut**, was Anglican, and in the center, in the Trenton and Princeton area, Presbyterians formed the majority. Of all the religious groups in this divided state, the Presbyterians eventually came out most strongly for independence.

Economics constituted another division and one that would affect New Jersey into the 1780s. At the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), New Jersey was heavily in debt and so were many of its people. The divisions between those who owed money and those who were owed led to strong support for paper money (always favored by debtors because of inevitable inflation) to replace hard currency. At the same time, claims to land based on the very early proprietary grants were a major problem and not only took up time but consumed a great deal of political capital. Combined with individual claims, there was a border dispute with the colony of **New York** that was not resolved until just before the fighting broke out. Governor William **Franklin** (son of Benjamin **Franklin**) is rightly credited with keeping his colony's involvement in the patriot cause at a comparatively low level.

This could not last forever, however. The **Stamp Act** and other means of gathering revenue compounded New Jersey's financial difficulties. New Jersey sent delegates to the **Stamp Act Congress** and the First **Continental Congress**. It also formed its own legislature in 1775 and passed a state constitution in 1776. Yet New Jersey proceeded cautiously, and even after it had sent delegates to the Continental Congress, it sent cautious peace feelers to the British government in late 1775.

New Jersey's divisions regarding the Revolution were not as significant as they were in other states. Despite the fact that half of the state may have been Loyalist, there was no civil war as was the case in other states. William **Livingston**, the governor of the state, also had a strong influence over events, although as in most other states, New Jersey's constitution severely limited the powers of the executive.

New Jersey strongly supported the replacement of the **Articles of Confederation** with a strong central government. The experience of spiraling debt and the fear of larger states, such as New York, prompted this response. New Jersey pushed a plan (the New Jersey Plan) that would guarantee the rights of the smaller states. Although not totally adopted, part of its content was incorporated into the United States Constitution. New Jersey ratified the Constitution unanimously. *See also* American Revolution; Constitutions, American State; Continental Association; Continental Congress, Second; Loyalists; Stockton, Richard.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## New York

New York has always been a central part of the American experience, not only geographically, but also politically. It was at the forefront of American political thought throughout the colonial, revolutionary, confederation, and constitutional periods. Dominance of the state's lands by Iroquois chiefs, Dutch merchants and colonists,

Britain royal governors, and finally American Patriots gave New York a variety of powerful cultures and a wide range of political views. Economic growth throughout the period, barring the devastation of the **American Revolutionary War**, only augmented New York's political importance, which has continued down to today.

By the 1760s, Iroquois influence upon New York's lands had been steadily diminished over the years of colonialism as a result of disease, conflict, and dwindling fur hunts. However, they remained an important force within the region, able to resist European control, often trying to benefit from the conflict between **Britain** and **France** during the last of the French and Indian War, which lasted from 1754 to 1763.

Iroquois power stemmed from its rather advanced form of governance, known as the Iroquois Confederacy, which is thought to have dated from around 1570. By 1760, the Iroquois Confederacy consisted of six tribes or nations: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. Although originally founded as a confederation of five nations, the Tuscarora, who had fled conflict in the Carolinas, joined the confederation in 1722. Known to this day as the Iroquois, the Six Nations called themselves the *Haudenosaunee* people, loosely translated as the "people of the long house."

Political power within the confederacy was based upon an oral adherence treaty and was held by 50 chiefs, also known as sachems, who made up a grand council. Each of the six participating nations received an assigned number of seats on the grand council. Chiefs were usually selected by the elder women in each of the nation's settlements. Being named to the grand council was seen as a great honor that bestowed the power to direct and to coordinate the confederacy's actions. Occasionally, chiefs were removed from the grand council as punishment, but removal and replacement powers remained in the hands of the elder women from the prospective settlements.

The confederacy organized power and responsibilities among its members. Almost all important decisions required unanimous consent, resulting in a slow-moving and highly contentious political process. Nonetheless, the confederacy stopped in-fighting and allowed the nations to better resist European colonization. However, confederacy chiefs refused to consider giving full rights to tribes that did not speak an Iroquoian-based language into the alliance. In order to join, non-Iroquoian tribes were required to relinquish all authority to the grand council. The Iroquois Confederacy, although weakened by the 1760s, remained in control of the upstate New York fur trade and retained their position on New York's lands.

Dutch traders and colonists were the first Europeans to interact extensively with the Iroquois. Following Henry Hudson's exploration of the Hudson River in 1609, Dutch settlements were established at Fort Orange, current-day Albany, in 1621, and at Fort Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, in 1624. The New Netherlands colony was not the top priority of Dutch colonizers and traders, who preferred the higher profit potentials of the Caribbean and Spice Islands. At the time of the British acquisition of the New Netherlands in 1664, there were only 8,000 settlers in the entire region, then defined as the area between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers.

The British were quick to recognize the New Netherlands' economic potential, renaming the colony New York and reestablishing it as a royal colony. Although Dutch control was short lived, certain principles of the Dutch colonial government remained in effect well after the colony's acquisition by the English. Out of the

8,000 colonists estimated to live in the colony in 1664, roughly one-third were of Dutch descent. At the time, claims were made that over 18 different languages were spoken on Manhattan Island alone. Under tolerant Dutch control, many English, Germans, French, Swedes, Jews, Africans, and Scots settled in the colony.

Religious toleration was the most important principle that the colony of New York inherited from its former Dutch administration. The New Netherlands colony had become a haven from religious persecution, just like the **Netherlands** in Europe. When Dutch governor Peter Stuyvesant tried to enforce his dislike of Jews and Quakers, the people of Flushing, on Long Island, issued a declaration in 1657, which became known as the Flushing Remonstrance. It stated the people's protest against the governor and became the first declaration of religious tolerance by any group of citizens in American history.

Over time, New York's colonial assembly, which had been reinstated following the downfall of James II in 1688, accumulated numerous and widespread powers. By 1760, New York colonists had significant powers of self-government. By "power of the purse," or the ability to approve the spending of government money and to levy taxes, the colonial assembly was able to slowly expand its power, taking it from the royal governor. Although the colonists still considered themselves to be part of the British Empire, the development and increased powers of self-government started to make them all economically prosperous and uniquely American.

An even more extensive self-government proposal was put forward by Benjamin **Franklin** at the Albany Congress of 1754. Representatives of seven colonies met in Albany, New York, in order to discuss pan-colonial military strategy and to negotiate with the still-powerful Iroquois Confederacy. The Congress was not considered a success at the time; the Iroquois left with wagon loads of gifts but did not consent to any official agreements. Franklin's plan, which called for a central colonial government to be located in Philadelphia and aimed to coordinate defense, was not accepted. Many viewed Franklin's so-called **Albany Plan of Union** as too radical and unnecessary. Nevertheless, lengthy debates were held concerning Franklin's proposals, some of which may have laid the foundation for the union established between the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

Once British military superiority guaranteed the demise of the French Empire in North America, New York's reliance upon the British military for protection against foreign armies diminished significantly. Coupled with the issuance of the **Proclamation of 1763**, which forbade European settlement beyond the Appalachian Mountains and trade with Native Americans without a license, New York's fur traders, westward-looking settlers, and land speculators became infuriated with the British authorities. In fact, many simply ignored the proclamation.

As a result, colonists continued to pour into Iroquois' lands. In order to calm the Iroquois' fears, Sir William Johnson, a trusted friend of the Iroquois and a hero of the French and Indian War, organized a conference at Fort Stanwix, near present-day Rome, New York, in 1768. More than 2,000 Native Americans attended, and a treaty clarifying the border between colonial settlement and Native American territory was signed, although it too was ignored by advancing colonists.

The mid-1760s were filled with growing colonial unrest in New York. In 1764, *Forsey v. Cunningham* caused unrest and suspicion throughout the colony. Waddel Cunningham had been found guilty of assaulting Thomas Forsey on a street in New York City by a colonial jury. Forsey was awarded £1,500, but Cunningham appealed



the verdict to royal governor Cadwallader Colden and his council. Colden's review of the appeal sparked concern and unrest throughout the colony, as local lawyers and judges criticized Colden for even rethinking the jury's ruling, which had been made under English common law. Although the governor's council refused to allow him to review the verdict, Colden's actions created a scandal that aroused suspicion and distrust.

The year 1764 also saw the passage of the **Sugar Act**, which replaced the Molasses Act of 1733. Although it was technically more liberal than the preceding legislation, merchants and colonists alike were upset because it was actually enforced. The Sugar Act reduced the duty on foreign molasses, forbade the importation of any rum that was not distilled within the British Empire, and set tax rates on other goods from the sugar islands that were under foreign control. Reaction to the act was quick, beginning with protests to the Board of Trade. Then, the colonial assembly sent letters to the Crown and **Parliament**, denouncing the right of Parliament to tax New York's citizens without their consent or representation in Parliament itself. In response to the Sugar Act, calls were made by some prominent business people to ban the importation of British goods and to develop manufacturing industries within the colony itself in order to reduce dependence upon Britain.

The Sugar Act failed to raise the projected income, and Parliament responded with the **Stamp Act** of 1765. Extensive preparations were made by the colonists to prevent enforcement of the act; even the government official assigned to enforce it resigned, citing threats on himself and his family. Beginning on October 7, 1765, the **Stamp Act Congress**, organized by the General Court of Massachusetts, met in New York City for about two weeks. The Congress published an angry denunciation of the act. Soon after, the **Sons of Liberty**, an organization that advocated confrontation and independence, began to gain strength in New York. By March 1766, American boycotts had severely disrupted British trade revenues and the Stamp Act was revoked.

In response, Parliament passed the repressive **Townsend Acts**. One of the acts, the New York Restraining Act, was particularly upsetting to New York residents. It required proper barracks and supplies for British troops stationed at British general Gage's New York headquarters to be furnished by the colonial assembly before it could be allowed to meet again. New York complied, but only after the colonial assembly was suspended temporarily. New York merchants once again answered calls made by the growing Sons of Liberty group and announced another boycott of British goods, starting in late August 1768.

The Townsend Acts were soon repealed in April 1770, only to be replaced by the **Tea Act**, passed by Parliament in May 1773. In April 1774, a group of New York colonists held their own version of the **Boston Tea Party** in New York's harbor, boarding the cargo ship *London* and throwing 18 crates of tea into the water. In response to these insubordinate actions, Parliament passed the punishing **Coercive Acts** (also known as the Intolerable Acts). By January 1774, a new committee of correspondence was established in New York; this one operated independent of the colonial assembly. This committee called for a meeting to be hosted in New York City for representatives of all the colonies on May 15, 1774, but it was decided that the meeting would be held in Philadelphia.

As the colonies began to follow the road to revolution, New York fully participated in the Continental Congresses, convening temporary Provincial Congresses

in order to nominate representatives when the colonial assembly refused to do so after the boycott outcome of the First **Continental Congress**. By October 1775, New York's royal governor, William **Tryon**, fled after the majority of British troops were moved from New York City to Boston. New York's Third Provincial Congress decided to favor rapprochement with Britain, even after the outbreak of military hostilities. It was a position that harmed the position of New York's delegates at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, where they were not allowed to speak in favor of independence, and that alarmed other Patriots, including John **Adams**.

When the **Declaration of Independence** was signed, New York's delegates refrained from following suit and did not sign. Instead, a newly elected Fourth Provincial Congress met in White Plains, New York, on July 9, 1776, and hurriedly approved the Declaration. Next, they renamed themselves the Convention of Representatives of the State of New York. Around the same time, British commander Sir William Howe began his invasion of New York, the most damaged state during the Revolutionary War.

The state's constitution was approved in 1777, establishing a government very similar to that of its colonial predecessor. It was made up of an elected bicameral legislature with an assembly and a **senate**. It called for a governor to enforce the legislature's law, but the position had much less power than those of the royal colonial governors. Lastly, a court system was established to rule on the laws passed by the legislature. The constitution also guaranteed trial by jury, separation of church and state, and freedom of religion.

The state legislature met for the first time in September 1777 in Kingston, New York, but was forced to flee in the face of an invading British army led by General Henry Clinton. Luckily, New York's newly elected governor, George Clinton, was a very able leader, regrouping the government in Schenectady, New York, organizing a militia, and furnishing supplies. Throughout the war, New York was faced with a strong British military presence in New York City and Native American raids along the frontier. Financial problems were not as severe in New York as they were in other colonies, since the legislature confiscated and sold many lands previously owned by **Loyalists**.

Once independence was secured and the faults of the government formed by the **Articles of Confederation** were exposed, New York participated in the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia. Although three delegates were sent, only Alexander **Hamilton** was in favor of a stronger national government, aligning himself with the Federalist group. His two colleagues, Robert Yates and John Lansing, aligned themselves with the Anti-Federalist group. Following the publication of the **United States Constitution**, New York began its battle for ratification.

Many New Yorkers feared a strong central government and liked the Confederation government, which was headquartered in New York City, but the addition of the Bill of Rights persuaded many to vote in favor of the stronger union. A ratification convention was called; the Anti-Federalists, led by Clinton, won 46 seats, while the Federalists, led by Hamilton, won only 19 seats. The ratification debate raged; passage of the Constitution was ensured by **New Hampshire's** approval on June 21, 1788, which left New York temporarily outside the new and stronger union. On June 26, the convention, meeting in Poughkeepsie, voted in favor, becoming the eleventh state to ratify. As the new government was formed, George **Washington** selected Hamilton as secretary of the treasury and John **Jay** as chief justice of the United States. Both men

were from New York, and Hamilton, born on the Caribbean island of Nevis, became responsible for the success of the new union.

Hamilton's success sparked dislike from Aaron Burr, against whom Hamilton's party campaigned in the presidential elections, then in the elections for governor of New York. Feeling slighted by Hamilton, Burr challenged him to a duel and defeated him on July 11, 1804, wounding and ultimately killing him the next day. In response, the people of New York never supported Burr as they had in the past.

By 1812, ongoing disputes with Britain led to the reopening of hostilities between the two countries. New York once again proved to be a major battleground of the war, specifically along the border with Ontario and Quebec. New York's Governor Daniel Tompkins pressured the state's legislature for more money for the war in order to form a better militia and to protect the state's frontier. With his lead, New York was once again able to repulse a British invasion via Lake Champlain. Soon after, with the state's security guaranteed and the war ended, New Yorkers returned their attention to development and economic progress, leading ultimately to the state's transportation revolution and construction of the Erie Canal. *See also* American Revolution; Constitutions, American State; Continental Congress, Second.

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ARTHUR HOLST

## Newspapers (American)

Between 1760 and 1815, American newspapers were strongly influenced by journalistic traditions in Europe. During the colonial period, rules concerning the press in the colonies were subject to British control, and in order to secure political stability, colonial authorities felt compelled to strongly limit freedom of the press. After independence, however, American newspapers would come to symbolize one of the highest forms of free expression in the world.

The historical origins of the American press demonstrate how long the road to journalistic independence was. Early newspapers were published only sporadically, though their encouraging sales demonstrated a market for consumption. Benjamin Harris's *Publick Occurences, Both Foreign and Domestick* was produced in 1690, though it was soon banned by the disapproving British governor of Massachusetts. Even in the late seventeenth century, the free word was perceived as a threat by the authorities. The first official newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*, was printed in Boston, in 1704. Its task was to collect and proliferate news from **Britain** that until then had been communicated in other forms. In 1719 it was renamed the *Boston Gazette*. The *New-England Courant* in 1721 was the first independent American newspaper, in the sense that it escaped immediate British control. The production of newspapers also expanded to other cities. William Bradford's *New-York Gazette*, first published in 1725, was the first newspaper in New York City.

The establishment of a new nation provided conditions for the development of American newspapers. The absence of municipal offices led to an enormous rise in

the importance of newspaper headquarters as places for the exchange of information. Newspapers created an extremely vibrant political environment that helped encourage a market for political debate, though newspapers inevitably sided with one political party or another. For instance, Thomas **Jefferson** and the early Republicans were supported by the *Philadelphia Aurora*, whereas Alexander **Hamilton**, a Federalist, was supported by the *Gazette of the United States* until 1818. Many regional urban newspapers found enough support to enable newspapers to increase production by abandoning weekly in favor of daily issues. This was partly possible due to the development of several technical innovations in the early nineteenth century, which also led to a reduction in retail prices. Businesses soon recognized the potential of newspapers for reaching a wide readership, such that advertisements began to form a substantial part American newspapers, bringing further revenue to their publishers and causing a proliferation of new publications.

In 1791, the First Amendment of the **United States Constitution** guaranteed freedom of the press and, in the years that followed, supported the development of what was probably the most liberal national press of its time. The fact that many Americans were political refugees from Europe stimulated the market for unfettered information and furthered the need for an exchange of views in public fora. As both readers and contributors, the American public strongly supported the circulation of newspapers, though the press remained divided on political lines for a considerable period of time. The first newspaper to claim political independence, the *New York Herald*, did so in 1835. This policy may be seen as the cornerstone in the development of the standards of a free press in modern terms. During this period, the task of a professional journalist developed and was further refined, according to the increased need for information, comment, and opinion, and the growing number of copies produced. By this time not only had it become impossible for a publisher to write, edit, and print a newspaper by himself, but the demand for reliable information required a new, higher standard. *See also* Newspapers (French).

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CHRISTIAN KUHN

## Newspapers (French)

The development of the French press mirrors the genesis of the bourgeois citizenry. Of all the different media included in the term “press,” newspapers in particular became a medium of the new ideologies that developed and evolved in **France** in the decades from 1760 until 1815. Some Dutch newspapers, known as *corantos* (currents of news) were translated into French as early as 1620. Many others newspapers did not develop into a professional form until modern times. The *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Divers Endroits* was a project of private book traders but was removed from the market and replaced by the official *La Gazette*. As early as 1777, *Le Journal de Paris* was circulated in France on a daily basis. A truly popular press, however, did not develop until the founding of *La Presse* in 1836, with a circulation of about 20,000 copies, a relatively modest number by modern standards. Until that time, the market of French newspapers was structured by official organs like **Napoleon’s** *Le Moniteur Universel*. French newspapers were subject to governmental control. Censorship ensured

that newspapers could not become an institution that provided news, information, and opinion independently of the interests of the monarchy. The **French Revolution** certainly triggered a rapid and extremely vibrant development of newspapers, but this high peak could not be sustained over a long period of time. Only a few of the years after 1789 experienced a lively press with regard to newspapers. Many of these were newly founded and short lived. Nevertheless, they proved their critical potential during these years, albeit with their influence largely confined to Paris.

The core ideological element behind news at this time was the ideal of the *public sphere*, a liberal concept that suggested (and still suggests today) equality among all thinking women and men. Newspapers were supposed to serve this end, although the free exchange of well-grounded opinion in the public sphere was, during the nineteenth century, increasingly blocked by commercialization of the press by advertisements. A free press seems to have been a model and an objective rather than the description of a social reality. Nevertheless, French newspapers were remarkably successful during the decades from 1760 to 1815.

One way to describe the development of French newspapers is to analyze how they were produced, who could have access to them, and how their flow of information interfered with other spheres of communication like private conversation or the public political discourse. Apart from some news sheets that were printed before about 1750, the main driving force of French discourse came in the form of coffeehouses, private **salons**, and even bourgeois households, which became places for the exchange of different views on diverse topics. In the eighteenth century, the history of French newspapers was closely connected to literature and its critical discussion, rather than to the realm of big business. Originally, literary scholars and writers discussed recent novels, plays, and works of art. In the salons, art was discussed, and ideas were soon put into print. Prominent figures of **Enlightenment** philosophy, like d'**Alembert** and **Diderot**, were frequent visitors to these independent institutions, where newspapers could not only be read but also proliferated. Due to the substantial cost of these weekly publications, their content was passed on to others in conversation as well as circulated in handwritten copies. Although this may seem to have damaged the publishers' economic interests, in fact this practice actually stimulated the market for newspapers.

The development of French newspapers is closely linked to the decline of the aristocratic court during the second half of the eighteenth century. Quite in contrast to earlier news sheets, which confined themselves to the strict reporting of events, newspapers commented on political matters. Producing a newspaper was therefore not so much a form of business as an instrument for the psychological emancipation of the bourgeoisie. Through the dissemination of news, the sphere of the literate and informed urban public would gradually replace the arcane sphere of the **nobility** at court. The production of newspapers was triggered by the reading public, fuelled by individuals in correspondence with one another. These media, in turn, provided information and stimulated further publications. Such reports mark a more convincing beginning to the development of French newspapers than the earlier business news sheets.

As purveyors of information, newspapers soon exceeded the circle of the salons, for private views could be sent to the editors of newspapers. Technical innovations also played a prominent role in the proliferation of French newspapers. Cellulose paper in rolls could be produced by the new Fourdrinier machine, and

automatization of the printing process helped accelerate newspaper production and render it less expensive. During the eighteenth century, producing a newspaper often required that the printer himself assume the tasks of financing, writing, editing, printing, and possibly even selling the newspaper. Over time, however, the journalist's profession changed radically, developing as a response to the growing importance of newspapers in society. *See also* Newspapers (American).

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CHRISTIAN KUHN

## Nobility

The concept of nobility in Europe can be traced back to the ancient world: the Latin word *nobilitas* could indicate either the qualities of “being known” or “notable,” or membership in the highest rank of society. Similarly, in early modern Europe, the term “noble” could define someone either as possessing noble attributes (honor, valor, duty) or as belonging to a socially and legally defined upper class. In theory, anyone who belonged to the noble portion of society should also possess the appropriate noble characteristics. The dominant theme of the European nobility was not uniformity of character, however, but great diversity.

### *Definitions*

Even before the Roman era, nobility was primarily defined by blood. It was a status that was inherited. Membership was not open to just anyone. In the Middle Ages, the nobility formed the backbone of the warrior class. As European society divided itself to perform the daily tasks required for survival in a harsh world, the clerics prayed, the nobles fought, and the rest worked the land. Concepts of nobility were thus tied inextricably to military service and the military values of dedication, bravery, and skill with a sword. An early mark distinguishing a nobleman from anyone else was the most valuable possession of the battlefield, the horse. This gave rise to terms that originally indicated ownership of a horse: equerry and esquire, both from the Latin *equus*, horse.

As chief defenders of the countryside, medieval nobles were thus of the highest importance to kings and princes (themselves usually referred to as the premier noblemen of the kingdom). **Privileges** were accorded to the king's fighting force to enable them to prepare themselves for warfare, through training and the purchase of equipment. Taxation was thus from an early stage something that had to be paid by the mass of the people, not by the warrior nobles. For the same reasons, or out of gratitude for victories won, princes also gave their nobles land, as well as a share in the governance of the kingdom through seigniorial justice and the holding of local or state offices. Local lords would take care of judging many of the local disputes, leaving the more serious or complex cases to the king's justice. Their titles lent them the prestige required to sit in judgment over their neighbors. Their wealth deterred them from all but the greatest bribery and freed them from the time required running a farm or working a trade.

Princes also saw the nobles as their natural counselors and companions. They appointed them to offices in their government and as their representatives in the countryside. Over time many of these positions became hereditary (such as the office of count, originally a regional administrator or governor of a county), and the system of titles was created. In most European countries these followed a similar hierarchy, from barons at the bottom, through viscounts and counts, to dukes and princes at the top. A baron was usually the term used for the basic landowning and justice-wielding nobleman, though there were variants—in England, a baron was someone who had been officially summoned to counsel the king (the origin of **Parliament**), while in **France** it was more generally someone who possessed more than two or three seigneuries, or lordships. A count and a viscount were much more honored members of the king's inner circle and held a greater number of lordships. A title that was added later was that of duke, the military leader (from Latin *dux*, leader); these were great magnates who rivaled the king in wealth and power (in Germany, they were in fact territorial rulers). The title of marquis was also added later, originally deriving from a count with extra powers to govern a frontier, or march (from which the title, from the Italian, *marchese*). The English called these Marcher Lords but began to adopt the title “marquis” from the French in the seventeenth century, often Anglicizing it to “marquess.” By this time, these titles had ceased to serve their original administrative or military functions and served primarily as a means of distinguishing rank and honors. Those at the top, dukes and marquesses, enjoyed close proximity to the king and thus benefited from the offices, military commissions, and pensions that were theirs to distribute, not to mention bribes and kickbacks from those eager to get a word in the king's ear.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw several shifts of this sort in the definitions and conceptualizations of the nobility. Monarchs were less content to have their armies composed of mostly independent military forces owned and trained by noblemen, and thus dependent on their loyalty and whim. Thus the role of the noble was transformed into that of a servant, rather than a counselor and companion of the prince. The noble's position in the military hierarchy remained the dominant characteristic of the group, but it was much more tightly controlled. As warfare became increasingly expensive because of technology, nobles also had to rely more exclusively on the monarch for assistance in maintaining their status. Status was measured in wealth and in patronage potential. Keeping up appearances was crucial for the maintenance of at least the fiction that there was something superior about a nobleman and his family, and thus their position of privilege and authority within their local communities. This was expensive and required clothing, horses, carriages, servants, estate managers, houses in town and country, and so on. Privileges from taxation thus became far more important than they had been in previous centuries. Definitions of exclusivity of membership in the noble orders also now became preeminent as a means of protecting these privileges. Whereas it had usually been fairly simple for a man who displayed noble virtues on the battlefield to enter the ranks of the nobility, it was now essential to have lineage. True nobles were expected to have family associations with the monarchy and the military reaching back several generations. In France, for example, ordinances from the mid-sixteenth century required nobles to prove their descent from people bearing noble titles in the year 1400 or before. Exclusivity was variable: in Germany, sons and daughters who wished to enter certain monasteries or take up posts in the imperial

(i.e., the Holy Roman Empire) government were required to produce the infamous 16 quarters (all 16 of one's great-great-grandparents had to be noble); in England, it was much less rigid.

The final addition in the composition of the nobility came about—in France at least—from the desire of the monarch to reduce his dependence on an ancient, semi-independent military aristocracy and to reclaim the function of administering justice at every level. The most eminent judges in the country were lured into a greater support of the king by the prize of noble status, with both its connotations of honor and its fiscal advantages (that is, exemption from most taxation). Thus was born the *noblesse de robe*, the judiciary nobles who were marked out by their long robes of court, as opposed to the *noblesse d'épée*, the nobles of the sword. As the two most influential portions of French society, these two groups frequently loathed each other socially but often worked together by necessity. Moreover, sons of the ancient nobility usually were in need of the wealth that the daughters of judicial nobles could often supply. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the divide between these two groups had considerably narrowed.

Yet nobility remained quite diverse. In addition to such variances in origin and function, there were, most notably, differences in wealth. Some had wealth based entirely in urban trades, as in parts of **Italy** and Provence, while others remained tied to the land, as in **Britain** and Scandinavia. The greatest landowners in Poland and Russia owned estates the size of an English county, while some of the simple hidalgos in **Spain** owned nothing at all but their noble status. Some were highly educated; others could barely sign their names. Even defining numbers is difficult, for historians as well as contemporaries; estimates for the number of nobles in eighteenth-century France range widely between 100,000 and 500,000.

### *The Role of the Nobility in the Enlightenment and Age of Revolutions*

By the eighteenth century, the nobilities of Europe were generally secure in their place at the top of the social and political hierarchy: they were exempt from most taxation, they owned most of the land, and they dominated the ranks of the offices of state, the judiciary, the military, and the church as well. There was not a strong antagonism between the privileged nobility and the growing numbers of wealthy bankers, guildsmen, and lawyers (later termed the middle class, or the *bourgeoisie*). Rather there was a generally accepted goal of advancement into this position of privilege for oneself. Parlementsaires (members of the various **parlements**) in France in particular seemed to be evenly mixed between arguing against noble privilege and trying to acquire it for themselves. Success in business or law anywhere in Europe could mean catching the favor of a powerful courtier or the monarch himself, and an advance—whether slow or spectacular—for oneself and one's family into the ranks of the nobility. In France, this trend could be seen in particular in the ranks of the government financiers, who themselves began to be ennobled by monarchs always short on cash. Social mobility may have been limited, but it was not closed.

Nevertheless, several of the main characteristics of the nobility came under serious criticism by writers of the eighteenth century. Fiscal and social privileges based on birth alone may have rankled some (although these were fully sanctioned, it seemed, by the church and scripture). Rather, it was practices such as the selling of noble offices to the highest bidder, the strict regulation of primogeniture and entail by aristocratic families, and the persistence of feudal systems of land management



like seigneurial dues and *mainmorte* that truly formed the basis of eighteenth-century criticism of the **ancien régime**. By making positions within the government, the judiciary, and the military all commodities to be bought and sold, rather than obtained by merit or skill, society was seen as stagnating, and the closed nature of the governing class allowing in very little new blood. It was the monopoly of power held by the nobles, rather than the institution of nobility itself, that was primarily under attack. The military was derided for allowing its highest commands to be controlled exclusively by a limited set of families, whose sons may or may not have been the most talented commanders available. Almost all the top judiciary positions in the country were held by a few interrelated noble families, and the price of purchase for these posts was kept well out of reach of all but the wealthiest aspiring socialites. Land-owning practices in many countries limited inheritance of vast estates to the eldest son only, which was generally good for the family as a whole but stifled the free circulation of land and economic growth and disadvantaged younger sons, who, because of their noble status, were unwilling (or even unable in some countries due to laws restricting noble occupations) to take up employment in trade. These became the indolent and idle who were mercilessly mocked by anti-noble writers of the period. Some criticized the views held by many noblemen of themselves as a separate cultural or even racial category with “inherited values” as either bad biological reasoning or simply untrue.

But again, diversity is the key. Many nobles were active promoters of industry and trade. They were patrons of the arts, as well as members of academic organizations and literary salons. Some were firm believers in reform, from agriculture to politics, including some at the very top, like King **Frederick II** of Prussia and Emperor Joseph II of **Austria**. There is a paradox in the very fact that the same writers who criticized and ridiculed the nobility were also those who relied on it for their patronage and support, not just financially, but also in readership. Nobles were patrons of the **philosophes**, and collectors of libraries. One of the most prominent critics of the noble lifestyle was a nobleman himself, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de **Montesquieu**, whose satire, *Les lettres persanes* (1721), mocked not the nobility in general, but those qualities generally held by society to be damnable: indolence, pride, artifice, frivolity, and so forth. Most of these were seen to be defaults of those who spent their time at court in the luxury of the king’s entourage, trapped by the whims of fashion (and its exorbitant costs) and vanity. Ordinary noblemen living on their estates in the countryside did not necessarily associate themselves with that lifestyle. They would have firmly supported the values of back-to-the-land literary protagonists like Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, Henry Fielding, and Johann **Goethe**.

In the view of many reformers in Europe, this was the key to the issue. The monarchy and its noble favorites had lost touch with the countryside and its residents, not just the peasantry, but artisans and local nobles as well. In their minds, this distance undermined the foundations of what the nobility had originally stood for, as the element of society set apart to look after the safety of the common people. This issue was illustrated plainly in France with the assembly of the **Estates-General** in May 1789, at which many nobles openly supported the rights of the **Third Estate** (the non-nobles) to be represented in the governance of the kingdom in true proportion to their numbers, rather than on an equivalent footing with the much-smaller clergy and the nobility. The Revolution surpassed the goals of most of its initial supporters, however, in first abolishing and then slaughtering the nobility in

their thousands in the early years of the **French Revolution**. Nevertheless, 25 years later, many of the old noble families had survived, their fortunes more-or-less intact. Their official privileged position in the state was removed, but informal authority remained, both in society and government, and would do so well into the nineteenth century.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

### Non-Importation Acts

The non-importation acts were agreements among American merchants not to purchase or import British goods in retaliation for various political and/or economic restrictions enacted by **Parliament** against the American colonies. Major non-importation acts emerged to counter the **Stamp Act** of 1765 and later the **Townshend Acts** of 1767. Other colonies adopted their own non-importation acts, and in 1774 the First **Continental Congress** passed a non-importation act, known as the **Continental Association**, that covered all the colonies.

The first non-importation acts emerged as early as 1765, when Americans opposed the imposition of the Stamp Act on the colonies. Groups referred to as the **Sons of Liberty** enforced a boycott of goods covered under the Stamp Act. New York City passed the New York Merchant's Non-Importation Agreement on October 31, 1765. The agreement noted the opposition of city merchants to the Stamp Act and their demand for its repeal. The merchants agreed unanimously not to purchase any British goods after January 1, 1766, unless the British removed the taxes applied by the Stamp Act. The refusal of Americans to purchase imports bearing Stamp Act taxes made a tremendous impact on British merchants, who successfully petitioned their government for its repeal.

Boston enacted the first major non-importation act after the repeal of the Stamp Act in response to the British passage of the Townshend Acts, which placed new taxes on lead, paint, paper, glass, and tea. Boston's merchants approved the Boston Non-Importation Agreement on August 1, 1768. The merchants agreed to promote local industry and frugality to discourage the purchase of imported goods. They also pledged not to import any goods in the fall of 1768 that had already been ordered from **Britain**. Rather than canceling orders, the non-importation act envisioned a one-year protest from January 1, 1769 to January 1, 1770. During this period, the merchants would boycott British goods other than salt, coal, fish hooks, fishing line, hemp, duck, bar lead and shot, wool cards, and card wire. The document specifically targeted many of the items listed in the Townshend Acts. The merchants pledged to uphold the boycott until the British government repealed the Townshend Acts, and the Sons of Liberty opted to enforce the non-importation agreement.

The merchants of Charleston, **South Carolina**, enacted their own anti-Townshend Acts non-importation agreement on July 22, 1769. The Charleston document proved to be one of the most detailed non-importation acts written prior to the **American Revolution**. Charleston's merchants agreed to boycott the same products banned in Boston but also added slaves and wine. The Charleston agreement clearly stated that any merchant who refused to abide by the act should face a boycott by local residents. The impact of the various non-importation agreements helped to force the British to repeal the Townshend Acts on April 12, 1770. *See also* Boston Port Act; Boston Tea Party; Stamp Act Congress.

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TERRY M. MAYS

### North, Frederick North, Lord (1732–1792)

British prime minister from 1770 to 1782, Lord North's irresolute leadership contributed to his nation's loss in the **American Revolution**. North was the son of Lady Lucy Montagu and Francis North, the first earl of Guilford and the governor to Prince George, the future King **George III**. Young Frederick was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford. After completing the obligatory grand tour in Europe, North married Anne Speke, the daughter of a wealthy Somerset landowner.

At the age of 22, North was elected to represent Banbury in **Parliament**, which he would do for the next 26 years. The first two years of his service were lackluster, and he did not even deliver his first speech until two-and-half years after being elected. In 1759, his distant relative, and the serving prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, appointed him a junior lord of the treasury, an office North held until 1765, serving under William Pitt the Elder, Earl of **Chatham**; the Duke of Newcastle; the Earl of Bute; and George Grenville. In 1763, North was chosen as the Commons' manager against John **Wilkes** and succeeded in removing Wilkes's parliamentary privilege. In 1766, after Lord **Rockingham**'s first ministry collapsed, North was made a member of the Privy Council and served as paymaster general under the Duke of Grafton. In the fall of 1767, he was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. Three years later, King George III asked North to form his own ministry as prime minister, in which capacity he served until 1782.

Earlier in his career, North had supported the **Sugar Act** (1764), the **Stamp Act** (1765), and the **Townshend Acts** (1767) to generate revenue to compensate for the financial costs **Britain** had incurred during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Despite a hostile reaction to the acts in the British colonies in North America, North, after becoming prime minister, retained these acts to reduce the national debt. Since Britain was at peace from 1763, he reduced spending on the armed forces but in doing so exposed himself to the Opposition's charges that he was weakening the nation's defenses, not least in the reduction in spending on the Royal Navy.

One of North's first challenges came in 1772 when he faced a crisis over the Falkland Islands. Spain claimed these south Atlantic islands and demanded the expulsion of the British inhabitants. The reductions made in the Royal Navy budget and an accidental fire that destroyed the Portsmouth dockyards placed Britain in a difficult

position in which to fight a war. North instead chose a peaceful solution and negotiated with the Spanish king, Charles III, reaching a settlement that allowed Britain to retain the Falklands.

Less successful was North's attempt to reform the government's relations with the East India Company. Abuses by company officials in **India** and inflated stocks in Britain led him to propose measures to rescue the East India Company from bankruptcy, which would have affected the British economy. North argued that tea was a luxury item and therefore should be properly taxed to reduce the national debt. The **Tea Act** (1773) called for a monopolistic arrangement in the tea trade between the American colonies and the East India Company. North's second measure, the Loan Act, required the East India Company to use its profits to pay outstanding debts before making other expenditures. The third measure, the Regulating Act, provided for government approval of the appointments of the company's governor-general and its council members, thus increasing the degree of government supervision over the company.

North's Tea Act caused a fierce reaction in the colonies, where many opposed the tea monopoly. Some viewed the import duty as a tax that Britain was using to assert its authority over the colonies as well as an attempt by North to use the colonies to alleviate Britain's economic problems. In response to his Tea Act, the **Sons of Liberty** organized the famous **Boston Tea Party** to prevent the collection of the tea tax. North underestimated the determination and power of the colonists and chose to respond with rigidity and resolve. His **Coercive Acts** (1774) sought to make an example of the colony of **Massachusetts**, but instead they produced bitterness and resentment. By the time the government issued a Proclamation of Rebellion in August 1775, North's ministry was divided over the use of force in subduing the colonies, which limited North's actions. The prime minister had to maintain amity among his ministers and defend his policies and budgets amid escalating conflict in North America.

North nevertheless faced the war with the colonies halfheartedly and was easily depressed by the reverses suffered by British arms. When General John Burgoyne was defeated at Saratoga, he declared his willingness to resign if such action would bring peace. North effectively left many decisions on managing the conflict to his ministers, principally the Earl of Sandwich, who served as first lord of the admiralty, and Lord George **Germain**, the secretary of state for America. In early 1778, North supported the formation of the Carlisle Peace Commission that was dispatched to America to offer the colonists a peaceful resolution to the conflict. However, the commission's work was undermined from the very beginning, since, due to miscommunication among North's ministers, British troops were ordered to withdraw from Philadelphia, which only increased the colonists' resolve to fight and reject the commission's offer.

Throughout 1778–1780, North was troubled by political matters at home and abroad. In 1778, the Catholic Relief Act was passed to allow Roman Catholics to own property, inherit land, and serve in the army. However, it caused a violent Protestant response, known as the Gordon Riots, in 1780, which further weakened the government. North also faced difficulties in **Ireland**, where complaints were made in 1779 about restrictions on Irish trade. He made several requests to resign, but the king persuaded him to remain. The loss of North's youngest child only increased his despair and made him an indecisive and reluctant leader. His ministry consequently became more divided and unable to address the country's immediate problems.

The British defeat at **Yorktown** in October 1781 spelled the end for North's ministry, and in March 1782, he insisted on resigning. His government was replaced by the ministry of the Earl of Rockingham, who died in July. After the Earl of Shelburne negotiated with the victorious American colonists, North returned to office in April 1783, when he became home secretary in a coalition government under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. The Portland ministry managed to sign the Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolutionary War, but it also hastened the government's demise. In December 1783, it was replaced by the first ministry of William **Pitt** the Younger, while Lord North joined the Opposition. He retained his seat in the House of Commons for the next seven years. In 1790, he succeeded his father as the second earl of Guilford and joined the House of Lords. However, his health rapidly deteriorated, and he became nearly blind before dying in London on August 5, 1792. He was buried at All Saints Church in Wroxton, Oxfordshire, near his family estate of Wroxton Abbey.

Lord North's legacy is still debated, but whatever his achievements and failings, he is remembered as the prime minister who lost the American colonies. An experienced and astute politician, he is often portrayed as a mediocre prime minister who appeared to lack the confidence so necessary in the high position that he held. His decision to adopt stern policies respecting the colonies clearly proved detrimental in the end. However, he did display considerable skill in avoiding factional entanglements within his ministry and in Parliament and was known for his ability to speak eloquently and succinctly.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## North Carolina

North Carolina presents an excellent example of the premise that the **American Revolution** was not only a question of home rule but of who would rule at home. The colony was divided along a geographical fault line between east and west. Each possessed different economic and political characteristics. In the years before the Revolution, these differences, as much as any opposition to the Crown, became the focus of political activity.

Western farmers were separated by a significant distance from the east, where the richer farmers and merchants were located, and found their political strength outweighed. Aside from the disparity in political power, economics was quite important, especially when new means were employed in the 1760s to gather taxes. Aside from the fact that much of this revenue apparently stayed in the hands of those who collected it, innovations in revenue collecting made life more difficult for the westerners. Earlier there had been some flexibility in the timing of the payments

or payment in goods rather than cash had been allowed. This was now no longer the case. Thus, a form of self-government meant to regulate their own affairs took shape, and these activists, known as Regulators, became a significant force (a similar group of Regulators existed in **South Carolina** as well).

The Regulators' rebellion was broken after the militia under Governor William **Tryon** defeated them in the Battle of Allamance Creek in June 1771. Six of the leaders were hanged. The irony of these events lay in the fact that many outside observers (such as Josiah **Quincy**) had come to believe that these farmers were fighting against British oppression. In fact, the eastern elites who supported suppression of the Regulators were also the parties that were the most vocal in their opposition to the Crown.

At the same time as these events in the west, opposition to acts of **Parliament** was growing. North Carolina did not participate in the **Stamp Act Congress** (the Assembly was not in session at the time) but Governor Tryon's offer to pay the tax himself for the colony did not pacify the situation. Josiah **Martin** succeeded Tryon in 1771 and from the beginning had a contentious relationship with the Assembly. His difficulties were not solely based on opposition to British policy. Martin, as he came to know the area, found himself in sympathy with many of the westerners who had supported the Regulators.

North Carolina sent delegates to the First and Second Continental Congresses and approved a state constitution in 1776. Several significant battles (including Guilford Court House) were fought in North Carolina, and the west did not overwhelmingly support one side or another. The end of major campaigning in 1781 did not bring a halt to the fighting: the west became the focus of a real and brutal civil war until the cessation of the conflict in 1783.

After the war, North Carolina adopted the **Articles of Confederation**, and in 1788 the state voted against the **United States Constitution**, though it ratified it the following year when it became known that a bill of rights would be attached. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Constitutions, American State; Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; Loyalists.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## The Northwest

This region, alternatively known as the Old Northwest or the Ohio Valley, was bounded to the north by the Great Lakes, to the west by the Mississippi River, and to the east by the Ohio River. It covered the present-day states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, and part of Minnesota. From the mid-eighteenth through the early nineteenth centuries, abundant fur resources and fertile soil placed the Northwest in the path of imperial ambitions, inspiring wars and political maneuvering between **Britain**, **France**, the United States, and the Native Americans.

France was the first European power to lay claim to the region, establishing forts and posts for the fur trade in the seventeenth century. In the charters of her Atlantic

colonies, Britain nominally claimed the land as well. In practice, European control of the region was tenuous, which allowed the Iroquois Confederacy to manipulate imperial rivalries to maintain power in the Ohio Valley. The strategy kept the region relatively peaceful until the mid-eighteenth century, when George II granted the Ohio Company a royal charter to extend settlements into the Northwest. In 1754, a dispute over the territory erupted into war between France and Britain, and each side's Indian allies.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) initiated a 40-year effort to subjugate the Northwest to British control. The French relinquished their claim in the Treaty of Paris (1763), but the Native American inhabitants naturally remained, and conflicts with settlers arose immediately. Specifically, Pontiac's Rebellion brought a state of terror to the western borders of **Virginia** and **Pennsylvania**. Shortly thereafter, **Parliament** passed the **Proclamation of 1763**, a largely ineffectual attempt to gain control over the Northwest by limiting settlement west of the Appalachians. The proclamation highlighted a growing schism between the British Empire and her American colonies.

The British ceded the territory to the United States at the close of the **American Revolutionary War** in 1783. From 1781 to 1785, seven of the states that still maintained claims to the land (by virtue of their colonial charters) were persuaded to surrender them to the federal government. Like the British 20 years earlier, the Americans attempted to exercise their authority over the still largely unsettled land. Congress introduced the Land Ordinance of 1785 as a system to divide and sell public land. Pressure from a land speculation firm, the Ohio Company of Associates, prompted Congress to pass the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, a measure to extend governance into the region by allowing new states to be carved from the territory.

Nevertheless, Native Americans living in the region continued to claim the land. As Americans pushed into the territory in the 1780s and 1790s, the British—who had never fully withdrawn—assisted and in some cases fomented Indian resistance. The United States fought a series of battles with the confederated tribes led by Tecumseh of the Shawnee, culminating in an American victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794) and the passage of the Treaty of Greenville (1795). As a result, waves of American settlers began emigrating. But conflict among the Americans, Native Americans, and the British remained, contributing to the deteriorating relations that brought about the War of 1812. The results of that conflict confirmed American control of the Northwest, from which the British were permanently expelled, and facilitated a longer process of Indian removal.

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ROBERT LEE

## Notables

The Notables were persons belonging mainly to the clergy and **nobility** under the **ancien régime** in **France**. The king nominated the Notables, who were intendants (in charge of regional taxation), members of **parlements** (law courts), members of

provincial estates, councilors of state, members of corporations, mayors, members of the *noblesse de robe* (magisterial nobility) and the *noblesse d'épée* (nobility of the sword), and others. The Marquis de **Lafayette**, a prominent figure in the **American Revolutionary War** and in the **French Revolution**, and Etienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne, the finance minister in 1787–1788, numbered among many important Notables. The Notables did not have any common plan of action, apart from that of guarding their political and financial **privileges**—hence, they became a favorite target of Parisian cartoonists and pamphleteers.

**Louis XVI** called upon the Assembly of Notables to facilitate the smooth passage of his fiscal reforms, but the assembly proved to be a chaotic body divided by divergent views. Indeed, the Notables were only united when they talked of the “despotism” of government ministers, including the finance minister, Charles Alexander de Calonne, whose first proposal the Notables rejected in their opening meeting on February 22, 1787. The Assembly was dissolved on May 25, when Calonne’s successor, Brienne, met similar opposition from the Notables. The Notables convened their final meeting in November 1788. *See also* Assembly of Notables.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA





## October Days (1789)

One of the important events of the early stages of the **French Revolution**, the October Days refers to the women's march to Versailles and the resulting relocation of the royal family to Paris. Following the tumultuous events of July 1789, the National **Constituent Assembly** adopted a series of decrees aimed at reforming the state. In August, the Assembly abolished the feudal remnants in French society, adopted the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, and produced a draft of the first written constitution. The fast pace of change and the nature of the political reforms that limited royal power led King **Louis XVI** to withhold his acceptance of these reforms. The Assembly was also divided into various feuding factions, some of which sought support from political groups in Paris.

In September, the king was approached with a suggestion to move the Assembly farther from Paris to prevent any outside influence on the legislature. The king refused but ordered additional troops to Versailles. Many royalist soldiers favored the use of force to expel the National Assembly, and during a fete at the palace in the presence of the king and queen on October 1, the soldiers desecrated the revolutionary symbol, the tricolor cockade. A seemingly trifling incident, it was suitably embellished by rumors that spread through the capital and provoked a massive response. In his newspaper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, Jean-Paul Marat published a letter calling for all patriotic citizens to take up arms, as royal soldiers had shown themselves to be both debauched and hostile to the people and the Revolution. At the same time, Camille **Desmoulins** renewed the call for the king to be removed from the corrupting influence of the court.

The most pressing issue, however, was that of food. Despite numerous decrees and the publication of political pamphlets, economic change was slow in making itself felt, and grain remained in short supply. The price of bread, the staple diet for Parisians, continued to increase, pushing many citizens to the edge of starvation. Rumors claimed the hunger was a result of a conspiracy, as a revolutionary activist named Fournier noted in his memoirs: "The detestable aristocratic and royalist horde had plotted to submit the nation to slavery by starvation and saw no other way to force this nation to renounce its plans for conquering its liberty."

On October 5, several hundred women staged a protest against the food shortage and high prices of bread in front of the **Hôtel de Ville**, threatening to lynch the municipal leaders. They were joined by demonstrators outraged by the “cockade trampling” affair, which, many believed, demonstrated royal contempt for the Assembly. As the crowd grew to several thousand, some agitators suggested marching on Versailles to present their grievances and retrieve the royal family. As a result, some 10,000 women and men, many of them armed with sticks, pikes, and knives, set off in the rain for the royal palace. The idea to march to Versailles was not spontaneous, nor did it originate with the demonstrating women. It had in fact been under discussion since late August in radical political circles in Paris, which had now found an opportunity to put it in effect. The Marquis de **Lafayette**, the commander of the Paris **National Guard**, initially tried to pacify the crowd and his troops, which were in a state of near mutiny, but, as he claimed afterward, after being threatened with hanging, he agreed to lead his units to Versailles.

Meanwhile, the king was engaged in his daily round of hunting while the National Constituent Assembly was discussing the news of royal soldiers desecrating the cockade and the king’s continued refusal to approve new legislation. Upon receiving the news of the approach of women marchers, the court held a council but arrived at no decision. Around 4 P.M., as the Assembly prepared to demand the royal acceptance of its acts, the first women marchers, led by Stanislas Maillard, the famed conqueror of the **Bastille**, reached Versailles and were presented in front of the Assembly, where they voiced their complaints. They were then escorted to the royal palace, where Louis XVI assured them that they would receive help.

Although this first group of women seemed to be placated, the arrival of several thousand more armed women and men only increased the tension. Lafayette assured the royal family of his help and arrived with his troops around midnight. However, many National Guardsmen sympathized with the crowd, and their reliability was suspect. In this tense situation, the royal family was advised to retreat to Rambouillet, but the king refused to leave the palace. Late that evening, he informed the Assembly of his unconditional acceptance of its decrees, effectively signaling the transfer of authority from the executive to the legislative body.

During a night of festivity, the cold, tired, and wet crowd invaded the Assembly, where some conservative and clerical members were harassed. On the morning of October 6, the mob then discovered an open gate leading into the palace and rushed toward the apartment of Queen **Marie Antoinette**; several bodyguards were killed and injured as they tried to protect the queen, who managed to escape via a private staircase to the king’s bedroom. Although the National Guard restored order, the mob remained agitated and threatened the royal family, filling the air with cries of “Le Roi à Paris!” Lafayette informed the royal family that the only way to calm the crowd was for the king to agree to move to the capital. Later that morning, Louis appeared on the balcony to mollify the crowd and agreed to move to Paris on condition that he would be accompanied by the queen and his family. The royal family, surrounded by thousands of marchers, duly left Versailles at about noon.

The October Days had a dramatic influence on the subsequent course of events. The invasion of the palace by the crowd constituted a major blow to crown authority. With the king’s move to Paris, the power of the previously Versailles-based monarchy had come to an end. The National Constituent Assembly followed the king to Paris on October 19, and, thereafter, the king, his advisers, and the entire Assembly

effectively became hostages of radical Parisian crowds, who began to play an important role in the political events of the Revolution. It represented the first, but not the last, instance when the direct intervention of the Parisian masses affected national politics. Royalist factions and other elements sympathetic to the king lost their power as they became overwhelmed by the power of a radical, often hostile, populace. On the other hand, radical left-wing factions benefited greatly from these events as they gained the king's acceptance of their reforms. Lafayette emerged as the hero of these events by preventing bloodshed and protecting the royal family. The duc d'**Orléans** was suspected of exploiting the mob for his own benefit, as a result of which he was informally exiled from **France** and later prosecuted for his role in the October Days. The October Days are also noteworthy for the substantial number of women who participated in the march on Versailles. Their active role in this event led to attempts to limit women's involvement in politics and direct them back into a passive role. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Pamphlets (French); Women (French).

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Ogden, James (1718–1802)

James Ogden was an English writer who first distinguished himself as a poet and later as a composer of prose. He was born in Manchester, one of at least three children born to parents whose identities remain unknown. Much of Ogden's early life and career are obscure. It appears that family connections led to his early employment as a fustian shearer in the Manchester cotton industry. Ogden then traveled to the Continent, visiting **France**, the **Netherlands**, and Germany, where he witnessed the Battle of Dettingen in 1743. Upon returning to **Britain**, Ogden was employed as a schoolmaster in Manchester, but by 1772, he had returned to his former vocation as a fustian shearer. By this time, Ogden had produced several poetic works. His first publications—*An Epistle on Poetical Composition*, a reverential Christian composition entitled *On the Crucifixion and Resurrection*, and *The British Lion Rous'd, or, Acts of the British Worthies, a Poem in Nine Books*—appeared in 1762. By the time Ogden came to compose the last work, his literary reputation seems to have been established: *The British Lion Rous'd* was published by subvention of six hundred subscribers.

Despite his emerging reputation, Ogden waited until 1774 to publish his next poetic piece, entitled *A Poem, on the Museum, at Alkrington, Belonging to Ashton Lever*, and 14 more years to produce *Poem, Moral, Philosophical and Religious, in Which Is Considered the Nature of Man* (1788). The latter composition, published anonymously, is considered his most significant poem and advocated domestic economic reform as the means for providing all the women of Manchester with good husbands. In its stanzas, in which Ogden promoted the abolition of the slave trade, are the influences of the **Enlightenment**. This work was followed by *The Revolution, an Epic Poem* (1790), which is a heroic

portrait of William III, and *Archery; a Poem* (1793), arguably his most enigmatic piece. Ogden had served in the Manchester archery society, and *Archery* was a curious mix of passionate expression of his favored sport and lyrical waxing on agriculture.

In 1797, Ogden issued *Emanuel, or, Paradise Regained: An Epic Poem*, and in 1800 his last poetic composition, entitled *Sans Culotte and Jacobine, an Hudibrastic Poem*, was published by his son, William Ogden (1753–1822). This was an anti-reform piece that rejected calls for political reform, specifically the representation of Manchester in **Parliament**. As a writer of prose, Ogden produced just two works: *A Description of Manchester*, published anonymously in 1783 (reissued in 1887 as *Manchester a Hundred Years Ago*), and *A Concise Narrative of All the Actions, in Which the British Forces Were Engaged, during the Present War, on the Continent of Europe* (1797). Ogden died on August 13, 1802, in Manchester. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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MICHAEL T. DAVIS

## Old Northwest

*See* The Northwest

## Olive Branch Petition (1775)

The Olive Branch Petition was the Second **Continental Congress**’s final diplomatic effort to resolve the political tension that had persisted for more than a decade between **Britain** and its American colonies. John **Dickinson**, a **Pennsylvania** delegate to the Continental Congress, wrote the Olive Branch Petition in June 1775. By then, military hostilities had already commenced with the actions at **Lexington and Concord** and at Bunker Hill, and General George **Washington** had just assumed command of New England’s militia forces in the ongoing siege of Boston. Still, many provincial Americans believed it was only **Parliament** and the British government’s ministers—not **George III**—that had become corrupt and were responsible for the imperial policies that oppressed the colonies.

The sentiments expressed by Dickinson in the Olive Branch Petition showed this optimism. Among its numerous statements, the petition affirmed the colonies’ continued loyalty and affection for the king, expressed their desire for reconciliation, requested immediate repeal of the **Coercive Acts**, and pleaded with the Crown to intercede and mediate the colonies’ differences with Parliament.

Most of the Continental Congress’s 46 delegates who signed the petition believed it was a futile effort but signed the petition out of their enormous respect for Dickinson’s demonstrated legal expertise and integrity. The Congress addressed the petition to George III to eliminate doubt regarding the king’s attitude toward his American colonies. Many in the Congress hoped that if the king rejected the petition, it would increase popular support for independence.

George III refused to even receive the Olive Branch Petition. Instead, on August 23, 1775, he proclaimed the colonies to be in rebellion and urged for every

effort to be made “to suppress such rebellion, and bring the traitors to justice.” The king’s rejection of the petition, coupled with the January 1776 publication of Thomas **Paine’s** *Common Sense*, persuaded many provincial Americans that the only way to protect the rights they believed Parliament sought to deny them was to declare their independence from Britain. The Olive Branch Petition is therefore regarded as a critical step toward the Continental Congress’s declaration of American independence.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

### Orange, Commission of (1794)

The Commission of Orange came into being on May 10, 1794, and operated from June 19 to August 4 of that year. Its existence and rules of procedure indicated that the **Reign of Terror** had become increasingly stringent in its definition of guilt and in terms of the imposition of punishment.

**Revolutionary tribunals** had previously operated in a decentralized fashion. Set up by members of the **National Convention**, they included members of the **Committee of Public Safety**, and in their role as **representatives on mission**, they would dispense revolutionary justice. By the spring of 1794, however, it was thought that all these trials should be conducted in Paris, where the political atmosphere was considered to be suitably radical. There were two exceptions due to the practical difficulties of transporting prisoners from these sites to Paris. The first was Arras, the hometown of Maximilien **Robespierre**; the second was the city of Orange, in southern France.

The Commission of Orange operated under a set of rules personally devised by Robespierre. The commission would have five judges with no jury. The only crime to be tried was whether a suspected individual was an enemy of the Revolution. There would be no written presentation; the burden of proof was constituted by whatever statements would allow any person who was both “reasonable” and “a friend of liberty” to determine guilt or innocence.

In the course of its existence, the commission condemned 432 people to death, including women and boys, although 100 of these subsequently had their sentences reduced. *See also* Juries; Law of Suspects.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### Orléans, Louis Philippe Joseph, Duc d' (1747–1793)

Louis Philippe Joseph, duc d’Orléans, was a member of a cadet branch of the French royal house of Bourbon. Known as Philippe Egalité, he supported the **French Revolution** and voted for the execution of his cousin, **Louis XVI**.

Orléans was born in 1747. He bore the title duc de Montpensier until 1752, when he became the duc de Chartres. He succeeded his father as duc d'Orléans in 1785. Orléans was disliked at the French court and traveled frequently to **Britain**, where he befriended the Prince of Wales (later George IV) and grew fond of the British political system.

After squandering his fortune, Orléans built shops in the gardens of his Parisian residence to rebuild his finances. The gardens became a center for the lower classes. During the conflicts between Louis XVI and the **nobility** over **France's** financial situation, Orléans became leader of a group of malcontents in the **Assembly of Notables**. He was exiled after making a subversive speech in one of the **parlements**. Orléans served as deputy in the **Estates-General** and was among the liberal nobles who joined the **Third Estate** in June 1789. He was blamed for disturbances in Paris at the outbreak of the French Revolution, and in 1789–1790, he accepted a mission to Britain. He was later suspected by both French royalists and republicans of covertly plotting to make himself constitutional monarch of France.

In 1791, Orléans joined the **Jacobins**. After exchanging his aristocratic title for Citizen Égalité, he served in the **National Convention**. He allied himself with the **Mountain** and voted for Louis XVI's execution. Orléans was arrested after his eldest son, Louis-Philippe, deserted to counterrevolutionary forces abroad. Orléans was guillotined in November 1793 during the **Reign of Terror**. Louis-Philippe became the French king following the July Revolution in 1830.

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ERIC MARTONE

## Ottoman Empire, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on

At the time of the **French Revolution**, the Ottoman Empire had not yet become “the sick man of Europe” but was far from the powerful and fearsome entity whose armies had reached the outskirts of Vienna a hundred years before. From the late seventeenth century on, the borders of the Ottoman Empire began to steadily contract. Although its influence was diminishing along with the area under its control, it remained a force that Europeans had to enter into their political and diplomatic considerations.

The sultan during this time was Selim III (ruled 1789–1807), and while his reign began with his presiding over territorial losses to the Russians, he understood that some changes would have to be made to hold off further decline. He had, even before his reign, made contact with some European leaders and from 1786 on had been in regular contact with **Louis XVI**. When he became sultan in 1789, he asked for and received French officers to advise his army (one of those originally scheduled to go was **Napoleon Bonaparte**).

Beyond receiving advisors, however, Selim made other changes, particularly in the analysis and decision-making process of determining policy. In 1791 he and a selected group of advisors performed what might now be called a requirements analysis to determine what was needed to improve both the civil government and the military. The result was a program known as the New Order, a set of reforms that focused primarily on improving military operations, with secondary emphasis on other government administration.

All this time, Selim asked for and continued to receive aid from **France**. In 1793, he requested assistance and advisors from the **Committee of Public Safety**. They responded, with the hope that the Turks could possibly open up a second front against the Russians and the Austrians. This did not happen, however, and in fact France went to war with Turkey when it sent Napoleon to invade Egypt in 1798. After occupying Alexandria, the French moved north; Selim's answer was to declare a jihad. The French were eventually defeated in 1799 in Syria by the Ottomans (with British assistance, as the Ottomans were part of the Second Coalition against France).

The effects of the French Revolution on the Ottoman Empire are difficult to characterize and quantify. At first, the anti-Christian nature of the French Revolution appealed to the Turks, who saw that it could be of help without compromising their beliefs. In time, however, the Revolution's secularism horrified them. Considering the number of sultans who were routinely assassinated, the execution of Louis XVI probably had a much smaller impact in Turkey than in other states. The influence of new military practices developed on the battlefields of Europe and the presence of the French in the Middle East due to events shaped by the **French Revolutionary Wars** in Europe was considerable.

Among the Ottoman Empire's varied peoples, the Jews and Muslims were the least affected by revolutionary ideology. For Christians the effect was more substantial. It is difficult, however, to identify a significant cause-and-effect relationship between the ideals of the Revolution and the Greek and other revolts in the Balkans, which were to accelerate the pace at which the empire began to break up.

Selim himself was deposed in 1807 and executed the following year as a result of conflict with the conservative Janissaries. In time, however, the reforms would take hold and be accompanied by significant changes. Eighteen years after Selim's death, it was the turn of the Janissaries. On what was called the Auspicious Night, they were massacred, as a result of which more thorough reforms could take place.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### **Owen, Robert (1771–1858)**

Robert Owen was an industrialist, social reformer, philanthropist, philosopher, and visionary who dreamed of forming a lasting communitarian society. Sometimes called the father of British socialism, his revolutionary experiments in creating these socialist societies failed to last for substantial periods of time; nevertheless, his influence was great and many radical architects of community building followed his lead.

The son of a saddle maker, Owen grew up in humble circumstances in Wales. He received only a modicum of education, completing his schoolwork at age nine. He became a worker in a drapery shop, and later, while still a teenager, he was elevated to the position of manager of a cotton mill in Manchester, where he quickly became financially successful. He met and married the daughter of the owner of the most prominent Scottish mill, known as New Lanark, of which he later became manager and part owner. By age 28, Owen had become immensely wealthy and well known

throughout **Britain**. He desired to turn New Lanark into a model community by providing the employees of the mill and their families with higher salaries and better working conditions than other mills in the area. In addition, he had homes built for the employees and provided free education for the children of the community.

He became a social reformer in his advocacy for workers and the poor and envisioned a society in which there was cooperative ownership. His ideas were rejected by many but accepted by others who decided to use his ideas of socialism by developing communities of this type. Owen's followers became known as the Owenites. Agricultural and education-oriented Owenite communities such as Orbiston (in Scotland), Ralahine (in Ireland), and later Queenwood (in Hampshire), a settlement endorsed by Owen himself, were formed. These socialist experiments all failed to sustain themselves for an appreciable period of time; Orbiston lasted from 1825 to 1827, Ralahine lasted from 1831 to 1833, and Queenwood was only in existence from 1839 to 1845. Other communities of this type carrying Owen's name, if not his endorsement, were also developed.

Owen also formed a community in America in 1825 in New Harmony, Indiana. New Harmony was bought from another communitarian, George Rapp, and, like the other communes based on Owen's principles, took education as its main concern. This experiment failed to last more than two years, but many other attempts were made by others to form Owenite communities in America.

Owen expressed his ideas in numerous widely read works such as *The New View of Society* and *The Book of the New Moral World*. He died in 1858 in Wales. Owen's sons assisted with their father's socialist experiments in America and remained in the country. Robert Dale Owen (1801–1877) became a member of the Indiana House of Representatives and was a well-respected writer and visionary in his own right. David Dale Owen (1807–1860) became a geologist for the U.S. government, and Richard Owen (1810–1890) became a university professor.

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LEONARD A. STEVERSON



# P

## **Paca, William (1740–1799)**

William Paca, a signatory of the **Declaration of Independence** in 1776, was born in **Maryland** in 1740. Having been well educated in Philadelphia, he moved to Annapolis in 1759 and two years later entered the legal profession. He rose to prominence campaigning with Samuel **Chase**, another lawyer, for the repeal of the **Stamp Act** of 1765. The following year Paca entered public office at city level and he was elected to the provincial assembly in 1767.

In 1774, Paca was elected to the First **Continental Congress**. His rich wife, whom he had married in 1763, died that year, and he subsequently fathered at least two illegitimate children. Paca married again in 1777. His second wife died in 1780, and Paca inherited a fortune from her, too.

Paca was first appointed a federal judge in 1780. He was elected state governor in 1782, and during his time in office he grappled with major economic difficulties, focused on the needs of war veterans, promoted university education, and hosted an important sitting of the federal congress. The Treaty of Paris was ratified in Annapolis in 1784.

Because he believed it failed to protect individual freedom and states' rights sufficiently, Paca resisted the federal constitution that replaced the **Articles of Confederation** of 1781. As a delegate to his state's ratification convention alongside Chase in 1788, he drafted many amendments, but they were not passed. He continued to press the case for a bill of rights, which was finally adopted in 1791. Two years earlier Paca had joined the bench of the United States District Court for the district of Maryland at the invitation of George **Washington**. He died at Wye Hall, the mansion he had built for himself, in 1799.

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JAMES INGLIS

### **Paine, Robert Treat (1731–1814)**

Robert Treat Paine, a signatory of the **Declaration of Independence** in 1776, was born in 1731 in Boston, **Massachusetts**. He developed an unusually learned mind and graduated from Harvard College in 1749. The collapse of his family's mercantile business ended his hitherto comfortable existence, and before finally entering the legal profession, Paine resorted to making a living by teaching, whaling, and preaching. He relocated his practice to Taunton in 1761. Paine raised a large family, having married in 1770.

In the **Boston Massacre** trials that year he appeared for the prosecution alongside Samuel Quincy and made a mixed impression on John **Adams**, a defense lawyer and future president. Paine was elected to the provincial assembly three years later, and in 1774 he accompanied Adams to the First **Continental Congress**. Paine, on entering the Second **Continental Congress** the following year, was placed on bodies charged with attending to some of the most pressing concerns of a nation at war, including the manufacture of gunpowder. Paine did not share the enthusiasm for independence of some of the other Massachusetts representatives, though he pragmatically embraced the cause when his province's collective view moved decisively in that direction.

Paine was appointed his state's attorney general in 1777, and in this capacity he prosecuted the perpetrators of Shays's Rebellion, which broke out 10 years later. Failing to receive a much-longed-for federal judicial appointment, he became an associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1790. To his chagrin, however, the office of Massachusetts chief justice eluded him. Deafness forced Paine to resign in 1804. He died in 1814 at the grand residence of the former governor William Shirley that Paine had acquired in 1780 when he had returned to live in Boston. In 1780 Paine had also become a founding member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

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JAMES INGLIS

### **Paine, Thomas (1737–1809)**

Paine was born in Thetford, Norfolk, the only son of a Quaker stay maker and tenant farmer. He received only a basic education up to the age of 12 and he achieved little worldly success in his first 37 years of life. He held a variety of jobs—as a stay maker, a privateer, a schoolteacher, and a shopkeeper—but in none was he a success. He was twice married: his first wife died young in childbirth in 1760, and he separated formally from his second wife in 1774. He was interested in political issues and political debates, but this initially proved his undoing. Having once been dismissed as an excise officer (in August 1765), he wrote his first political pamphlet, *The Case of the Officers of Excise*, in 1772, four years after being reinstated. He produced his pamphlet and a petition to press the government to improve the pay and conditions of the officers of excise. His reward was to be dismissed from the service in April 1774. In October 1774, with a letter of introduction from Benjamin **Franklin**, he sailed for America and a new life.

Paine arrived in Philadelphia at the end of November 1774 and quite soon thereafter was offered the editorship of the newly established *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He contributed several essays himself, including one attacking slavery. This helped him meet Benjamin **Rush** and enter politics in Philadelphia. With the colonists contemplating independence from **Britain** with some trepidation, Rush encouraged Paine to write a pamphlet encouraging the colonists to take the plunge. In January 1776, Paine produced *Common Sense*, which became the most widely distributed pamphlet during the **American Revolution**. Paine's short pamphlet made no attempt to rehearse the colonists' grievances since the early 1760s. Instead, he made a frontal assault on the British constitution, attacking its monarchical, aristocratic, and corrupt features, and advising the colonists that there could be no satisfactory compromise with Britain. He inspired his readers to believe that they had the ability to win any war with Britain, and he urged them to seek complete independence. He believed that America could become the asylum of liberty, and he insisted that "the cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind." Paine maintained that to achieve good government, humankind's natural rights to life, liberty, and property must be safeguarded under civil government. Legitimate governments must be based on consent and on the sovereignty of the people, and the people's rights should be enshrined in a written constitution. While he was not very specific about what kind of civil government he would favor, Paine clearly admired a system of government that was rational, simple, natural, and cheap. His pamphlet was written in a highly accessible style that made little use of references to other works, complex sentence structure, or abstruse words. Its success was unparalleled. It was widely distributed throughout all the colonies, was reviewed and commented upon in many newspapers, and produced many critical and favorable comments.

During the **American Revolutionary War**, Paine performed a variety of services for his adopted country. He was for a time an aide-de-camp to General Nathanael Greene and a field correspondent reporting on American actions. He was an observer at Valley Forge, where **Washington's** army spent a very difficult winter in 1777–1778. He was appointed secretary to **Congress's** committee on foreign affairs, and he was much involved in the efforts to raise arms and supplies from **France**. He was engaged in a lengthy and rancorous press campaign against Silas Deane, who had been sent to France to secure French arms and supplies but was condemned by Paine as self-serving. Paine himself sailed for France, at his own expense, in February 1781, to help procure substantial financial assistance from that country. Paine's greatest contribution to the war effort, however, was made through his pen. He wrote an inspiring series of essays, *The American Crisis*, to stiffen American resolve when its forces faced their most serious crises. He admitted in his first essay that "These are the times that try men's souls," but he urged the Americans to stand firm and to continue the struggle since he was confident that success would be ultimately theirs. He insisted that the Americans were fighting for universal principles of liberty: for the natural rights of all men, the sovereignty of the people, representative democracy, and a republican government that would reject monarchy and aristocracy. He also wrote to promote the establishment of the Bank of North America, to urge the states to levy higher rates of taxation to help the war effort, and for western lands to become the property of the federal government so that they could become a source of funds. He wrote a separate pamphlet to defend the war against the charge by the abbé Raynal that it arose solely out of a dispute over taxation.

When the war ended, Paine sought some recompense for his various efforts. He eventually received some money from Congress and from the **Pennsylvania** assembly, and a small farm from the **New York** assembly. It did not satisfy him. In 1786 he published his *Dissertation on Government, the Affairs of the Bank, and Paper Money*, in which he defended the Bank of North America, supported the independence of financial institutions, opposed efforts to repeal the bank's charter, and warned of the dangers of paper money. Although he had campaigned to give the federal government greater powers, Paine played no part in the debates on the new **United States Constitution** in the late 1780s. Paine instead became preoccupied with his plans to design a single-span iron bridge that could be used to cross wide rivers. Discouraged with the response to his plans in Pennsylvania, Paine set sail for France in April 1787. His efforts in France and Britain to promote his iron bridge proved very expensive and to no avail.

Paine became closely interested in the **French Revolution**, which broke out in 1789, and he was entrusted by the Marquis de **Lafayette** to convey the key of the **Bastille** to President George Washington. When Edmund **Burke's** *Reflections on the Revolution in France* appeared in November 1790, Paine quickly responded with the first volume of his *Rights of Man* on March 16, 1791. Paine's pamphlet was an immediate success with radical opinion in Britain, and it was soon reprinted in cheap editions across the British Isles. Paine attacked Burke's emphasis on prescription and denied that any decision in the past, such as the Revolution Settlement of 1689, could bind future generations to the end of time. He abandoned the traditional radical appeal in Britain to the ancient constitution and to the historic rights of Englishmen. Instead, he insisted that every age must be free to act for itself and that civil governments ought to be based on the sovereignty of the people and the universal, natural, and inalienable rights to life, liberty, and property. He advocated a republican form of government and a representative democracy in which the natural rights of all men would be converted into civil liberties. All men were born equal and they all had an equal right not just to participate in the original creation of civil government but to play an active role in politics thereafter.

In February 1792, Paine produced the second volume of *Rights of Man*. In this, he praised the American example, repeated his attacks on monarchy and aristocracy, and insisted that governments should be created by conventions of the people. He praised man's natural sociability, and he supported commerce and free trade. He maintained that civil society could do more for all its citizens than any individual could do for himself. He insisted that all governments had a responsibility for their poorer citizens. He condemned the extravagance of royal courts and the enormous waste of money on aggressive wars. He believed that a radically reformed government could reduce the tax burden on the poor and that taxes on inherited wealth could provide a national fund that could be used to finance a system of social welfare including child allowances, marriage and maternity grants, and old age pensions. Volume 2 of *Rights of Man* had an even greater impact on popular radical societies in Britain and it greatly alarmed the government and the propertied elite.

In June 1792, Paine was indicted for sedition but was not immediately brought to trial. He continued writing radical tracts, including his *Letter Addressed to the Addressers of the Late Proclamation*, in which he clarified his support for universal manhood suffrage and called for a British convention to promote a radical reform of

**Parliament.** On September 13, Paine left London and was subsequently declared an outlaw. He was welcomed in Calais, where the citizens elected him as their representative in the new **National Convention**. Paine was not a great success in the Convention, as he spoke little French and his views were far less violent than those of the rising **Jacobins**. He was arrested on December 27, 1793, and imprisoned in the Luxembourg prison until November 4, 1794. He narrowly escaped death and was seriously ill during his imprisonment. He owed his release much to the efforts of James Monroe, the American ambassador to France.

Shortly before his arrest, Paine wrote the first part of *The Age of Reason*. On his release he began work on part 2, which he completed in August 1795. *The Age of Reason* is an uncompromising attack on Christianity and organized **religion**. In this deist manifesto, Paine stressed that nature was the only form of divine revelation and that the Bible was riddled with errors, exaggerations, and contradictions. He condemned much of the Old Testament as incredible and immoral, and he challenged the accuracy of the New Testament. He condemned many Christian beliefs as based on superstition and he rejected the claim that Christ was the Son of God. He regarded the clergy as self-interested and all Christian churches as the agents of oppressive governments. He did believe in one God or in an afterlife, and he supported the toleration of all religions provided they had no political power. *The Age of Reason* sold in vast numbers and went through numerous editions in the United States, where it caused great offence and seriously damaged Paine's reputation.

Paine no longer played a prominent role in French politics, though he did advocate a French invasion of England and of **Ireland**. He remained very active as a writer, however. His *Dissertation on the First Principles of Government* (1795) offered a clear summary of his mature views on government. His *Agrarian Justice* (1796) condemned the division of society into rich and poor. Rejecting as impractical both the forcible confiscation and the common ownership of land, he argued that the rich should be taxed in order to provide a national fund that would grant £15 to every person at the age of 21 and a pension of £10 per annum to all persons reaching the age of 50. In *Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance* (1796), he predicted that the rapid growth of Britain's national debt in recent years would lead to a complete collapse of the system that sustained Britain's war effort. In his *Letter to Washington* (1796), Paine vented his resentment at not receiving enough American help to secure his prompt release from prison. He cast doubt on all Washington's abilities and actions, even his military service during the late war. This pamphlet further tarnished Paine's reputation in America.

After several attempts to leave France for the United States, Paine took the opportunity of the peace treaty of 1802 (Amiens) to sail for Baltimore. For the next year or two, Paine wrote a number of political essays, particularly *To the Citizens of the United States* (1802–1803), in support of President Thomas **Jefferson** and in opposition to the Federalists. Jefferson was probably more hurt than assisted by Paine's support, but he did not cast him aside. From 1804, however, Paine's health grew worse, his drinking increased, and his finances were in complete disarray. He died in Greenwich Village on June 8, 1809, and was buried on his farm in New Rochelle. Only a handful of people attended his burial. In 1819 William Cobbett dug up his bones and took them back to England, and there they disappeared. *See also* Continental Congress, Second.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### Pamphlets (American)

One of the most extraordinary expressions of the intellectual and political culture of early America is the prodigious burst of pamphlet literature published throughout the colonies in the decades leading up to the **American Revolution**. A disproportionate amount of the political discourse surrounding the American Revolution took place in the form of pamphlets, small booklets formed by folding and stitching together two to five sheets of broadside printer's paper, and sold unbound to the public for a shilling or two. Although pamphlets ranged from only a few pages up to 80 pages or more, the typical length for the political pamphlet of the revolutionary era was 10 to 50 pages, or 5,000 to 25,000 words. The development of this genre throughout the colonies gave rise to the creation of something resembling a modern public sphere in which political ideas, intellectual debates, and public opinion could form and circulate throughout the colonies.

Because pamphlets were cheap, easy to produce on small printing presses, and flexible in size and distribution, they proliferated in the era preceding the Revolution. It is estimated that more than 400 pamphlets dealing just with relations between **Britain** and the American colonies were published between 1750 and 1776, and more than 1,500 by 1783.

Pamphleteers attempted to re-create in the American context an English genre of political writing whose best-known and most articulate exemplars were writers like Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, and Joseph Addison. Although American authors mimicked the style and tone of their more artful English predecessors, the general level of American pamphlets tended to be strident, heavy handed, and eclectic in comparison to the accomplishments of the master essayists of England. Some of the leading thinkers of the revolutionary generation expressed their views in the form of published pamphlets—notably, Thomas **Jefferson's** *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774) and John **Adams's** *Thoughts on Government* (1776). However, most pamphleteers were undistinguished lawyers, ministers, planters, merchants, and printers who published episodically whenever political events moved them and as a supplement to their regular trade or profession. With the possible exception of William **Livingston** of **New York**, publisher of the *Independent Reflector*, there were few professional pamphleteers in the colonies who were artful or industrious enough to earn a full-time living from their political writing alone.

Historian Bernard Bailyn, whose scholarship has done so much to call attention to this rich and variegated pamphlet literature, distinguishes three broad

categories of American pamphlets. The first and largest group took the form of immediate responses to particular events and crises of the era, such as the **Stamp Act**, the **Townshend Acts**, the **Boston Tea Party**, and the first meeting of the **Continental Congress**. The second group consisted of an extended series of personal exchanges, sometimes polemical, in which one or more individuals would respond directly to views expressed in earlier pamphlets. A third category included ritual and liturgical pamphlets published annually in commemoration of important political dates such as Thanksgiving, major elections, the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the Boston Tea Party.

Arguably the most influential example of this pamphlet literature is Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, published in January 1776. This pamphlet alone elicited rejoinders from several Tory pamphleteers like James Chalmers and Charles Inglis as well as from fellow defenders of the revolutionary cause like John Adams, who nonetheless disagreed with the religious and philosophical premises upon which Paine's argument was grounded. Standing out vividly from the mass of undistinguished pamphlets that were either amateurish in style or parochial in subject matter, Paine's pamphlet is clearly the single most brilliant pamphlet written during the American Revolution. *Common Sense* reportedly sold more than 120,000 copies in three months, and more than 500,000 copies within the year following its publication. It was credited by contemporaneous thinkers like Benjamin Rush and Benjamin Franklin with single-handedly turning the tide of American public opinion toward the cause of American independence. In this pamphlet Paine argues for the naturalness of human equality, and the illegitimacy of traditional authority, most notably that of the British monarchy, and marshals a variety of principled and practical reasons why the Americans must break from British rule. Because the Americans are now a distinctive people formed by their experience together on a new continent, it is wrong for them to continue to submit to a government so far removed from their own republican temper and national interests.

The systematic study of this pamphlet literature in the 1960s by historians Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood sparked several rounds of scholarly debates about the intellectual origins of American political thought. Taking issue with the traditional Lockean liberal explanation of the American Revolution set forth by Louis Hartz, these and subsequent revisionist scholars identified a conceptually distinguishable tradition of classical **republicanism**, or civic humanism, emphasizing the classical language of virtue, the public good, and civic participation. American pamphleteers appealed to classical republican sources like Plutarch, Livy, and Cicero nearly as often as they invoked **Enlightenment** philosophers like **Locke**, **Montesquieu**, and Hutcheson; English legal thinkers like **Blackstone** and Coke; and the Bible and other traditional religious sources. In general, however, the run-of-the-mill American pamphlet seems to have cited intellectual authorities indiscriminately and sometimes even inaccurately.

The genre of pamphleteering continued in the post-revolutionary era as a way of dealing with the practicalities of establishing a new government, especially with the debates surrounding the ratification of a new **United States Constitution** in 1787–1788. Although the *Federalist* essays and many of the best-known exchanges with Anti-Federalist critics of the Constitution took place in newspapers, these exchanges were frequently reprinted and circulated in pamphlet form throughout the states. *See also* The Federalist Papers.

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RICHARD BOYD

## Pamphlets (French)

French pamphlets were powerful political instruments during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The pamphlet was a short publication focusing largely on a very particular contemporary issue or on a limited number of issues. It used to be produced unofficially and was meant to influence public opinion and stimulate action.

The pamphlet was an individual text that had its own unity and independence. It usually had no binding, nor was it big enough to constitute a volume in itself. It was not a genre, but rather a channel of communication. Polymorphous and aggressive, the pamphlet was characterized by its tone, which was often angry and provocative. The pamphlet was meant to influence public opinion by shock and passion, not primarily by informing the reader. However, it could also rely on or aim at disclosing important information. Its author was anonymous; the idea may often have belonged to one person, but the wording was usually the work of a marginal hack writer. The pamphlet was often poorly printed on illegal printing presses and its distribution was clandestine. Cheap and disposable, it was often considered untrustworthy and deceitful. Addictive, but certainly not a wasted read, the pamphlet was full of vitality and zest, and the slanderous form of the pamphlet functioned like gossip in a small community. The pamphlet's promiscuity converted it into a very insidious means of trafficking information, inside knowledge, and rumors.

The pamphlet played an important role in the public sphere of Western culture. Competing with the male-dominated clubs and coffeehouses, the traditional venues for the exchange of ideas, pamphlets proliferated and clearly showed the expanding power of public opinion beyond the realm of merely the street crowd or pub-goers. French pamphlets predated the influential periodicals of the modern age, and it is significant that the circulation of pamphlets in **France** depended not only on the discontented bourgeoisie or on marginalized elements of society, but also on wealthy and affluent members of the **nobility** who felt their ambitions to have gone unfulfilled. Some of the scurrilous pamphlets directed against **Marie Antoinette**, for instance, are documented as having originated from within court circles. Most pre-revolutionary pamphleteering was not the product of oppressed intellectuals but rather was the expression of the aspirations and tensions of the elite, who tried to manipulate public opinion to its own benefit while also unknowingly grooming it for revolution. The work of Pierre Jacques Le Maitre was such a case.

During the 1770s and 1780s, pamphlet campaigns directed against ministers or important court figures were extremely common, perhaps the most notable example being the affair involving Cardinal de Rohan and the notorious diamond necklace, discussed in *Les Philippiques (The Philippics)* by Lagrange-Chancel. Jacques **Necker**



and Anne-Robert-Jacques **Turgot** were both popular targets of the pamphleteers. Necker's famous pamphlet against Turgot's policies on the regulation of the grain trade is but one well-known example. Women also participated in the exchange of ideas via the pamphlet, either as targets of such publications or more usually as consumers of them. In the former respect, **Voltaire's** 1768 pamphlet, *Femmes, soyez soumises à vos maris!* (*Women, Be Submissive to Your Spouses!*) is noteworthy for its discussion of women's political marginalization.

French pamphleteering became particularly important after July 5, 1788, when **Louis XVI** issued a decree calling for information on the procedure for convoking the **Estates-General**. The response was the famous pamphlet *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* (*What Is the Third Estate?*) by the abbé **Sieyès**, who author questioned whether the **Third Estate** could act in the name of the nation without regard to the objections of the privileged orders or the king. Gabriel-Honoré **Mirabeau** and his adherents also wrote a number of aggressive pamphlets on controversial affairs of the 1780s.

Although the Revolution initially supported freedom of expression, in March 1793 censorship was introduced. Both the **Jacobins** then and **Napoleon** a decade later tried to domesticate the press. Yet in spite of these limitations, pamphleteering flourished. All the important economic, military, political, and religious issues of the day were addressed by Camille **Desmoulins**, Mirabeau, Jean-Pierre **Brissot**, and Jean-Paul **Marat**, the great pamphleteers of the Revolution. Thereafter, Chateaubriand, Paul Louis Courier, Barthélemy and Méry, Alphonse Karr, Barbier, Cormenin, and Veuillot as well as Proudhon would continue this tradition. Among the most important pamphlets were Jean-Baptiste Salaville's *De l'organisation d'un état monarchique* (*On the Organization of a Monarchical State*) and his *Le tout est-il plus grand que la partie?* (*Is the Whole Greater than Its Parts?*), as well as *L'opinion de M. de Cazalès sur le renvoi des ministres, prononcée dans la séance de l'Assemblée nationale de 19 octobre 1790* (*The Opinion of Mr. de Cazalès about Firing Ministers, Delivered at the Meeting of the National Assembly on October 19, 1790*). An interesting right-wing royalist pamphlet criticizing the **National Assembly's** religious policy was entitled *Principes de la foi sur le gouvernement de l'église, en opposition avec la constitution civile du clergé* (*Principles of Faith on the Governing of the Church, in Opposition to the Civilian Constitution of the Clergy*). During the Napoleonic period, two pamphlets of particular note were *Les adieux à Bonaparte* (*Farewell to Bonaparte*) and *Fruits de l'arbre de la liberté française* (*Fruits of the French Freedom*). See also Pamphlets (American).

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MICHAELA MUDURE

### Paoli, Pasquale (1725–1807)

Pasquale Paoli, the Corsican statesman responsible for leading Corsica to independence from Genoese rule, was the son of Giacinto Paoli, who led a failed Corsican revolt against Genoa in 1735–1739. Escaping Genoese reprisals, Pasquale Paoli



Pasquale de Paoli. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

went to **Naples**, where he studied at the military academy and received a commission in the Neapolitan cavalry, which was mainly composed of Corsican exiles. In 1755, he led a successful uprising against Genoese rule and gained independence for the island. Guided by the principles of the **Enlightenment**, Paoli drafted a constitution and established the most democratic government in all of Europe. He implemented a wide range of reforms aimed at transforming the island, including the prohibition of the practice of vendetta, the encouragement of commerce, and the establishment of schools and a university at Corte. His ideas and policies gained much support from prominent **philosophes**, including **Voltaire** and Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, who famously praised Corsica in his *Social Contract*. However, Paoli's achievements were threatened when Genoa sold the island to **France** in 1768. Fighting the invading French army, Paoli was defeated at Pontenuovo on May 9, 1769, and fled to **Britain**, where he lived for the next 20 years. He gradually became a symbol for many Corsican patriots, including the young **Napoleon Bonaparte**.

The French Revolution became a turning point for Paoli, who was invited to Paris and celebrated as a hero by the **National Assembly**. King **Louis XVI** granted him the rank of lieutenant general and appointed to command forces in Corsica. Paoli's return to Corsica in July 1790 was widely celebrated on the island, where he was known as the father of the Corsican nation. Paoli presided over the consulta (assembly) for the next couple of years but became disillusioned with revolutionary

excesses and broke away from France. He clashed with the pro-French factions, notably the Bonapartes, whom he ordered to be arrested, and, with British naval support, expelled the French in 1794. He then offered Corsica to King George III of Britain, who established an Anglo-Corsican viceroyalty on the island. This proved to be a major mistake for Paoli, since Sir Gilbert Elliot, the British viceroy on the island, soon shunned him and forced him out of government. Disappointed, Paoli retired to Britain in 1795, where he received a British government pension. He lived long enough to see Corsica become one of the departments of France and to witness the meteoric rise of his former opponent, Napoleon. He died after a short illness at the age of 82 in London on February 5, 1807, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery of St. Pancras. A cenotaph was erected in his memory on the south aisle of Westminster Abbey. Some 80 years after his death, his remains were exhumed and returned to Corsica.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Papacy

From period 1760 to 1815, the see of Rome confronted numerous challenges to its authority and prestige, culminating in the detainment of two supreme pontiffs (**Pius VI** and **Pius VII**) by the French state. Rome's response to the ideological and political developments of the age serves as a useful barometer of contemporary conservative attitudes. If the papacy can be said to have suffered mightily during this period, however, it also demonstrated considerable resilience: by 1815 it was emerging as one of the foci of a new alliance between throne and altar that was perceived as a bulwark against future revolutionary outbursts.

### *1750–1775: Benedict XIV, Clement XIII, and Clement XIV*

In 1750, Benedict XIV (r. 1740–1758) had been pope for 10 years after being elected by one of the longest papal conclaves in history. Of all the eighteenth-century popes, he enjoyed the most cordial relationship with both the syndics of the **Enlightenment** and the advocates of centralized political power. As a manifestly scholarly pope—and one who devised more liberal rules for the Index of Prohibited Books—he even won praise from **Frederick II**, David **Hume**, and **Voltaire**. Benedict also secured concordats with the increasingly absolutist governments of **Naples** (1741) and **Spain** (1753). Much was lost through such policies: in Spain, for instance, the concordat ceded some 12,000 ecclesiastical appointments to the monarchy, allowing the papacy the right to appoint a mere 52 clerics. Nonetheless, while Benedict's engagement with contemporary philosophical and political developments was, at best, uneasy, his pontificate can still be seen as something of a calm before the storm of the later eighteenth century.

His two successors, Clement XIII (r. 1758–1769) and Clement XIV (r. 1769–1774) were destined to live through more troublesome times. Both reigns were dominated by the issue of the Jesuits' suppression, a process that served as the focus for many of the important ideological and political debates of the age.

Founded in 1540, the Society of Jesus had long endured a stormy relationship with many of the national governments of Europe. While its missionary and educational achievements could not be gainsaid, the society (a supranational organization with an allegedly excessive loyalty to Rome) was often perceived as a threat to local political and ecclesiological interests. During the pontificates of Clement XIII and Clement XIV, these trends came to a head with the banishment of the Jesuits from various European countries (Portugal in 1759; **France** in 1764; Spain in 1767) and the worldwide suppression of the order, by papal fiat, in 1773.

The destruction of the Jesuits has often been portrayed as a triumph of Enlightenment ideology: this was certainly a notion pedaled by men such as Denis **Diderot** and Jean Le Rond d'**Alembert**. In fact, the suppression should primarily be seen as a political rather than an ideological phenomenon. In Portugal, the destruction of the Jesuits was largely the work of Joseph I's chief minister, the Marquis of Pombal, and should be regarded as part of his wider campaign to strike down rival sources of power and authority. In France, most of the credit for the Jesuits' demise can be given to the small but influential Jansenist party within the Paris Parlement. In Spain, the regalist agenda of Charles III and his ministers—a determination to control all aspects of Spanish political and religious life—is the most convincing explanation for the society's fate. In all these countries, the self-styled champions of Enlightenment rejoiced at the Jesuits' downfall, but in truth, they only played a negligible role in bringing it about.

Throughout the crisis, the papacy found itself in an almost impossible situation. While inevitably invested in preserving one of the church's most illustrious, if controversial, orders, the papacy was also fearful of offending the great powers of Europe. Those Bourbon powers applied enormous pressure on the papacy to carry through the total destruction of the order—dispatching countless bullish ambassadors to Rome and, at one point, even invading papal territory during a dispute over ecclesiastical rights in Parma. Clement XIV prevaricated for as long as possible, but once Maria Theresa of **Austria** signaled that she would do nothing to oppose the suppression, the die was cast. With the papal brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* of August 16, 1773, the Society of Jesus was blotted out. Clement commented that it was if “I have cut off my right hand.”

### ***1755–1799: Pius VI and the French Revolution***

The destruction of the Jesuits was a mere prelude to the turmoil witnessed by the next incumbent of the Holy Office, Pius VI (r. 1775–1799): the pope who was obliged to steer the bark of Peter through the era of the **French Revolution**. Even during the early part of his pontificate, the political trends that had brought about the events of 1773 continued to gain momentum. Austria provides the best example. Here, in 1780, the emperor **Joseph II**, freed from the checks and restraints of co-rule with his mother, Maria Theresa, embarked upon a reformist campaign that shattered the church's cultural and educational role. Seminaries, now replete with liberalized curricula, came under state control, church services were purged of what Joseph deemed overly superstitious elements, and scores of convents and monasteries were suppressed. A toleration edict gave Lutherans, Calvinists, and members of the Orthodox churches the right to freedom of worship, and the Catholic Church's traditional role as censor and intellectual watchdog was all but eliminated. In Joseph's brave new Austria, the state was to dominate church affairs, and the

pope was to have little authority and even less prestige. When Pius visited Vienna in 1782, both Joseph and his chancellor Baron Kaunitz treated him with strained and grudging politeness that bordered on contempt.

The next two decades would bring far worse indignities. The detailed chronology of the French Revolution (including its assault on traditional religious worship) is dealt with elsewhere in this volume. Suffice it to say, Rome stood aghast from the outset. It took a head-on challenge to papal authority to nudge the papacy into direct action, however. This arrived with the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**, passed by the French **Constituent Assembly** in July 1790. It transformed the French religious landscape by reorganizing the country's diocesan structure to conform to the recently erected network of regional departments, and it insisted that all bishops and priests would now be elected by the citizenry—citizens of non-Catholic allegiance included. To many Catholics, this seemed to turn clerics into little more than salaried civil servants.

Alongside these measures, all members of the clergy were now expected to take an oath of loyalty to the new constitution. This was all a huge affront to papal power in France, and it split the French church asunder, with a majority of the clergy refusing to accept the Civil Constitution or to take the requisite oaths.

The papacy's response was predictable but perhaps surprisingly sluggish. Pius had written privately to **Louis XVI** in protest as soon as the Civil Constitution was enacted. News of his protest was, astutely, suppressed. But it was not until the first constitutional bishops began to be elected that Pius offered a definitive public condemnation. In the spring of 1791 the pope ordered all those who had taken oaths of loyalty to recant and subsequently declared the Civil Constitution utterly illegitimate. Over the coming months, clerical opponents of the constitution (who now risked imprisonment or banishment) came to be regarded as suspicious or even treacherous in the popular revolutionary imagination. In September 1792, with Prussian troops perilously close to Paris and with anxiety running riot in the capital, mobs massacred dozens of imprisoned priests.

The remainder of the decade would only see a further deterioration in relations between France and Rome. As France went further down the road of dechristianization—snuffing out the entire Christian calendar, inaugurating cults of Reason and the Supreme Being—the papacy was powerless to act. Pius was once more curiously slow to lend his support to the military coalition raised against France, but this did not deter **Napoleon** Bonaparte's army from invading papal territories in 1796. To retain control of Rome, the pope agreed to a debilitating armistice—the terms of which cost the Vatican a colossal financial indemnity and the loss of many priceless works of art. Things only worsened with the return of French armies in 1798. A Roman Republic was established and Pius, perceived as a far-too-obvious focus of counterrevolutionary insurgency, was deported to France, where he died, incarcerated, in 1799.

### *1800–1815: Pius VII and Catholic Revivalism*

The next pope, Pius VII, began his reign with a more conciliatory attitude. Earlier in life, he had even gone so far as to suggest that Catholicism was not necessarily incompatible with the fashionable ideological nostrums of the age. He conceded that the restoration of the Bourbon monarchies was not a prerequisite of workable relations between Rome and states such as France and negotiated the **Concordat** of 1801 with Bonaparte's regime. To regain influence over the new constitutional church in France, Rome accepted the loss of a great deal. It accepted that the

church's former lands were lost forever, it accepted that clerics were now salaried civil servants overseen by a ministry of cults, it accepted the new freedoms recently extended to Protestants and Jews, and it accepted that clerics should take oaths of loyalty to the government.

All told, it was an admission of weakness on the part of the papacy, a position that was further highlighted when France unilaterally added its own "organic articles" to the terms of the Concordat of 1802. No papal bulls or papal legates were to be allowed into the country without governmental approval. The final humiliation came with Bonaparte's coronation as Emperor Napoleon I in December 1804. Brooking all tradition, Bonaparte placed the imperial crown on his own head and left Pius with the subsidiary role of anointing France's new emperor and his consort. Many people, realizing what was afoot, had advised Pius not to attend the proceedings. He had ignored their advice, and the papacy's reputation undoubtedly suffered as a result. That said, to have refused any role in the coronation would likely have been politically disastrous. Such was the frustrating lot of the papacy in 1804.

In the coming years, Pius's attitude toward the revolutionary regimes hardened, and he issued numerous condemnations and excommunications. None of this could prevent Napoleon from ruling the Italian political roost, however, and when he appointed his brother Joseph ruler of Naples—a papal fief—Pius could do nothing. In 1808 the French armies returned once more and occupied the city of Rome. Pius's fulminations were roundly ignored, and he was forcibly relocated to Savona on the Italian Riviera, where he endured a period of almost total isolation, and where his efforts to undermine Napoleon's episcopal appointments had precious little effect. In June 1812, Pius was unceremoniously dispatched to Fontainebleau, where, desperately ill, he agreed to (and later recanted) yet further concessions to Napoleon's regime.

The tide of history began to turn, however. Napoleon was obliged to abdicate first in 1814, and then again in 1815 after the Hundred Days. The Congress of **Vienna** restored the Papal States, Pius returned triumphantly to Rome in 1814, and, in that same year, the Society of Jesus was restored—a hugely symbolic event. For the remainder of his papal reign, which lies beyond the scope of this volume, Pius endeavored, however imperfectly, to restore the papacy's much-dented authority. The next century would witness the papacy's attempts to (according to the sympathies of the incumbent pope and the Catholic constituency he encountered) understand, denounce, or revise the ideological residue of Europe's revolutionary era. *See also* Calendar, French Revolutionary.

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JONATHAN WRIGHT

## Parlements

Under the **ancien régime**, parlements constituted **France's** chief courts of appeal. The parlements were initially an administrative weapon created by the crown

to contain the ambitions of the **nobility**. Machiavelli praised the parlements as the most important institution of one of the best-governed kingdoms of his time, because they curbed the “insolence” of the nobles and safeguarded the king against them by favoring the weak. The Parlement of Paris claimed jurisdiction over the whole of the kingdom, but the development and growth of the French absolutist state brought with it the establishment of provincial courts with regional jurisdiction. Parlements and provincial supreme councils with much the same function were established as early as 1443 in Toulouse and as late as 1768 in Corsica.

During the *Fronde* (1648–1653) the parlements attempted to provide an institutional check on the growing authority of the crown. In the eighteenth century they degenerated into bastions of political reaction. They constituted a hereditary magistracy in which tenure of office was saleable and whose occupants routinely meddled in purely political matters. The parlements were nonetheless mindful of their independence of the crown. In 1771, Louis XV attempted to centralize authority by abolishing the parlements and replacing them with law courts with no jurisdiction in policy. **Louis XVI** sought to appease the provincial nobility by restoring the parlements in 1774 yet soon found himself in direct conflict with them over new taxes to pay for the cost of the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). In 1787 and 1788, the Parlement of Paris led the provincial parlements in opposing the fiscal reforms of Archbishop **Loménie de Brienne** by arguing that only the **Estates-General** had the authority to raise taxes.

The parlements were among the first institutional victims of the **French Revolution** of 1789. Created to buttress the crown against the nobility, their resistance to royal prerogative did little to diminish their reputation among the wealthy merchants and entrepreneurs of the **Third Estate** as palaces of privilege.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Parliament

Parliament, the legislative body of **Britain**, gradually evolved from the late thirteenth century into a powerful legislature that could both limit and strengthen the monarch and the executive. There were major disputes between Crown and Parliament in the seventeenth century, but after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, it was recognized that the monarch could not govern effectively without the financial support and the political backing of Parliament. From 1689 onward Parliament met for several months every year in order to pass new laws, raise taxes, guarantee the repayment of government loans, debate major issues of foreign and domestic affairs, respond to pressure from outside Parliament, and hold royal ministers to account. In 1707, the Scottish parliament in Edinburgh agreed to be incorporated into the English parliament at Westminster, and in 1800 the Irish parliament in Dublin agreed to do the same. On January 1, 1801, the imperial parliament of the United Kingdom came into being.

By the mid-eighteenth century it was widely accepted that Britain was governed by a limited or parliamentary monarchy and that the sovereign authority in the state rested with the combined legislature made up of the monarch, the House of

Lords, and the House of Commons (that is, the king-in-Parliament). The influential constitutional lawyer William **Blackstone** claimed in the 1760s that this sovereign legislature was absolute, omnipotent, and irresistible. It could pass or repeal any law or any tax. There was some resistance to this notion within Britain, and it ultimately provoked the American colonies into a successful rebellion, but it was very firmly entrenched by 1815 and not seriously challenged again until the late twentieth century. Although the royal veto was never formally abolished, it was never used after 1708, and hence, thereafter, the monarch had to appoint ministers who could “manage” Parliament so that the laws and taxes desired by the executive were passed by both houses of Parliament.

Parliament was composed of two legislative chambers. The House of Lords included all the English peers (from barons to dukes) who were prepared to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy (Catholic peers refused to do so), all 26 bishops of the Church of England, and the royal judges who could offer advice but could not vote. After 1707 the Scots peers were able to elect 16 of their number at the time of each general election to represent them in the following parliament. After 1800 the Irish peers elected 28 of their number (for life) and the bishops elected 4 of their number (in rotation at succeeding general elections) to sit in the House of Lords. The membership of the upper chamber was much larger by the early nineteenth century than it had been a century earlier. Most royal ministers sat in this chamber, and it remained a powerful debating chamber with considerable status and influence throughout this period.

The House of Commons had become the more important chamber by the mid-eighteenth century because it initiated all taxes and its financial decisions went unchallenged by the Lords. Long-serving prime ministers (such as Lord **North** and William **Pitt** the Younger) sat in the Commons because their expertise in financial matters was vital to their political success. A prime minister who sat in the Lords (such as the long-serving Lord **Liverpool**) needed an able chancellor of the exchequer to guide the government’s financial measures through the House of Commons. The House of Commons was regarded as the democratic element in Britain’s mixed government and balanced constitution because it was an elected chamber held to represent the people. Its members, however, were elected by only a small minority of the population—those adult males who possessed the necessary (and varied) property franchise in the different constituencies. Over the period 1760–1830, perhaps between 250,000 and 350,000 men might have possessed the right to vote. They elected 80 members of Parliament (MPs) for the English counties, 409 for the English boroughs, 24 for Wales, 45 for Scotland and, after 1800, 100 for Ireland, making 658 MPs in the Commons in all.

In both houses of Parliament political reputations were often gained or lost according to the debating talents of the most active members. Many ordinary members of both houses were lax in their attendance, but when they did appear in the chamber they were open to persuasion. They could be swayed by the quality of the arguments presented either by government spokesmen or by their opponents. Both chambers were organized as adversarial assemblies, with the government supporters sitting facing their political opponents across the central aisle, and in both cases, with their own supporters ranged behind them. All the leading politicians of the day were noted orators. The procedures of both houses were similar. For a bill to become an act, it had to pass through the same procedure in both chambers: a first



reading, a second reading, a fuller debate at the committee stage, and a final third reading. Government legislation largely involved financial matters, questions of law and order, and the affairs of war and peace, with the occasional act concerning constitutional and religious issues. Ministers did not pursue national economic and social programs. Most legislation was carried through by private or local acts dealing with such issues as enclosures; road and canal building; and street cleaning, lighting, and policing. These measures were usually first put forward in the House of Commons by ordinary members who had a personal or local interest in the matter.

The king's ministers could not govern the country without the support of both houses of Parliament, and they particularly needed the taxes voted by the House of Commons. Although appointed and dismissed by the king (and hence always dependent on royal favor), ministers could not survive long in office unless they could manage Parliament in the interests of the executive. They could use their own influence and talents to win support, but they also relied on the distribution of Crown patronage to win over men in both chambers. The Crown could appoint peers and bishops; promote men in the civil, military, naval, ecclesiastical, and judicial establishments, confer various honors; and reward men with places and pensions. This patronage could usually ensure a majority in the House of Lords for the king's ministers. In the House of Commons, Crown patronage was never enough to achieve a government majority. It was moreover increasingly resented and steadily reduced beginning in the early 1780s. In 1780 John Dunning's famous motion that "The influence of the crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished" secured majority support. Thereafter, partly as a result of the political desire to make the House of Commons more independent of Crown influence and partly to reduce wasteful government expense on rewards, favors, sinecures, and pensions, Crown patronage was steadily reduced. It influenced only a few dozen MPs by 1815 and was reduced even further by 1830.

Since Crown patronage was never enough to guarantee a government majority in Parliament, particularly in the House of Commons, royal ministers had to devise other means to win support in both chambers. One obvious tactic was to pursue policies that a majority of peers or MPs could support by choice, but, not surprisingly, this proved difficult in an age of revolution and of prolonged warfare. In the early decades of this period, leading politicians, competing for royal favor and Crown office, formed groups and connections (or factions, as they were pejoratively called) to build up political alliances in office or in opposition. It was difficult to build up large parties based on issues of principle or defined programs because most men in both houses of Parliament shared many political attitudes. This situation gradually changed, however, as the **American Revolution**, then the **French Revolution**, the major problems created by prolonged war, and increasing industrialization and urbanization divided Parliament into larger political groupings held together by differing ideologies and competing policies. By the late eighteenth century there were two major parties: the more conservative **Tories**, led by William Pitt, and the more liberal **Whigs**, led by Charles James **Fox**. By 1815 most peers and MPs enlisted under these party banners, and few were truly independent of party affiliations.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### Parthenopean Republic (1799)

The Parthenopean Republic was a state established in **Naples** in January 1799 by French revolutionary forces under General Championnet and liberal Neapolitans, many from the intelligentsia, following the flight of the Bourbon king, Ferdinand IV (later Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies). The name derived from *Parthenope*, the ancient name of Naples.

After the outbreak of the **French Revolution**, Neapolitan liberals corresponded with French patriotic societies, and local Masonic lodges were converted into anti-monarchist Jacobin Clubs. In 1798, Ferdinand joined the Second Coalition against **France**. Unable to halt the advancing French army, Naples fell and Ferdinand escaped to Sicily.

In February 1799, Cardinal Ruffo counterattacked in Calabria with royalist troops known as *Sanfedisti*. By June, royalists recaptured Naples, largely due to military setbacks suffered by the French army in northern Italy and their subsequent evacuation of Naples in May. A British fleet under Nelson also assisted royalist Neapolitans, who overthrew the republic and restored Ferdinand to the throne. The king carried out brutal reprisals against former revolutionaries, thus bringing the **Enlightenment** in Naples to a bloody close. *See also* French Revolutionary Wars; Italy, Impact of Revolutionary Ideas on.

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ERIC MARTONE

### Paterson, William (1745–1806)

William Paterson was a **New Jersey** jurist, a delegate to the United States **Constitutional Convention** of 1787, and an associate justice of the **Supreme Court** of the United States from 1793 to 1806. The son of a shopkeeper, he was born in **Ireland** and emigrated with his parents to New Jersey in 1747. A graduate of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton), he was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1768 and was an early opponent of British imperial policy. A 1775 delegate to the New Jersey Provincial Congress, Paterson was appointed the state's attorney general in 1776, a position he occupied until 1783. In a state divided by civil war, Paterson successfully maintained the legal system, and his prominence led to his appointment as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Paterson believed the **Articles of Confederation** were weak, but he remained attached to the notion of equal state representation in **Congress**. An opponent of James **Madison's** Virginia Plan, Paterson was the main author of the New Jersey

Plan, which he introduced to the Convention in June 1787. The smaller state's wish to preserve its equal representation in Congress nearly disrupted the Convention, but Paterson willingly served on the Grand Committee that drafted the Connecticut Plan. This proposed that the lower house be based upon proportional representation but that each state would be equally represented in the **Senate**. Paterson was happy with this compromise and became an ardent supporter for the ratification of the new constitution.

As a senator to the first United States Senate, Paterson played a crucial role in the drafting of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which created the federal judiciary system. From 1790 to 1793 he served as governor of New Jersey, and in March 1793 President George **Washington** appointed Paterson to the Supreme Court. A staunch Federalist, Paterson championed the powers of the federal government over state law, and he attracted the hatred of many Republicans for presiding over a number of trials as a circuit judge regarding the Whiskey Rebellion and the later prosecution of Congressman Matthew Lyon for sedition in 1798. Paterson concurred in the landmark decision of *Marbury vs. Madison* (1803), which enunciated the doctrine of federal judicial review. Paterson died in Albany, New York, in 1806. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Constitutions, American State; Jefferson, Thomas; United States Constitution.

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RORY T. CORNISH

### *Patrie en Danger*

*Patrie en danger* (the nation in danger) was a state of national emergency declared by the French **Legislative Assembly** on July 11, 1792, at the behest of the Girondin political faction. The **Girondins**, a group of moderate republicans, had declared war on **Austria** (soon joined by Prussia) on April 21, 1792. The French army, stripped of many of its most qualified officers by emigration, was unprepared for war. By June the war had become a disaster. A Prussian army was on the road to Paris, where the crowds were in ferment. In response, the Legislative Assembly declared a state of emergency; all government institutions (both national and local) were ordered to remain in session for the duration of the emergency and ordered to raise and arm volunteers. Citizens were ordered to wear the tricolor cockade on pain of arrest. It was within the context of this state of emergency that the government, known as the **National Convention**, would undertake a far-reaching reorganization of the French armed forces in 1793, including what arguably constituted the first modern form conscription, the *levée en masse*. *See also* French Revolution; French Revolutionary Wars; Reign of Terror.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON

## Patriotism

Patriotism is the notion that love of one's country is virtuous, conducive to civil cohesion and the cultivation of a spirit of liberty, and inimical to corruption and factionalism. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, patriotism was often politically radical and qualitatively very different from late nineteenth-century nationalism. In contrast to the xenophobic jingoism common to Europe after the **Napoleonic Wars**, patriotic sentiment was not necessarily anti-cosmopolitan in spirit but instead served as a vehicle for creating a sense of community, either in veiled criticism of dynastic corruption or open opposition to monarchical despotism.

The patriotic ideal of community often recalled the Greek polis or Roman *patria*. It was utilitarian, practical, and liberal and concerned with asserting individual rights against tyranny—yet often carried with it a sense of selfless service on the part of free men to their political community. To the participants and enthusiasts of the **Boston Tea Party**, an evening's vandalism of the sort that prompted Samuel Johnson to dub patriotism the “last refuge of a scoundrel,” the action was a collective act of free men asserting their natural rights against tyranny. At its most extreme, the cosmopolitan conceit of patriotism in revolutionary America is captured in Thomas **Jefferson's** argument that the **American Revolution** was for all humankind. American nationhood was based not on common origin but rather on the fact that its citizens were of “one heart and one mind” and its invention was to be the first step toward a republican millennium in which self-governing peoples around the world would join in peaceful and prosperous union.

In the case of **France**, the identification of a revolutionary cause with classical ideals of patriotic devotion was even more self-conscious—and self-indulgent. The revolutionary generation found stirring role models from the Roman Republic, such as Junius Brutus, who had executed his own sons for their involvement in a royalist plot, and in the incorruptible Scipio Africanus, who conquered Carthage. The virtues, real and imagined, of republican antiquity assumed a central place in the cultural construction of **citizenship**. Admiration of classical **republicanism** tended to reinforce the revolutionaries' prevailing notions of the sources of corruption (luxury and greed) and the pillars of virtue (frugality and fraternity). The most spectacular expression both of the patriotic spirit of the 1780s and of the gathering fervor of revolution was Jacques-Louis **David's** *Oath of the Horatii*, with its celebration of masculine determination in martial self-sacrifice. The outstretched arms of the figures in the painting later became the standard gesture for taking a revolutionary oath. Simon Schama has noted that the painting presaged a good deal of the near future even as it depicted an idealized past. Whereas public virtue had been hitherto “nursed in the bosom of a tender family, it had now been weaned to an attitude of brutal defiance.”

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

## Peltier, Jean-Gabriel (1765–1825)

Jean-Gabriel Peltier, a prolific anti-revolutionary journalist during the **French Revolution**, was born into a wealthy family in Nantes. Peltier moved to Paris in the

mid-1780s and struggled in the banking business before coming to prominence as an opponent of the Revolution. As editor of the satirical *Actes des Apôtres* (*Acts of the Apostles*), which began publication in November 1789 and continued until diminishing readership led to bankruptcy in 1792, Peltier became a leading counterrevolutionary figure.

Following the execution of **Louis XVI** in August 1792 and the subsequent repression of royalist opposition, Peltier fled to London, where he continued to criticize the Revolution. Despite moments of financial comfort earned from subscriptions to his journals and occasional subsidies from various European governments, Peltier still often struggled with debt and legal problems—namely, a libel conviction for his attacks against **Napoleon**. Nonetheless, Peltier continued to condemn the Revolution in print. After the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, Peltier returned to **France**, where he died in 1825 in difficult financial straits.

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ADAM C. STANLEY

## Pennsylvania

From the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) through the **American Revolution** and after, the colony founded by William Penn in 1681 was awash in political change. In



The Continental Army encampment at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania during the bitter winter of 1777–1778. *Library of Congress.*

the second half of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania transformed from a Quaker province loyal to the Crown into a theater of French and British imperial rivalry, a hotbed of colonial protest, and a political center in the emerging United States.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War (known in America as the French and Indian War, where it began two years earlier than in Europe), a result of competing British and French land claims, ended a long period of peace in Pennsylvania. The French had been constructing Fort Duquesne (in present-day Pittsburgh) at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, a location crucial to controlling the Old **Northwest**. A skirmish at Jumonville's Glen in western Pennsylvania quickly transformed into a transcontinental war. French and Indian attacks ravaged the Pennsylvania frontier, and the long-standing Quaker leadership weathered intense criticism for its pacifism. The so-called Holy Experiment came to an end when seven Quakers resigned from the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756.

**Britain's** victory in 1763 led to new tensions in the colonies. Indians living in the Ohio Valley continued to resist British control after the French withdrawal. Pontiac's Rebellion sowed fear across western Pennsylvania and **Virginia** and brought violent retaliation from groups like the Paxton Boys, who raided a Conestoga Indian village near Lancaster. **Parliament** tried to reduce Anglo-Indian violence through the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited settlement west of the Appalachians. The law angered many colonists who felt they had a right to western land, especially the largely Scots-Irish and German communities on Pennsylvania's war-torn frontier.

The cost of defending the colonies prompted Parliament to pass a series of laws to raise revenue in America. Many members of Pennsylvania's Quaker and Proprietary parties viewed the new laws as hostile to their traditional liberties; they joined a growing movement in opposition to royal policies, whose subscribers came to be known across the colonies as Whigs. In response to the **Stamp Act** (1765), Whigs in Pennsylvania supported a mob that violently intimidated Philadelphia's stamp distributor. They also sent John **Dickinson** to the **Stamp Act Congress**, where he drafted the meeting's resolutions. When Parliament issued the **Townshend Acts** (1767), Dickinson penned the first major colonial opposition in a widely reprinted series of letters. To thwart the **Tea Act** (1773), a Philadelphia committee compelled the local tea agents to resign. After Parliament enacted the **Coercive Acts** (1774), American Whigs organized the first meeting of the **Continental Congress** in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia's location in the middle of the eastern seaboard and status as the largest colonial city made it a hub for the budding rebellion. In 1774, the Continental Congress sanctioned a boycott and the organization of colonial associations. Pennsylvania's Provisional Congress met in 1775 and established the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence, an extralegal body that circumvented the authority of the pro-British Pennsylvania Assembly. Throughout the Revolution, Philadelphia remained the home of the Continental Congress, with the State House (later renamed Independence Hall) providing the backdrop for the signing of the **Declaration of Independence** and the passage of the **Articles of Confederation**. Thomas **Paine's** publication of *Common Sense* in Philadelphia, American losses at the Battle of Brandywine, and George **Washington's** encampment at Valley Forge helped inspire the fledgling American identity. Pennsylvanians were also among the war's leaders: Anthony Wayne commanded the Pennsylvania line, Robert Morris served as

the superintendent of finance, and Benjamin **Franklin**—the most famous American of his day—helped negotiate the **Franco-American alliance** (1778) and the Treaty of Paris (1783).

During the war, Pennsylvania grappled with fundamental questions of political, religious, and personal liberty. In 1776, the radical Constitutionalist Party used its control of the Pennsylvania legislature to adopt a state constitution permitting universal white male suffrage and requiring a loyalty oath. The widening electorate marked a progression of democratic ideology. But the oath, an attempt to reign in the state's many **Loyalists** and neutrals, like the Quakers, Moravians, and Mennonites (whose religious doctrines proscribed political oaths), limited religious freedom in the historically tolerant colony. The legislature also confronted the issue of human bondage, passing the first American antislavery law on March 1, 1780. The Constitutionals' failed economic program, however, propelled the Federalists, who favored a stronger national government managed by well-born leaders, to power with the election of Dickinson to Pennsylvania's presidency in 1782.

Federalist control of Pennsylvania figured prominently in the shaping of the United States government. The weaknesses of the **Articles of Confederation** as a blueprint for a nation prompted the meeting of the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia in 1787. The leaders of Pennsylvania's delegation, Benjamin Franklin and Gouverneur **Morris**, played key roles in the debates that produced the **United States Constitution** in September 1787. Three months later, over the objections of the Anti-Federalists, who preferred greater local autonomy, the state became the second to ratify the new government. In 1790, Pennsylvania adopted a revised state constitution based on the federal model, and Philadelphia became the nation's temporary capital.

Not all of Pennsylvania's inhabitants approved of the expansion of federal power. For Native Americans, American independence brought new encroachments on their territory; violence between settlers and Indians menaced Pennsylvania's frontier until the Treaty of Greenville (1795) ended fighting in the Ohio Valley. The Federalist vision also met with intense internal opposition in the 1790s, especially from those who identified with the Democratic-Republicans (political descendants of the Anti-Federalists). Pennsylvania's rural citizens mounted the Whiskey Rebellion (1794) and Fries's Rebellion (1798–1799), both in response to federal taxation. These events tested the authority of the national government, which cowed the resisters with the United States Army. The trials that resulted helped define the federal-state relationship in the United States and narrowed the American definition of treason, significantly widening the permissible range of political dissent.

Combined with unpopular national policies, the failed uprisings in Pennsylvania eroded the Federalists' popularity. A Democratic-Republican majority arose during the election of 1800, the same year the capital moved to Washington, D.C. By 1808, several Republican factions were vying for control, a shift that illuminated a significant ideological change that had taken place over the previous 50 years. By the early nineteenth century, Pennsylvanians largely rejected the idea of an American aristocracy, discarding the deferential politics practiced by the British and preferred by the Federalists in favor of a government that allowed common and middling men to supervise their own interests. *See also* Constitutions, American State; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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ROBERT LEE

### Pétion de Villeneuve, Jérôme (1756–1793)

Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve was the son of an attorney at the local bailiwick of Chartres. His father was the local presiding judge. He took great care in providing his son with a good classical education from the Collège des Oratoriens in Vendôme and the Collège de Chartres, where Pétion met his future colleague and friend Jean-Pierre **Brissot**. Following in his father's footsteps, he was a lawyer by age 25 and, by 1789, had risen to the position of subdelegate to the intendant of Chartres.

Clearly influenced by **Enlightenment** ideas, Pétion began writing radical propaganda in the early 1780s. His first work, *Les lois civiles* (1782), attacked not only the current state of the law in **France**, but an entire society. In it, he demanded a transformation of the French legal system, including the election of judges and the abolition of the venality of offices. He approved of divorce in his second book, *Essai sur le mariage* (1785). Pétion's treatise, *Avis au Français* (1788), was a virulent condemnation of every institution of the Old Regime. Like his earlier works, it fiercely denounced the institutions of the Old Regime but this time went much further in that it set out the plan for a regenerated society.

Pétion was elected the first of two deputies to the **Estates-General** on March 20, 1789. A prominent deputy in the **National Assembly**, he was a member of five committees: Editorial, Constitution, Avignon, Revision of the Constitution, and Research. He was secretary twice (1789 and 1791) and president once (1790). Pétion signed the **Tennis Court Oath** and was one of the deputies assigned to accompany the royal family back to Paris after they were captured at **Varennes**. He formed part of the extreme Left, always a tiny minority of the Assembly, with Maximilien **Robespierre** and François **Buzot**. They insisted on the right of the sovereign people to assert its authority, even against the will of the Assembly. Pétion was also an active and prominent member of the Jacobin Club.

Active in municipal politics between 1791 and 1792, Pétion was elected mayor of Paris on November 11, 1791, replacing the Marquis de **Lafayette**. Suspended from his functions after the armed demonstration of June 20, 1792, Pétion was enormously popular with the Parisian people, receiving a thunderous ovation on Bastille Day 1792. During the insurrection of August 9–10, Pétion and his deputy, Manuel, were the only members of the former Paris Commune who remained at their posts.

Elected deputy to the **National Convention** from Eure-et-Loire, Pétion was the first president of the National Convention, receiving 235 out of 253 votes. Pétion sat with the Girondin faction and became increasingly critical of Robespierre and the more radical **Mountain**. During the trial of **Louis XVI**, he voted for the referendum, for death but with reprieve. Expelled from the Convention on June 2, Pétion fled to Caen, where he unsuccessfully tried to foment a federalist uprising. With his colleague Buzot, he escaped to Saint-Emilion in the Gironde, where they committed suicide. Their bodies were found on June 18, 1794, partially eaten by wolves. *See also* French Revolution; Girondins; Jacobins.



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LEIGH WHALEY

## Philippe Egalité

See Orléans, Louis Philippe Joseph, Duc d'

## Philosophes

Alternately acclaimed and vilified for their presumed role in fomenting the stirrings of discontent that culminated in the **French Revolution**, the philosophes have lately received acquittal from historians who have focused on immediate political, economic, fiscal, and social crises as the causes for the Revolution. After all, these historians have argued, relatively few members of elected assemblies or other important revolutionary bodies actually owned copies of Jean-Jacques **Rousseau's** *The Social Contract*. Yet even if the philosophes should neither bear blame nor enjoy credit for causing the Revolution, they did indeed contribute to the circulation of new ideas, the popularization of critical reasoning, and the spread of a willingness both to question tradition and to propose alternatives.

The label of philosophe may describe a range of individuals who participated in the intellectual and cultural activities grouped together as the **Enlightenment**. Writing in French, men such as Denis **Diderot**, Jean d'**Alembert**, the Marquis de **Condorcet**, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, **Voltaire**, Julien Offroy de La Mettrie, and Baron d'**Holbach** shared a penchant for analyzing their culture and for recommending an assortment of changes that would augment human happiness on earth. They did not agree about the nature or existence of God, but they almost all rejected the hierarchy and worldly power of the Roman Catholic Church. Instead, they preferred a more individualized form of religious experience. They did not all adopt an optimistic conception of human nature, but almost all put enormous stock in the value of education and the effects of society on the development of the individual. They pondered what characterized human nature and recommended ways to elicit the most positive responses from it. They varied in their value judgments about the technological and aesthetic trends of their day. On the other hand, they concurred in the belief that science (whether applied or theoretical) and art exercised important influences on their culture.

In their philosophical writings, many of them exploited literary devices such as man imagined in a state of nature (possibly in some supposedly real New World or Pacific island setting) or a utopian society of the future. The literary proclivities of the philosophes tend to render them less philosophically rigorous in the eyes of scholars. On the other hand, the accessibility of their texts made it feasible for other best-selling writers of the literary underground to distill their ideas and adopt their critical stance. Thus, the philosophes indirectly reached even readers of pornography and popular adventure stories. In effect, the French revolutionaries did

not need to have read the texts published by La Mettrie or Rousseau, though many probably were familiar with his extremely popular books *Julie* and *Emile*, for such philosophes to have influenced their attitudes.

The critical reasoning deployed by philosophes Diderot, d'Alembert, and others involved in the creation of the *Encyclopédie* had political effects because it entailed an assertion of intellectual authority by individuals not affiliated with church or Crown. Educated subjects of the French king had appropriated the power to accept or reject any age-old custom or contemporary more that seemed to transgress reason. The philosophes could exploit the steadily growing book, pamphlet, and periodical presses of the eighteenth century to communicate with the public. Official censorship hindered but could not entirely prevent the acquisition of forbidden books published in countries such as Switzerland and the **Netherlands**. Hence, philosophes could pen trenchant criticisms of the church and anticipate that their words might find at least a small audience, even if they risked imprisonment by doing so. Ultimately, censorship did not prevent the philosophes from setting the intellectual tone of the eighteenth century.

Their interrogations of contemporary attitudes and practices revealed the extent to which eighteenth-century French society was a human product. Their knowledge—whether acquired directly or, more typically, through reading—of other societies with quite different mores furthered their appreciation for the weight of culture upon the individual. For many, what they believed to be nature was superior to culture—or, at least, to their own culture. When they contemplated the flaws in the religious practices of their day, such writers tended to conclude that only a naturalistic religion—one in which all precepts stemmed from nature and enlightened self-interest—could provide spiritual sustenance while eliminating any cause for conflict.

The philosophes almost uniformly condemned the dogmatic religion advocated by the Roman Catholic Church, and many subscribed to some form of deism. This suited men who could not explain the universe except as the product of God yet wished to believe that misery and injustice had human causes and, thus, human solutions. In general, their texts advocated tolerance and rejected fanaticism, as exemplified by Voltaire's *Treatise on Tolerance* and *Candide*. Most of the many trials faced by Candide in his journey around the world stemmed from man's ill-treatment of his fellow men, often as a consequence of fanatical religious belief or an inability to accept cultural difference. Voltaire rejected any interpretation of Christianity that involved predestination, pessimism, the Incarnation, or a vengeful God. Rather, he believed that the true, remote nature of God would become apparent in a society that operated according to a combination of individual self-interest and benevolence. Rousseau, on the other hand, suggested that God revealed himself through nature and reason. He dismissed revelation, though he himself ascribed to the divinity of Christ. He recommended that the leaders of a republic promulgate a civil religion based upon principles such as "the existence of God, Providence, sanctity of contract and laws, intolerance only of the intolerant."

The *Encyclopédie*, edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, is thought by many to encapsulate the achievements, interests, and attitudes of the philosophes. The array of articles in the *Encyclopédie* evidence their authors' fascination with historical treatments of subjects related to Christianity, the church, mythology, and morality. The deployment of this historical perspective enabled contributors to indicate the extent to

which eighteenth-century practices deviated from those of previous generations. By tracing the history of various bibles and gospels, the philosophes indicated the need to use critical judgment when considering religious truths. Articles also discussed artisanal activities, such as porcelain making and printing; ethical concerns, such as adultery and pride; and legal or juridical concepts, such as freedom of conscience. In its 32 volumes (21 of text, 11 of illustrations) published over more than two decades, the *Encyclopédie* features 70,000 articles. They were written, according to the title page, by a “society of men of letters,” who collectively hoped to gather and spread the knowledge necessary to change how people typically acted and thought. Authors typically considered to be the leading lights among the philosophes, such as Voltaire, the Marquis de Condillac, Rousseau, and Charles de **Montesquieu**, not to mention Diderot and d’Alembert themselves, contributed articles. The controversy over the book’s perceived **anti-clericalism** and atheism, not necessarily borne out by the entire volume, helped it to sell copies, even though it was officially banned.

Women did not often publish philosophical works in the eighteenth century, but they did facilitate the work of the philosophes. As *salonnières*, Julie de Lespinasse, Madame de Geoffrin, Suzanne Necker, and other refined, wealthy women facilitated debate and invited their guests to read selections from their work. They created an environment in which men with strong convictions could discuss their ideas and gain publicity for forthcoming publications. In the years leading up to the Revolution, such **salons** became a haven for political debates.

Some individuals both wrote and helped others to promulgate their works. Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron d’Holbach, not only contributed articles to the *Encyclopédie* on chemistry and geology, but he also provided a forum for most of the important thinkers and writers who passed through Paris in the mid-eighteenth century. His weekly salons and his patronage encouraged Diderot, the abbé Raynal, and Claude-Adrien Helvétius, among many others, to express their radical opinions in print. His activity as an intermediary between French intellectuals and foreign visitors with philosophical leanings, including David **Hume**, contributed to the energy of debate during the Enlightenment and fostered some of its more politically and religiously radical notions. Holbach appeared in Rousseau’s *La nouvelle Héloïse* in the guise of a virtuous atheist. However, Holbach actually published his own controversial books, in which he elaborated his materialist philosophy, anonymously.

Holbach’s utilitarian ethics, whereby one acts virtuously solely for the sake of happiness and according to which the state exists essentially to promote general happiness, formed the basis of an implicit critique of the existing regime and a possible argument in favor of revolution. The philosophes typically agreed with the essence of those ethical principles, emphasizing the extent to which people could create their own happiness by following their inclinations toward generosity and empathy. Etienne de Condillac and Helvétius both accounted for human activity by analyzing the interaction between the body and its environment. They argued that all human faculties arose from our physiology, and they dismissed the hypothesis that humans differ from animals due to their possession of a soul. Stripped of its religious or spiritual sense, anxiety became a neurological response to a perceived threat in the environment that spurred people to action. La Mettrie went so far as to describe man as a machine and undertook a “natural history of the soul.” Such thoroughgoing materialism was hardly widespread or enthusiastically received by the public, however: the furor provoked by La Mettrie’s assertions that the “farce”

of life was finished at death prompted him to leave Paris in favor of the Netherlands and then Prussia, where **Frederick II** appointed him court reader and allowed him to continue his medical practice.

Some of the philosophes attempted to practice what they preached. Voltaire has earned acclaim as possibly the first public intellectual for his involvement in efforts to reverse an unjust verdict against Jean Calas and to raise awareness of flaws in the French judicial system. Helvétius worked for several years as a tax farmer until he earned a fortune sufficient for him to retire to the countryside, where he engaged in efforts to help the poor, improve agriculture, and encourage industry.

Whether they tackled happiness or anxiety, politics or religion, art or nature, the philosophes approached their topics from the perspective of humans and life in this world. Happiness, they tended to suggest, stemmed from using reason to control one's passions, living in the countryside surrounded by friends and civilized pleasures, and making good use of one's time. By questioning the suitability of traditional behaviors and established institutions for promoting happiness in this life, philosophes created an environment propitious for revolutionary aspirations and for revolution itself.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

## Physiocrats

A controversial group of (largely) French scholars known to their contemporaries as the *Economistes*, the Physiocrats advanced a novel approach to understanding human economic activity, stressing the unique productivity of agriculture, the benefits of free trade, and the value of a simplified tax assessment and collection. In this way, they posed a forceful challenge to **ancien régime** mercantilist practices yet also championed the cause of enlightened absolute monarchy, the backing of which was necessary for realizing the reforms advocated by the movement. Inspired chiefly by the French court physician François Quesnay (1694–1774), Physiocracy flourished in the 1760s, attracting the support of notable luminaries such as Victor Mirabeau (1715–1789), Pierre-Paul Mercier de la Rivière (1719–1801), and Pierre-Samuel **Du Pont de Nemours** (1739–1817).

Physiocratic ideals partly underlay the economic reforms implemented by Anne-Robert-Jacques **Turgot** (1727–1781) during his tenure as controller general of finances from 1774 to 1776. The death of Quesnay in 1774, savage attacks by able writers like Ferdinando Galiani (1728–1787), and persistent crises following the liberalization of the grain trade in 1763–1764 all contributed to the decline of the movement by the mid-1770s.

Drawing upon his medical expertise, Quesnay believed that the regularities and physical functions operative in the natural world disclosed a natural order (*ordre naturel*) that existed independently of human convention (*ordre positif*). He and his

followers advocated Physiocracy (“rule of nature”) as a means of harmonizing human society with this natural order, claiming that careful investigation of the latter revealed principles of wise government, which, if followed, would ensure a secure supply of food, raw materials, and wealth. Physiocratic doctrine prioritized agricultural production, maintaining that economic productivity derived solely from natural powers, the products of which generated a surplus of value over the human labor deployed. Furthermore, it asserted that only a policy of free trade would enable a society to prosper in accordance with the natural order. Consequently, the Physiocrats criticized mercantilist policies that regulated trade and sought to augment industry and stockpile precious metals at the expense of landed ventures. In 1758, Quesnay illustrated the basic points of Physiocracy in the form of a *Tableau économique*, or economic table, showing the centrality of agricultural production and depicting abstractly the flow of goods and revenue derived from it throughout the various classes of society. Modified in successive years, Quesnay’s *Tableau* helped the Physiocrats advance their positions and is considered to be an important milestone in the development of scientific economics.

The Physiocrats advocated abolishing the complicated system of **privileges**, customs duties, trade barriers, and state regulation that characterized the economic practices of the ancien régime. They proposed simplifying taxation by reducing it to the collection of a single tax on the net income of land (*impôt unique*). Despite the radical nature of these proposals, the Physiocrats were not revolutionaries, but **philosophes** possessing a strong faith in the capacity of enlightened government to realize rational reform for the sake of economic well-being. While Physiocratic reforms proved difficult to implement in practice, the ideals they championed persisted as influential legacies in the areas of economic science, free trade, and rational reform.

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RICHARD BOWLER

### **Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth (1746–1825)**

A **South Carolina** politician during the colonial and early national periods famous for his role during the XYZ Affair of 1797–1798, Pinckney was the first son of Charles (a planter) and Eliza Lucas Pinckney. In 1753 the family moved to London when Charles was named South Carolina’s colonial agent. In 1764 Charles Cotesworth graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, and completed his study of law at London’s Middle Temple. In 1769 Pinckney passed the bar, returned to South Carolina, and was elected to the Commons House of Assembly. During the imperial crisis, Pinckney joined the Patriot cause. In 1775 the Provincial Congress elected Pinckney a captain in the First South Carolina Regiment. In 1776 he took part in the successful defense of Charleston and was promoted to colonel. Following a temporary stint on George **Washington**’s staff, he served in a failed attack on St. Augustine and in the unsuccessful defenses of Savannah and Charleston. Pinckney was imprisoned after the fall of Charleston; he was exchanged in 1782 and promoted to general.

After the war, Pinckney returned to the state legislature, which selected him as a delegate to the **Constitutional Convention**. At the convention, Pinckney helped negotiate the compromises over the eventual abolition of the slave trade, and the structure of and representation for the national legislature. Pinckney defended the **United States Constitution** in South Carolina. After declining numerous offers for national office from President Washington, Pinckney accepted the post of minister to **France** in 1796, though the French refused to accept his commission. In 1797 Pinckney was named head of a three-man commission to France. The mission culminated in the XYZ Affair, in which the French demanded a bribe to continue negotiations, which Pinckney refused. President John **Adams** appointed Pinckney major general responsible for defending the South during the Quasi-War with France. Pinckney was an unsuccessful Federalist vice-presidential candidate in 1800, and the party's presidential candidate in the elections of 1804 and 1808. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON

### Pinckney, Thomas (1750–1828)

A **South Carolina** politician during the colonial and early national periods who negotiated Pinckney's Treaty (1795) with **Spain**, Pinckney was the second son of Charles (a planter) and Eliza Lucas Pinckney. Like his older brother, Charles Cotesworth **Pinckney**, Thomas graduated from Oxford and the Middle Temple. He returned to South Carolina in 1774 and was admitted to the bar. Early in the **American Revolution**, Pinckney became a captain in his brother's regiment and served as a major in a failed attack on St. Augustine and the defenses of St. Augustine and Charleston. In 1780 he was wounded at the Battle of Camden, captured, and held prisoner for a year. From 1787 to 1789 he served two terms as governor of South Carolina and was sent as one of the state's delegates to the **Constitutional Convention**. In May 1788 he was elected president of the state's ratifying convention. In 1791 President George **Washington** named Pinckney minister plenipotentiary to **Britain**. In 1795, as envoy extraordinary to Spain, he negotiated Pinckney's Treaty (the Treaty of San Lorenzo), which allowed Americans to use New Orleans as a transshipment point (thus giving unfettered access to the Mississippi) and settled the boundary between the United States and Spanish territories in the Southeast. In 1796, Pinckney was an unsuccessful Federalist candidate for vice president. In 1797–1801 he was a representative to **Congress**. During the War of 1812, Pinckney served as a major general.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON

### Pitt, William (the Elder)

*See* Chatham, Pitt, William (the Elder), Earl of

## Pitt, William (the Younger) (1759–1806)

Born on May 28, 1759, at the height of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Pitt was the second son of William Pitt the Elder, later Earl of **Chatham**. The younger Pitt was a sickly child, but intelligent and well tutored, and showed particular aptitude in mathematics and the classics. For his university study he was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and was called to the bar shortly after his father died in 1778. In January 1781, at the age of only 21, Pitt was elected to **Parliament**, where he immediately demonstrated a gift for oratory. He generally supported the faction led by Lord Shelburne but like many of his colleagues maintained a certain independence in politics in an age when clearly defined parties had yet to emerge in **Britain**. He was prominent among those members of the Commons who advocated parliamentary reform, particularly with respect to the proper representation of boroughs based on the number of actual voters, which they contained.

In July 1782, at the age of only 23, Pitt became, on Shelburne's invitation, chancellor of the exchequer and the government's leader in the House of Commons. His period in government was, however, short lived, for Shelburne left office in February 1783 as a result of his ministry's proposals for peace with the 13 former colonies as the **American Revolutionary War** was winding down. When **George III** requested that Pitt form a government, Pitt refused; instead, Lord **North** and Charles James **Fox** formed a coalition, which collapsed—much to the king's satisfaction, as he hated Fox—in December over Fox's bill on the reform of the East India Company. Pitt, still only 24, now entered office as prime minister (technically, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, as the title "prime minister" was not yet in common use). Pitt, however, was not in a strong position, for he possessed few reliable political adherents with whom to fill cabinet posts and enjoyed only a modicum of support in the House of Commons. Still, he managed to win over many independent members whom the Foxite faction had itself hoped to attract, and in the general election of 1785 Pitt soundly beat all opposition.

The fact that Pitt would remain in office for the next 16 years is testimony to his steadfastness and popularity in Parliament. He immediately set to tackling the problem of the national debt, which had accumulated as a result of the war in America. Through new taxation schemes and the reform of the Sinking Fund in 1786, the young prime minister placed the nation's finances in order, though these measures would within a decade be overturned by the massive cost of waging war with France beginning in 1793. In foreign affairs, Pitt sought to recover **Britain's** prominent diplomatic position in Europe after the loss of the American colonies. With respect to government policy on **India**—in view of changed circumstances in the Empire, hereafter Britain's greatest colonial asset—Pitt disarmed the attacks launched by Fox and Edmund **Burke** in the House of Commons by the surprising expedient of taking their side. Political fortune did not always turn in Pitt's favor, however; after three failed attempts to introduce parliamentary reform—the last effort coming in April 1785—Pitt abandoned the issue altogether. He also took up the cause against slavery, supporting the efforts of his friend William **Wilberforce**. Here, too, he would not live long enough to see the dividends of his work. Still, by the end of the decade Pitt had established a virtually unchallenged supremacy in the Commons, with the sole danger arising out of the king's temporary bout of mental illness in 1788. If the king had been found incapable of carrying on, his son, George, Prince of Wales, was to have

served as regent—a disturbing prospect for Pitt, for the Prince was a close friend of Fox and would certainly have replaced Pitt with a Whig government.

While in its initial stages, the **French Revolution** was viewed by Pitt as likely to preoccupy **France** with its own internal matters for many years to come—and consequently was unlikely to disturb British pursuits abroad—in fact the growing radicalism of the Revolution and the threat it posed to its neighbors led Pitt toward confrontation with France by the end of 1792. Specifically, the revolutionaries' declared promise of aid to those seeking to overthrow their monarchical regimes and the presence of French troops both in **Belgium** and the Rhineland rendered conflict inevitable. Because Pitt believed—quite erroneously—that revolution abroad would spell inevitable revolution at home, he led a concerted campaign against radical movements, stamping out political dissent and ordering the arrest of many members of the more radically inclined reform organizations. But if the prime minister could contain his domestic foes, he failed to subdue those abroad, for, in marked contrast to his illustrious father, he proved a poor strategist, frittering away troops in peripheral operations that, with a few notable exceptions, did little to benefit Britain's allies, all of whom eventually broke away from the alliances carefully constructed by British diplomats. Despite heavy subsidy payments to Britain's continental allies, Pitt could not engineer military victories on their behalf, and they nearly all sought separate treaties of peace with France, while Britain remained protected by the Channel and the Royal Navy. In particular, Prussia and **Spain** left the First Coalition in 1795, while **Austria** abandoned it in 1797.

Pitt easily won the 1796 general election and for the remainder of the decade stood in the political ascendant, enjoying the king's confidence and the respect, if not the affection, of the nation. The war took a great financial toll on the treasury, and in 1797 the Bank of England could no longer offer cash payments, obliging Pitt to introduce an income tax the following year. The fortunes of war shifted to a limited extent in 1798 as a result of Admiral Nelson's defeat of the French in the Mediterranean, and by early the following year—very much with Pitt's inspiration—Britain had constructed a Second Coalition, which included Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. A major British military expedition in 1801 expelled the French from Egypt, but in Europe Napoleon had already triumphed over Austria the previous year, obliging Britain to seek a disadvantageous peace at Amiens, the negotiations of which were undertaken by Henry Addington, who succeeded to office in February 1801 after Pitt resigned.

Paradoxically, despite the poor military showing of the two coalitions that he had largely constructed and financed, Pitt did not leave office over the failure of his war policy, but rather over the thorny question of Catholic emancipation. Government posts, the officer corps of the army, and parliamentary seats were all barred to Roman Catholics, to whom the franchise had only been extended as recently as 1793. Violent agitation and unrest in various forms had become an increasing feature of Irish politics in the 1790s, and in 1798, actual rebellion, backed by military assistance from France, broke out. While the revolt in **Ireland** was suppressed—indeed, brutally so—by government authorities and the army, Pitt believed that the best way of preventing civil war was the creation of a formal union between Britain and Ireland, with their respective parliaments joined as one at Westminster. In addition to this—and the central point on which he fell afoul of the king—Pitt advocated full emancipation for Catholics. Despite Pitt's insistence that their numbers



in Parliament would be too few to challenge the Protestant ascendancy, the king bitterly opposed the idea of emancipation as part of any scheme of Union. Pitt promised not to raise the issue again, but when in the wake of the Union in January 1801 he and his ministers again sought to bring forward Catholic emancipation, the king considered himself betrayed, and Pitt resigned the following month.

Pitt supported Addington's ministry, particularly with respect to the negotiations, which, after nine years of conflict, brought peace between Britain and France at Amiens in March 1802. Nevertheless, as the terms gradually revealed themselves to be considerably more favorable to French interests, both in strategic and commercial terms, Pitt increasingly distanced himself from the new government. Indeed, in 1803–1804 Pitt and many of his former political allies, including Lord Grenville and Henry Dundas, criticized Addington's policies, particularly his conduct of the war.

The government could not sustain itself under the increasing weight of parliamentary opposition, and by May 1804 Pitt was back in Downing Street, albeit unable to recruit into his cabinet the broad cross-section of supporters that he desired—and consequently the government he did construct lacked much of the available talent. In particular, no proper coalition composed of the most able members of the **Tory** and **Whig** factions was possible without Fox, whom the king steadfastly refused to admit to government. Yet without Fox, Grenville would not take his place in the cabinet. Anxious to bolster his flagging support in the Commons, Pitt reconciled with Addington and persuaded him to join the government at the beginning of 1805. Yet even this addition of strength could not save Pitt from a financial scandal that ruined the reputation of his friend Dundas, who was forced from office in the summer of 1805 by parliamentary accusations of the malversation of government of funds—charges later found to be unsubstantiated, but not until after Pitt's death.

This constituted a severe, though not fatal, blow to the prime minister's credibility, yet in the same year he made great strides in organizing a Third Coalition against France, which included Austria, Russia, and Sweden. Moreover, his government's naval strategy—implemented by a first-rate fighting force and led by the country's greatest admiral—utterly foiled **Napoleon's** plans for an invasion of Britain when Nelson decisively defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar on October 21. Still, Pitt's determined efforts to contain French territorial ambitions was largely undone in a day, when the French emperor defeated the Austrians and Russians at the Battle of Austerlitz on December 2. The collapse of the Third Coalition hastened the rapid decline of Pitt's health—largely attributable to years of heavy drinking and overwork—and he died in January 1806, at the age of 46.

Pitt is best remembered as a brilliant orator and a determined opponent of French imperialism. In his personal life, he had few friends, woefully neglected his personal finances (and consequently died heavily in debt, which a grateful Parliament honored), and threw himself entirely into his work—to the neglect of all other matters. He showed little ability in formulating strategy and has been heavily criticized by historians for his overzealous prosecution of those thought to have been in sympathy with Jacobinism when in fact they merely embraced the more moderate principles of the French Revolution. Yet his devotion to public service, and his success in reforming both the nation's finances and in altering for the better Britain's governance of India, is difficult to challenge. While on the domestic front Pitt failed to secure parliamentary reform or push through Catholic emancipation, his foreign policy led to the construction of three coalitions against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

Therein lies perhaps his greatest legacy: the spirit of resistance he embodied during the greatest period of national emergency prior to the twentieth century.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

### **Pius VI, Pope (1717–1799)**

Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–1799), Giovanni Angelo Braschi, attempted to maintain papal jurisdiction over the French church before, during, and after the **French Revolution** and died in captivity after the French decimated the papal administration and authority of the Roman church by imprisoning him at Valence, **France**, until he died. He was Benedict XIV's secretary, the treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber (1766), and a cardinal (1773) before ascending to the **papacy**.

Pius did not challenge the suppression of the Jesuits but did challenge ecclesiastical Gallicanism's assertions that the authority of ecumenical councils superseded papal authority, the pope was fallible, and all bishops were apostolic successors. Pius failed to forestall the Holy Roman emperor **Joseph II's** reforms (Edict of Toleration, 1781) restricting papal authority by dissolving monasteries, tolerating non-Catholic practices, redrawing diocesan boundaries, placing the seminaries under the control of the state, and limiting festivals.

Pius further weakened papal authority by allowing the emperor to nominate imperial bishops (1784) and by failing to respond to the confiscation of church assets prior to the **French Revolution**. France responded to Pius's belated rejection (1791) of the Revolution and the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** (1790) along with his suspensions of priests who accepted them and his protest against the execution of **Louis XVI** by annexing the papal territories of Avignon and Venaissin.

Pius's acceptance of the Treaty of Tolentino (1797), which ended **Napoleon's** invasion of **Italy**, cost the Vatican the territories of Avignon, Venaissin, Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna; 15 million francs; and numerous works of art. The French eventually occupied Rome (1798–1799), declared a Roman Republic, deported the Curia, and imprisoned Pius. *See also* Gallicanism; Pius VII, Pope.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### **Pius VII, Pope (1742–1823)**

Pope Pius VII (r. 1800–23), Luigi Barnaba Gregorio Chiaramonti, succeeded in partially restoring papal authority over the French church lost under **Pius VI** after

the **French Revolution**. He negotiated the **Concordat** of 1801, the terms of which required the pope to renounce claims to secularized ecclesiastical properties, reorganize the French dioceses, and require the resignation of the remaining bishops while **Napoleon's** government agreed to acknowledge Roman Catholicism as **France's** primary religion.

Pius protested the French appendix of the Concordat (Organic Articles, 1802) making papal jurisdiction contingent on the consent of the French government and attempted (1804) to have the appendices amended, but Napoleon, by then Emperor Napoleon I, sought more control over the French church. Diplomatic relations between the Papal States and France were terminated and France eventually annexed the Papal States (1809) after occupying Rome (1808). Pius was imprisoned (1809) after excommunicating the occupiers and was forced to sign a degrading concordat (1813) that he abrogated two months later. Napoleon released Pius (1814) after France's military fortunes waned.

Once restored to the **papacy** on the revival of the Pontifical States (Congress of **Vienna**, 1814–1815), Pius canceled French occupational mandates, abrogated the Organic Articles in negotiations with **Louis XVIII** after Napoleon's fall, restored the Jesuits (suppressed since 1773), reestablished the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (1817), restricted the pro-French Carbonari, reinstated the Inquisition, reinigorated relationships with the German states and **Austria** (1817–1821), condemned the Protestant Bible Societies, recognized the new Latin American states, and stood firm against anti-Catholic laws enacted by **Spain's** Ferdinand VII. Pius also increased the number of dioceses in the United States (1808).

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

## The Plain

The Plain, *Marais* in French, is the name given by historians of the **French Revolution** to a nebulous group of uncommitted deputies aligned with neither the **Mountain** nor the **Girondins** in the French **National Convention**. Bertrand **Barère de Vieuzac** is often considered to be the Plain's leading orator, though he drifted toward the Mountain over time. Members of the Plain were characterized by inconsistent voting records and a generally centrist attitude toward revolutionary politics. *See also* Jacobins.

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BENJAMIN REILLY

## Poland, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was strongly influenced by the thought of the **Enlightenment**. Starting in the 1760s, numerous publications in the spirit of the Age of Reason were published, a reform of educational system was carried out (from primary schools through universities), and serious debates concerning the reform of

the Polish-Lithuanian political system were initiated. Hindered by various obstacles such as outside interference (partitions) and domestic opposition from a large group of privileged nobles, reformers nevertheless implemented fundamental changes to Polish society during the four-year session of the parliament (1788–1792, referred to as the Four Years' Parliament). The most important reforms culminated in the constitution issued on May 3, 1791. Unfortunately, due to the opposition of a group of Polish nobles (who formed the Confederation of Targowica) backed by **Catherine II** and Russian troops, the constitution was abolished and Poland was partitioned for the second time (1793), to be wiped off the map of Europe two years later.

Since 1788 Poland had witnessed considerable activity on the part of a group of extremely radical social and political activists. They were active during the Four Years' Parliament and later during the Russian intervention, but also after the partitions. Since their ideas and activities were inspired by the **French Revolution**, their political adherents referred to them as **Jacobins**.

In 1791, the Association of Friends of the Governing Constitution was organized, which stressed the need for further social reforms, in particular the granting of rights to the burghers. Prince Adam Czartoryski, Hugo Kołłątaj, and Ignacy Potocki were among its 200 members.

The Association of Friends of National Insurrection formed in 1794 was much more radical and closer to its French Jacobin model. In May and June 1794, the group inspired demonstrations in Warsaw, which resulted in the public executions of traitors to the fatherland. When the Kościuszko Insurrection was coming to its end, radical Jacobins were taken to the military criminal court, which pronounced death sentences on many prisoners. Jacobins were also active in Lithuania, where one of the most radical of them was Jakub Jasiński, a poet and a soldier.

Polish Jacobins proclaimed the radical French ideas of equality and brotherhood, regardless of social background, race, and religion. They demanded full rights for the burghers, the enfranchisement of peasants, and even the forming of a republic in the place of a monarchy. Among the best-known Polish Jacobins were Jakub Jasiński, Józef Zajaczek, Jan Alojzy Orchowski, and Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski. After the third partition in 1795, many Jacobins remained active in conspiracies at home or emigrated. Their radical social programs invariably included a demand for Poland's independence. *See also* Poland, Partitions of; Polish Constitution; Polish Revolts.

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JAKUB BASISTA

### **Poland, Partitions of (1772, 1793, 1795)**

In three territorial divisions carried out by Russia, Prussia, and **Austria**, Poland-Lithuania, one of the largest European states, with an area of about 735,000 square kilometers in 1772, was progressively reduced until, after the final partition, it ceased to exist.

The Polish-Lithuanian state was politically weak and subject to foreign (mostly Russian) interference. Attempts to heal the situation through reforms after the 1764 election—as well as the military Confederation of Bar, organized by a group

of nobles directed against the king, Stanisław August Poniatowski—added to the confusion. A determination arose among Poland's neighbors to end the critical situation through some form of interference in Poland's affairs.

The first partition was carried out when Russia was at war with Turkey (since 1768) and Polish-Lithuanian territories disturbed by the confederates of Bar. Fearful of Russia's expansion and the domestic chaos in Poland, Austria threatened to become involved. In the end it was Prussia's initiative, which sought to avoid a deepening of the crisis, that resulted in a Russo-Prussian agreement for the partitioning of Poland in 1771, to which the Austrian empress, Maria Theresa, gave her consent. Consequently, on August 5, 1772, Russia, Prussia, and Austria signed a treaty that partitioned Poland. The treaty was ratified by the Polish parliament on September 30, 1773. Poland lost almost 30 percent of its area and over 30 percent of its population. Russia received Belarus and Livonia, and Prussia took Royal Prussia (without Gdańsk), while Austria received southern Poland (the area south of the river Vistula), shortly thereafter known as Galicia.

On May 3, 1791, Poland-Lithuania adopted a new liberal constitution, which promised a strong, well-organized state. The Russian empress, **Catherine II**, could not accept this. Providing support to a group of Polish magnates opposed to the new constitution, Catherine helped them form the Confederation of Targowica (May 14, 1792) and sent Russian forces into Poland. The resulting Russo-Polish war ended in a Prusso-Russian agreement on a second partition. On January 23, 1793, Russia and Prussia agreed on formal arrangements, which were confirmed by the Polish parliament in the summer. Poland lost 40 percent of its pre-partition territory and almost 30 percent of its population. Russia annexed the remnants of Belarus and western Ukraine, including Podolia and part of Volhynia. For her part, Prussia absorbed Great Poland, part of Mazovia, Gdańsk, and Toruń.

In response to the second partition, a national uprising under the leadership of Tadeusz Kościuszko broke out in March 1794 and lasted for eight months until it was suppressed by Russian forces. In an agreement of October 24, 1795, Russia, Prussia, and Austria divided the rest of Poland-Lithuania, though on this occasion there was no Polish parliament to confirm the division. In this third partition, Russia acquired Courland, most of Lithuania, and the rest of Volhynian Ukraine, and Prussia received the rest of Mazovia with Warsaw, and part of Lithuania, while Austria acquired the rest of Little Poland to the northeast in the direction of the River Bug.

As a result of the partitions, Poland-Lithuania was wiped off the map of Europe. Russia received 63.75 percent of its territory and 5.5 million inhabitants, Prussia received 18.27 percent of Poland's territory and 2.6 million people, and Austria gained 17.57 percent of Poland's territory and 4.2 new subjects. *See also* Poland, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on; Polish Constitution; Polish Revolts.

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JAKUB BASISTA

### **Polish Constitution (1791)**

On May 3, 1791, the Polish-Lithuanian parliament accepted a document entitled *Ustawa Rządowa* (The Governmental Act), which became the first Polish constitution.

The parliament had been in session since 1788 and is known in history as the Four Years' Parliament or the Great Parliament.

The May 3 constitution consists of an introduction and 11 articles. Together with several acts passed earlier by the parliament, it introduced a new, modernized political system devoid of the negative phenomena of the existing political system.

The text of the constitution is clear and systematic, reflecting the political thought of the Age of Reason. Articles 1–4 refer to the Catholic religion and the clergy (1), the **nobility** (2), cities and burghers, (3) and the peasantry (4). The next four articles (5–8) are devoted to the political system of Poland-Lithuania (the government, executive, legislative, and judicial powers). The last three articles discuss regency, education of royal children, and military forces.

The constitution, although based on the ideas of the **Enlightenment**, is not as democratic and radical as the earlier American and later French constitutions. Although a significant change in the granting of equal rights to all citizens took place, the new constitution retained certain **privileges** and class divisions in Polish-Lithuanian society.

The new political system was based on **Montesquieu's** division of power, which separated the executive power of the monarch from the legislative prerogatives of the parliament and independent courts. The legislative power of the monarch was weakened, while the executive became stronger. The executive was to be controlled and limited by a group of ministers.

The notorious *Liberum veto*, which allowed a single deputy to break the proceedings of any parliament, was abolished. The general election of the king by the nobles was replaced by hereditary monarchy, and the crown was offered to the Vettin dynasty of Saxony. Parliamentary rights were limited to those nobles who possessed real property, and a limited number of burghers were to sit in the new parliament. The new constitution and accompanying laws changed the system of local administration and the tax system and introduced a standing army.

The May 3 constitution limited the omnipotent power of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility in favor of government officials and the monarch, converting the country from what some historians describe as a state of anarchy into a well-ordered state. The strengthening of political power was hard to accept for some Polish nobles and Poland's neighbors. **Catherine II**, with a group of Polish nobles, organized themselves into the military confederation of Targowica and began a war to prevent the constitution from being introduced. As a result of the Russo-Polish war, the Constitution of May 3, 1791, was abolished, and in the course of the partitions of 1793 and 1795 the Polish-Lithuanian state was partitioned and wiped off the map of Europe. *See also* Poland, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on; Poland, Partitions of; Polish Revolts.

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JAKUB BASISTA

### **Polish Revolts (1768–1772, 1794)**

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed two revolts in the Polish-Lithuanian territory and a Russo-Polish war fought in an attempt to save Poland's

integrity and a newly issued constitution. The first revolt, initiated by Polish nobles in 1768 and known as the Confederation of Bar, lasted for four years and was started in defense of Polish nobles' **privileges** against **Catherine II**'s interference into Polish affairs. The second, known as the Kościuszko Insurrection, took place in 1794, after the second partition of Poland. The second of these events cannot be seen as the offspring of simultaneous revolutionary events in **France**; indeed, only some pronouncements and declarations of the Kościuszko revolt bear some resemblance to the ideas propounded by the **French Revolution**.

The Confederation of Bar was initiated by a group of nobles in Bar, in Podolia, on February 29, 1768. A confederation in early modern Poland-Lithuania was a quasi-formal association of nobles with a clearly defined program—usually aimed at attempting to win some privileges or changes from the monarch. The 1768 Confederation of Bar, initially headed by Józef Pułaski and Michał Karpiński, was at first limited to Podolia but later extended to other provinces and aimed to oppose the privileges and laws affecting dissidents (non-Catholic, mostly Orthodox Poles) passed by the 1767–1768 parliament. These privileges were issued under pressure from Catherine II and limited the rights of Polish Catholic nobles. Action was also directed against the growing level of Russian interference in Polish domestic issues.

The confederates of Bar were initially defeated in Bar by Russian forces aided by King Stanisław August Poniatowski's troops, but they were joined by numerous nobles throughout Poland-Lithuania. The confederates received the backing of **France** (Colonel Charles Dumouriez was sent to the confederates with money and advice) and Turkey. In 1770 a group of magnates hostile to the monarch joined the confederation and declared his dethronement. Two years later confederates even tried to kidnap the monarch, as a result of which they lost many supporters.

Confederate troops, headed by Kazimierz Pułaski (son of Józef), the future hero of the **American Revolutionary War**, scored several local victories and held the fortresses of Częstochowa and Lanckorona before finally being forced to surrender on July 18, 1772. The leaders of the confederation emigrated, while the approximately 6,000 men captured by the Russian army were exiled to Siberia.

The Confederation of Bar never developed an organized, effective army—its struggle was based on an ineffective *levée en masse* combined with guerrilla warfare. The confederation's program, albeit conservative and interested in retaining the nobles' privileges, inspired interest in western Europe. Jean-Jacques **Rousseau** devoted his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de la Pologne*, Gabriel Mably his *Du gouvernement et des lois de la Pologne*, and Claude Rulhière his *Historie de l'anarchie en Pologne* to the aims of civil liberty and national independence as represented by the confederates.

Following the second partition in 1793, the situation of the rump state of Poland-Lithuania was extremely difficult. Not only was the size of the state diminished—with a substantial part of Poland's economy falling to the Russian and Prussian hand—but the diminished Poland had to sustain a Russian army of occupation of 40,000 men. The occupants' economic exploitation resulted in the collapse of many enterprises, including six Warsaw banks, with the result that the situation between civilians and the army grew tense and led to a high level of emigration. In the major cities (Warsaw; Krakow; and Wilno, now Vilnius, Lithuania) conspiratorial organizations were formed to exert pressure on politicians to start a war on the occupiers.

When at the end of February 1794 the Russians decided to reduce the size of the Polish army and arrests were made among the conspirators, a decision was made to start an uprising.

On March 24, 1794, Tadeusz Kościuszko, a hero of both the **American Revolution** and the Russo-Polish war, proclaimed an act of insurrection in Krakow, took chief command of the military operations, assumed dictatorial powers, and soon established an insurgent government called the Supreme National Council. Based on his American experience, Kościuszko wanted to conduct his military operations with a regular army supplemented locally by a peasant and middle-class militia. In order to raise the necessary army, regular conscription was carried out—one infantryman to be drawn from every 5 households, and one fully equipped cavalry trooper from every 50 households. By this means, the army was to number 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry.

With about 6,000 men (4,100 regular troops and 2,000 peasant troops), Kościuszko left Krakow for Warsaw at the beginning of April. On April 4, Kościuszko's army defeated Russian troops at the Battle of Raclawice, an action that became legendary due to the participation of peasants armed with scythes. Despite the Polish victory, the way to Warsaw remained blocked.

On April 19, in a military camp in Bosutów, Kościuszko, seeking to attract more peasants to his cause, freed all the peasants serving in the army from their feudal obligations. Two weeks later, on May 7 in Połaniec, the dictator of the uprising issued a manifesto (*Uniwersał Połaniecki*) granting personal freedom to all peasants and promising to diminish substantially their personal obligations to their landlords. The manifesto also threatened those who would not follow its regulations. The fortunes of the insurrection improved greatly when uprisings broke out in Warsaw (April 17) and in Wilno (April 22). Jakub Jasinski, a radical noble, soldier, and poet, headed the latter revolt. By the end of April 1794 the revolt involved the entire Polish territory as it had existed in 1793.

As soon as Warsaw joined the insurrection, a temporary council was formed in Warsaw. The council, serving as the government, was not as radical as some expected. Thus, on April 24, the so-called Jacobin Club was formed, which started to exert strong pressure on the government. As a result, on May 9, several traitors who took part in the Targowice Confederation were executed. The rebel authorities in Warsaw remained divided politically between the moderates and the radical Jacobins.

In May, as Kościuszko was working on strengthening and enlarging the army, Prussian troops entered Polish territory, leaving the Poles trapped between their own forces and those of the Russians. In an attempt to stop the union of these two armies, Kościuszko left Warsaw and fought unsuccessfully at Szczekociny (June 6). Ten days later, on June 15, the Prussians took Krakow. At the same time, the siege and defense of Warsaw began. The siege lasted for two months, after which the Prussian and Russian troops were obliged to raise the siege in order to fight the rebel forces in Great Poland, Kujawy, and even Pomerania, as the insurrection spread. On October 2, Polish forces captured Bydgoszcz and entered Prussia.

Yet this was as much as the Polish forces could achieve. With Russia obtaining a pledge of neutrality from Turkey on August 8, Austrian troops entered southern Poland, and the insurrection in Lithuania collapsed with the fall of Wilno on August 11. The days of the uprising were numbered.



Kościuszko tried to raise additional troops, but on October 10, a numerically superior Russian army beat his 7,000 men after heroic resistance at the Battle of Maciejowice, where the Polish commander himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Thereafter, neither the moderates nor the Jacobins could effectively command the uprising. Alexander Suvorov's troops attacked Warsaw and on November 4 took the district of Praga, where Russian troops proceeded to massacre thousands of civilians. Finally, at the Battle of Radoszyce on November 16, the remains of the insurgent army were dispersed.

Kościuszko's insurrection had but a feeble chance against the combined Russian, Prussian, and Austrian troops, and it was only a question of time before it was put down. The third partition of Poland followed. Without the uprising, a rump Poland might have survived, but with it, the kingdom was doomed to destruction. The uprising had great social importance. On one hand, it was the first national struggle for the survival of the Polish state. On the other, it inaugurated democratic changes—inspired by the French Revolution—within Polish society, which sought to solve the problem of serfdom. *See also* Poland, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on; Poland, Partitions of; Polish Constitution.

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JAKUB BASISTA

## Political Clubs (French)

French political clubs evolved out of the unshackling of people's political consciousness generated by the ideas and events leading to the **French Revolution**, which effectively ended the **ancien régime**. In the absence of official political parties in France, political clubs became essential to the organization of revolutionary fervor. The earliest formation of political clubs in France began with the meeting of the **Estates-General** in May 1789. Shortly after the opening of the Estates-General to work toward a constitution, deputies from Brittany formed the Club Breton at Versailles. The official name of the organization was the Society of Friends of the Constitution (Société des **Amis de la Constitution**). After the club moved to Paris in October, its members became known as the **Jacobins**. The Jacobin Club gradually acquired branches in the provinces and acted as a center for news, propaganda, and action.

By 1793, the Jacobin Club had become the dominant political voice in France, with some million members, largely respectable lawyers, shopkeepers, and independent craftsmen who had time to engage in politics. The club's early members included **Mirabeau**, **Sièyes**, **Barnave**, **Pétion**, the abbé Gregoire, Charles Lameth, the comte de **Lameth**, Maximilien **Robespierre**, the duc d'Aiguillon, and La Revelliere-Lepeaux. The Jacobin Club also had an Indian ruler, Tipu Sultan, among its ranks.

The Jacobin Club derived its popular name from the monastery of the Jacobins (the Parisian name of the Dominicans), where the members held their meetings. Successively, the club occupied the refectory, the library, and the chapel of the

monastery. The chief purpose of the club was to highlight activities that could help secure support for the group from elements outside the **Legislative Assembly**. In affiliation with the Parisian branch of the club, many patriotic societies were formed in other French cities. The middle class constituted the largest part of the membership in these societies, which exercised through their journals considerable pressure on the Legislative Assembly.

Once transferred to Paris, the Jacobin Club underwent rapid modifications. In a marked step, the club started expanding by admitting as their members or associates others besides deputies. On January 18, 1790, Arthur Young, an Englishman, entered the club in this manner. On February 8, the society became formally constituted on the broader basis through the adoption of the rules drawn up by Barnave, which were issued with the signature of the duc d'Aiguillon, the president. The objects of the club were defined as, first, the discussion of the questions to be decided by the **National Assembly**; second, working for the establishment and strengthening of the constitution in accordance with the spirit of the preamble (i.e., respect for legally constituted authority and the rights of man); and third, corresponding with other societies of the same kind.

At the same time, the constitution of the club was adopted. Any member who by word or action showed that his principles were contrary to those espoused by the constitution and the rights of man was to be expelled, a rule that later facilitated the "purification" of the society through the expulsion of its more moderate elements. With Article 7, the club decided to admit as associates similar societies from other parts of France and to maintain with them a regular correspondence. By August 10, 1790, there were already 152 affiliated clubs, and by the close of the year the Jacobins had a network of branches all over France. It was this widespread yet highly centralized organization that gave to the Jacobin Club its formidable power.

From the beginning, provincial branches were far more democratic; nonetheless, the leadership was usually in the hands of members of the educated or propertied classes. Up to the very eve of the republic, the club ostensibly supported the monarchy, as it took no part in the petition of July 17, 1790 for the dethronement of King **Louis XVI**, nor had it any official share even in the insurrections of June 20 and August 10, 1792. It only formally recognized the republic on September 21, 1792.

The character and extent of the club's influence cannot be gauged by its official acts alone. Long before it emerged as the principal focus of the **Reign of Terror**, its character had been profoundly changed by the secession of its more moderate elements, some to found the club of 1789, some in 1791—among them Barnave, the Lameths, **Duport**, and Bailly—to found the Feuillant Club, and some to found the club *monarchique*.

The constituency to which the club was henceforth responsible, and from which it derived its power, was in fact the *sans-culottes* of Paris—cosmopolitans and starving workpeople—who crowded its tribunes. It was to this audience, not primarily to the members of the club, that the speeches of the orators were addressed and by its verdict that they were judged. In the earlier stages of the Revolution the mob had been satisfied with the fine platitudes of philosophy and the vague promises of the politicians. But as the chaos in the body politic grew, and with it appalling material misery, the people began to clamor for the blood of those believed to be the traitors in office, a process that led to the elimination of the moderate elements from the club. The ascendancy of **Marat**, and finally of Robespierre, who shared

the suspicions of the populace, gave a voice to their concerns. Finally, they did not shrink from translating their declarations into action.

After the fall of the monarchy, Robespierre himself symbolized the Jacobin Club; for tribunes he was the oracle of political wisdom. All others were judged by his standard. The Jacobin Club was closed after the fall of Robespierre on July 29, 1794, and some of its members were executed. An attempt was made to reopen the club, which was joined by many of the enemies of the **Thermidorians**, but on November 11, 1794, it was definitively closed. Its members and their sympathizers were scattered among the cafés, where the young aristocrats known as the *jeunesse dorée* waged a ruthless war of sticks and chairs against them. Nevertheless, the Jacobins survived, in a somewhat subterranean fashion, emerging again in the club of the Panthéon, founded on November 25, 1795, and suppressed in the following February.

The last attempt to reorganize Jacobin adherents was in July 1799 and was then known as the Club du Manège. Barras patronized it, and some 250 members of the two councils of the legislature were enrolled as members, including many notable ex-Jacobins. It published a newspaper called the *Journal des Livres*, proclaimed the apotheosis of Robespierre and **Babeuf**, and attacked the **Directory**. But public opinion was now preponderantly moderate or royalist, and the club was violently attacked in the press and in the streets.

The spread of the Revolution brought political clubs to Holland, **Belgium**, the Rhineland, Switzerland, and **Italy** after 1792. They served as meeting places for radical patriots and republicans. None survived **Napoleon's** rise to power during the coup of **Brumaire** in 1799, and the club as such disappeared from French politics for half a century. However, the success of the revolution of February 1848 saw a proliferation of political clubs in Paris and the provinces. Politics in 1848 was inclusive rather than exclusive; it incorporated tradition and modernity simultaneously. This mass mobilization accommodated newspapers and clubs along with songs, folklore, and village fairs and cafés. The gap between intellectuals and the people was bridged in an unprecedented fashion. Sparked by an acute social and economic crisis, they served as forums for debate and aroused popular action. But they were closed in the repression following the workers' uprising in June 1848. Revolutionary clubs remerged simultaneously in Germany, **Austria**, and Italy but in 1849 suffered the same fate as those in France the previous year. Political clubs reappeared in France after the proclamation of the Third Republic in 1870. Ranging from Blanquist to Jacobin to socialist, all became the focus for debates on political, social, and military questions. However, the collapse of the Commune in 1871 brought a final end to political clubs in France. *See also* Girondins.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

### **Pownall, Thomas (1772–1805)**

Thomas Pownall was a colonial governor and British politician. Born in Lincoln, he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and his brother John Pownall, a

long-serving secretary to the Board of Trade, gained for him his first appointment. Sent to **New York** in 1753 as the secretary to the new governor, Sir Danvers Osborn, Pownall attended the Albany Congress and traveled extensively through America. Appointed governor of **New Jersey** in 1755, he later served as governor of **Massachusetts** from 1757 to 1759 and was appointed governor of **South Carolina** in November 1759. In 1760, however, he decided to return to London to further his political career.

Pownall established his reputation as a colonial expert with the publication of his *Administration of the Colonies* (1764), which was well received and went through five further extended editions to 1777. Elected to the House of Commons in 1767, he maintained an extensive correspondence with the popular party in Massachusetts and was instrumental in the recall of Thomas **Hutchinson**, the governor of Massachusetts, in 1774. Pownall became a leading spokesman for a policy of conciliation with America. Beginning with the publication of his *Principles of Polity* in 1752, Pownall had shown a keen awareness of the laws of nature and the often discordant influence economics played in policy formation. He was full of schemes to restore harmony to the British Empire.

Initially supporting Lord **North's** policy of attempting to coerce Massachusetts in 1774, Pownall came to recognize the futility of the war by 1777, and in 1780 he introduced peace proposals into the House of Commons, which would recognize, rather reluctantly, the independence of the United States. In 1781, he published *Memorial Addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe*, which predicted how American independence would break up the old system of European diplomacy and transatlantic trading patterns. In his 1783 *Memorial Addressed to the Sovereigns of America*, Pownall, an early if critical admirer of Adam **Smith**, predicted the breakup of the Spanish empire in Latin America and suggested that world peace would be best served by the creation of a transatlantic political federation based upon free trade. Although respected, he was often largely ignored. Governor Pownall died in Bath, England, in 1805. *See also* Adams, Samuel; Albany Plan of Union; American Revolution; Boston Port Act; Latin American Revolutions.

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RORY T. CORNISH

## Prairial

*See* Law of 22 Prairial

## Prairial Insurrection (1795)

The Prairial Insurrection of Year III (May 20–23, 1795) would prove to be among the last major episodes of popular activism during the **French Revolution**, due in part to the **National Convention's** forceful use of **National Guard** units, leading to the arrest of many activists and the execution of several popular leaders. The spring of 1795 proved restless. In the aftermath of the **Thermidorian Reaction**, the government sought to liberate the economy from the controls established by its Montagnard predecessor. Such changes, most importantly revocation of the law of



The death of Féraud during the Prairial Insurrection, an uprising of the Paris faubourgs against the Directory in May 1795. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

the **Maximum**, created a free market, but with disastrous consequences. Inflation skyrocketed, and the assignat became devaluated in record time, losing 28 percent of its value in October, another 24 percent in November, 20 percent in December 1794, and 17 percent in January 1795. In some places, the increase in food prices brought about near-famine conditions. In March 1795, meat was unobtainable in Paris, while the price of bread increased over 12 times to 16 livres a pound and was rationed at one to one-and-a-half pounds per head in March. It then fell rapidly to 8, 6, and even 2 ounces over subsequent weeks. As in 1789, bakeries were frequently raided and ransacked, and merchants were threatened. Economic hardship led to the revival of radical Hébertiste agitation among the *sans-culottes*, who called for the restoration of the Constitution of 1793.

Social discontent boiled over on April 1, 1795 (12 Germinal, Year III), when the **Jacobins** unsuccessfully attacked the Tuileries Palace and the Convention. Large crowds from various sections (Paris was divided into 48 sections or districts) burst into the hall of the Convention, many shouting, “Bread! Bread!” while some wore caps with the slogan “Bread and the Constitution of 1793.” However, the rebels were driven out without much difficulty by troops under General Pichegru. It was

a significant victory for the Convention, which immediately exploited this occasion to deport the surviving Jacobin leaders, among them Jean Marie **Collot d'Herbois**, Jacques Nicholas **Billaud-Varenne**, Bertrand **Barère**, and Marc-Guillaume Vadier.

As economic conditions continued to worsen, discontent in Paris and other large cities increased and the government turned to repression to keep agitation under control. However, it failed to prevent an armed uprising that began on 1 Prairial (May 22, 1795). Like the Germinal riots, the new uprising started in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where armed crowds gathered in the morning and quickly advanced against the Convention. Although their first attack was repelled, the rebels attacked again around 3:30 P.M. and, after overpowering the guards, rushed into the hall of the Convention. There, amidst confusion and uproar, the deputy Jean-Bertrand Féraud was killed and his head paraded on a pike in front of the deputies. The Convention president, **Boissy d'Anglas**, did not dissolve the meeting and instead continued the session until late evening. As in Germinal, the main demands of the insurgents included better economic conditions and the enforcement of the Jacobin constitution of 1793. Breaking government ranks, some Montagnard deputies supported the uprising and adopted legislation releasing the militants arrested after the Germinal riots, restoring sectional assemblies, establishing an extraordinary food council, and sanctioning searches of houses of suspected hoarders. However, the insurgents acted disjointedly, as they lacked good leadership.

Despite initial concessions, the government responded with ruthless efficiency. The *jeunesse dorée* (gilded youth), a parallel militia recruited from the ranks of minor officials and small shopkeepers who opposed the *sans-culottes* and Jacobins, was immediately summoned from their homes. National Guard units were quickly assembled in the capital and the Convention was cleared during the night. On 2 Prairial, government troops clashed with the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, which was supported by other sections as well. However, the rebels failed to incite a general uprising in the capital and allowed their last chance of success slip through their fingers. On 3 Prairial, General Menou led some 20,000 men into the capital and seized control of the mutinous neighborhoods, chiefly the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, which surrendered after being surrounded and threatened with bombardment and starvation. The government immediately ordered the shooting without trial of anyone captured carrying arms, as well as those wearing Jacobin symbols other than the cockade. Almost all the members of the old **Committee of Public Safety**, except for Lazare **Carnot**, and Montagnard deputies, who supported the uprising, were arrested, among them Jean-Michel Du Roy, Philippe Rühl, Charles-Gilbert Romme, Claude-Alexandre Goujon, François-Joseph Duquesnoy, Pierre Bourbotte, and Pierre-Amable Soubrany. Known as the Prairial Martyrs, the deputies were quickly tried, and as they were leaving the courtroom, the condemned men passed around a knife and stabbed themselves to death. Still, Du Roy, Soubrany, and Bourbotte were taken, bleeding, to the scaffold and executed on the **guillotine**. In the weeks after the uprising, dozens more Jacobins were arrested, and some 30 of them executed while others were imprisoned. The Prairial unrest was not limited to Paris alone, and a similar, albeit smaller, uprising took place in the provinces as well. They were all suppressed as the more conservative provinces became apprehensive about the possibility of the country again falling under the dictatorship of the Jacobins. The **White Terror** swept through many regions and the provincial *jeunesse dorée* was especially

active in repressions in Bordeaux, Nantes, Avignon, Marseilles, and Le Havre, where dozens of Jacobins were executed and many more arrested and imprisoned.

The Prairial uprising was the largest and most powerful Montagnard uprising that the Thermidorian government faced, and its success would certainly have changed the course of the Revolution. This was the first time since 1789 that a government succeeded in putting down a popular uprising and that the army was used as a mechanism of suppression. Its suppression represented the triumph of the men of Thermidor, who went on to establish the **Directory**. The National Guard was carefully purged of men suspected of Jacobin sympathies, and workers were barred from joining the Jacobin Club. A new police infrastructure was created for better control of the sections. Provisions were made for the removal of the Convention to Châlons in the event of future threats. In August 1795, as a direct result of Prairial and in order to secure its power, the Convention decreed that instead of free elections for the new Corps Législatif, two-thirds of both the councils of the Ancients and of the Five Hundred must, the first year, be members of the existing Convention. The Prairial insurrection signaled the end of the cohesive Jacobin party, although its elements would survive until 1799. As Lefebvre remarked, "This date should mark the end of the Revolution: its mainspring had been broken." With the Left in tatters, the Convention, and later the Directory, would be at the mercy of the Right and the muscadins (royalist sympathizers), while the *jeunesse dorée*, previously a useful auxiliary militia, developed into a powerful force that no longer served to offset a rival force and presented a new threat. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Council of Five Hundred; Hébertistes; Legislative Assembly.

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ALEXANDRE MIKABERIDZE

### Price, Richard (1723–1791)

Born the son of a Dissenting minister in south Wales, Price was educated by Dissenting ministers in Wales and in London and became a Dissenting minister himself in and around London. He gained fame and notoriety because of the range of his intellectual accomplishments and the depth of his commitment to religious, civil, and political liberty. He made many famous friends, including Lord Shelburne, Joseph **Priestley**, and Benjamin **Franklin**, and conducted a prolonged correspondence with leading American and French intellectuals and reformers. His defense of liberty led to offers of both American and French **citizenship**. Price's mathematical writings helped insurance companies to calculate life expectancy and to assess premiums to be paid for annuities and advised the government how to raise loans on favorable terms and to reduce the national debt. In his writings on moral philosophy (particularly *A Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals* in 1758), he stressed the importance of reason and sought to erect a universal moral system resting on truth and reason.

Price believed that moral law existed independent of man and could be understood by human reason, and that once perceived, it was the duty of man to seek to follow its dictates. He stressed the importance of education, integrity, and effort

so that men would do their best to observe this moral law. He accepted that men were not perfect, but he believed in the indefinite progress of human understanding and ability. In **religion**, Price was weaned away from the strict Calvinism of his father. He became an Arian and rejected the divinity of Christ, predestination, and eternal damnation but still accepted general and particular providence. He insisted that men must be allowed to follow their conscience in their religious beliefs and practices; these should never be subject to any political or ecclesiastical authority. He opposed the idea of a state church and he supported campaigns for religious liberty, including the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts.

Price's moral philosophy and religious opinions greatly influenced his political attitudes. He admired John **Locke's** political writings and promoted natural rights, the sovereignty of the people, and the right of resistance. In **Britain**, he supported the Glorious Revolution, the Hanoverian succession, and Britain's mixed government and balanced constitution. But he was increasingly concerned about the growth of the executive, the misuse of patronage, the increased national debt, and the size of the standing army. While never a republican or a complete democrat, he supported parliamentary reform and was ready to extend the franchise to any man who had the rationality, independence, and integrity to use it wisely. During the **American Revolution** he wrote *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* (1776) and *Additional Observations* (1777). In these famous tracts he attacked the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, the British efforts to tax the American colonies, and all the British legislation on America from the **Stamp Act** to the **Coercive Acts**. He believed it was the British who had driven the Americans to rebel. He did not want to see an independent America, and he supported a loose Atlantic confederation, but he could not accept that Britain had the right to impose its authority on the colonies.

After the **American Revolutionary War**, he produced his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* (1784), which praised the United States as an asylum of liberty and for rejecting aristocracy and a state church. But he warned against the dangers of luxury and corruption and condemned slavery. Critical of the **ancien régime** in **France**, Price welcomed the **French Revolution**. He praised early developments extravagantly in his address to the Revolution Society in London on November 4, 1789. Published as *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country*, this address was subject to a vitriolic and undeserved attack in **Burke's** *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Price was never a rash revolutionary, and he was not aware that the French Revolution would turn bloody and violent. He died before it did so.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804)

The great English chemist and philosopher Joseph Priestley was a passionate political and religious radical. He came from a family of Protestant Dissenters



opposed to the established Church of England and served as a Dissenting minister and schoolmaster. His most important political book, *An Essay on the First Principles of Government, and on the Nature of Political, Civil and Religious Liberty* (1768), built on the tradition of John **Locke** to distinguish between civil and political liberty. Civil liberty meant the right of individuals to be unhindered by government in their lives and was more important to Priestley than political liberty or the power to serve in office or to elect to office.

In 1773 he was hired as a librarian and tutor in the household of William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, a statesman and a supporter, like Priestley himself, of conciliation with the American colonists. (Priestley was also a friend of Benjamin **Franklin** and shared his scientific interests.) Priestley wrote political pamphlets, such as *Address to Protestant Dissenters on the Approaching Election* (1774), opposing religious discrimination and British oppression of the American colonists.

Priestley became a Unitarian, denying Jesus's divinity although continuing to believe him to be the Messiah, a technically illegal view. He was also a millenarian, interpreting the **French Revolution** and the rise of **Napoleon** as signs of the forthcoming apocalypse. The reaction against the French Revolution in **Britain** made Priestley's intellectual and political radicalism increasingly dangerous. In 1791 a conservative "Church and King" mob, tacitly supported by local magistrates and Church of England clergy, attacked his dwelling in Birmingham. Priestley emigrated with his family to the United States in 1794.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### Prieur de la Marne (1756–1827)

Pierre-Louis Prieur is referred to as Prieur de la Marne in order to distinguish him from another member of the **Committee of Public Safety** who shared the same last name (Claude-Antoine Prieur-Duvernois, referred to as Prieur de la Côte-D'Or). A practicing lawyer before the **French Revolution**, Prieur de la Marne was one of the original representatives to the first meeting of the **Estates-General**. He soon distinguished himself by his passionate speeches against the monarchy and the Old Regime; he voted for the death of **Louis XVI**. In July 1794, Prieur became a member of the Committee of Public Safety. Like the other members, he often acted as a representative on mission, principally to western **France**. Here, at the port of Brest, he was active in managing the town and the naval base, and giving direction to French fleet commanders. In the fall he directed actions against the anti-republican forces in the **Vendéan rebellion**.

In December 1793, he established what became one the most extreme courts at Nantes. At one time this court condemned 2,905 people, many of whom were executed by being placed on barges that were then sunk. In May 1794, he returned to Brest to govern the city; he was there during the **Thermidorian Reaction** and was immediately removed from the committee, although he remained a representative on mission. In 1795, he participated in an attempted revolt by fellow **Jacobins** against the **Directory**, which failed, and went into hiding. After an amnesty, he went into private practice and did not participate in politics, although he did accept

**Napoleon.** With Napoleon's defeat in 1815 at **Waterloo**, Prieur was forced to go into exile in **Belgium**, where he died in 1827. *See also* National Assembly.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Primary Assemblies

Elections above the local level were conducted on a two-tier basis during the **French Revolution**. All adult male citizens who fulfilled the basic requirement for the franchise were eligible to attend primary assemblies, which met on seven occasions, in 1790, 1791, 1792, 1795, 1797, 1798, and 1799. The broad electorate was invited to assemble at the *chefs-lieux* of some 3,000 cantons, where they chose second-degree electors entrusted with the election of district and departmental personnel, as well as national deputies. This process of indirect election was partly inspired by a concern to balance “number and reason,” by which most voters were excluded from the more important decisions. The electors acted as a counterweight to an extremely wide suffrage, because they were generally recruited from among the more wealthy citizens.

The subordinate role played by the primary assemblies, not to mention the distance to be traveled by rural inhabitants to vote in the *chef-lieu*, inhibited participation. By 1799, average turnout was little more than 10 percent, yet in 1790 it had reached 50, and in 1797, some 25 percent. These assemblies thus involved millions of Frenchmen during the 1790s and acted as significant schools of **citizenship**, a function graphically illustrated by two constitutional votes taken in 1793 and 1795, when discussion on the proposed texts took place.

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MALCOLM CROOK

## Privileges

All across Europe, privilege was one of the hallmarks of the **ancien régime** and was a primary means of dividing people into social orders rather than economic classes. All nobles, for example, were exempt from most taxation, whether they were extremely rich or extremely poor. It was the entrenchment of privilege, chiefly pertaining to the clergy and nobles, but also to judicial and financial elites, that necessitated not just reform but revolution in **France**. The refusal of the privileged elements of society to compromise with the needs of society as a whole caused the

termination of their privileges, and very nearly their complete destruction. But privilege was not always seen as a negative drain on the community.

The source of this system was the creation of feudalism in the early Middle Ages, in which members of society were divided into orders for the benefit of the entire community: those who prayed, those who defended, and those who labored. In return for the first two services (eternal salvation and protection from banditry and barbarian invasions), the third group worked the fields and provided sustenance for the whole community. As the state developed into an autonomous entity of its own (whether monarchical or republican) and took over the defense of the entire community, it became necessary to generate revenues through taxation to support troops and build walls, castles, roads, and so forth. Those praying for the safety of the community were unable to feed themselves, and those who maintained themselves in fighting conditions (and required expensive items like horses and armor) paid with their lives. Thus the burden of taxation fell completely on the third order, the laborers.

Privilege over the course of the early modern period transformed, however, into a means by which the richer orders (the clergy and the **nobility**) maintained their control of most of the country's resources and prevented most of the rest of the population from rising through the social hierarchy. This varied across Europe from countries where the privileges were extensive, such as **France**, to those in which social mobility was much more fluid, like England. In France, not only did medieval privilege continue well into the early modern era, but it increased in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, partly as a reaction against the increasing upward mobility of the middle classes. Not only were nobles exempt from most (but not all) taxation, but they had exclusive access to certain offices in the government, exclusive access to the monarch (the font of most privileges), and, from the mid-eighteenth century, a near-total monopoly on officer ranks in the army as well as to the elite military academies. As the military served as one of the easiest routes for social advancement in ancien régime France, this was a severe blow to the aspirations of the families of lawyers and merchants, as well as a contributing factor in the decline of the effectiveness of the French army in the eighteenth century.

Privileges for nobles in most of Europe included symbolic honors (the rights to own and display heraldry, to appear at court wearing a sword, and precedence in public processions), useful rights (exemptions from taxation and labor services, monopolies on public facilities like mills), occupational preferences (for ecclesiastical or military posts or positions at court), and judicial privileges (ranging from having cases heard in superior courts, fines rather than prison sentences, and execution by decapitation rather than hanging). These varied from country to country. One of the first things to be abolished during the **French Revolution** was the system of hereditary privilege, by decree of August 4, 1789.

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JONATHAN SPANGLER

## Proclamation of 1763

**Parliament** issued the Proclamation of 1763 in response to the challenges of governing the territory in the Old **Northwest**. At the close of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the French relinquished their claims to the Ohio Valley, leaving the Indian inhabitants to contend with eager American settlers. In the summer of 1763, Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, led a rebellion against white settlers, prompting the declaration of the royal proclamation.

The proclamation was meant to strengthen control of the enlarged British Empire. Its most important measure was a proscription on colonial settlement west of an imaginary line down the Appalachian Mountains. The edict reserved the lands west of the line for Native Americans, expressly forbidding either private individuals or colonial governments from negotiating cessions. In addition, the proclamation restricted commerce and travel in the western region to licensed traders. Parliament framed these measures as safeguards against Native American aggression, but they were also meant to limit provocations by colonists. The proclamation also created four new colonies in the acquired territory: Quebec, Grenada, East Florida, and West Florida. French colonists remained in Quebec, which presented the British administration with the task of protecting French religious and property rights secured by the Treaty of Paris (1763).

The law was difficult to enforce. Many colonists resented the proclamation and continued to emigrate to the Northwest; recent settlers refused to leave. Furthermore, land grants to veterans of the Seven Years' War and existing colonial charters extending to the Pacific Ocean created legal loopholes for land speculation. The proclamation did produce revenue, and it remained in effect, albeit with some changes, until 1776. Although a genuine attempt to manage relations between the British and Native Americans, the proclamation contributed to the rift between the British Empire and the American colonies that eventually led to the **American Revolution**.

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ROBERT LEE

## Prohibitory Act (1775)

Enacted by **Parliament** at the outset of the **American Revolution**, the Prohibitory Act greatly influenced the debate over independence at the Second **Continental Congress**. After the actions at **Lexington and Concord**, the Second Continental Congress met on May 10, 1775, to decide whether the interests of the colonies would best be served by remaining a part of the British Empire. In the spring of 1775, many colonists remained undecided about the proper course of action: independence or reconciliation with **Britain**. Samuel **Adams** and other radicals favored independence, while moderates such as John **Dickinson** favored reconciliation. Pursuing a middle course, the Congress adopted the **Olive Branch Petition**—one last attempt at reconciliation.

The Crown rejected the petition and in August 1775 issued a proclamation declaring the colonies to be in rebellion. On December 22, 1775, **Parliament** adopted

the Prohibitory Act, a retaliatory measure that closed colonial ports to overseas trade and authorized the seizure of American ships at sea. The Prohibitory Act ended any chance for reconciliation between the colonists and the Crown. The **Declaration of Independence** was the ultimate response of the Continental Congress to the Prohibitory Act.

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BRIAN W. REFFORD

### **Prussia and Germany, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on**

The **French Revolution** not only influenced political and social relations in **France**; it transformed all of Europe. Revolutionary events and French expansion brought about new political awareness not only in France but also in neighboring countries. For the German states, the year 1789 started a series of events that eventually brought about the redistribution of territories and the secularization of church principalities and property and transformed the government and political structures of the Holy Roman Empire. These changes, together with Prussia's defeat in 1806–1807, forced the introduction of political and social reforms and a significant shift in thinking about society and politics.

At the outset, all but the most conservative German writers and intellectuals viewed the French Revolution in a benevolent light. By 1789, German intellectuals considered the decadence of the French aristocracy and the court, the pressing financial situation, and the burden of taxes indications of a crisis within the French state. By that time, modern political theory, including the contract theory of government, ideas of popular sovereignty, and **Rousseau's** doctrine of the general will, was exemplified in the ideology of the new American republic and was well known to German intellectuals. Very few German observers doubted the right of the French people to a better form of government. In the early stages of the Revolution, many German observers tended to believe that the events would spread the **Enlightenment**, religious tolerance, and ideas of liberty and equality and establish a efficient system of political organization. The **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** (1789) put into words aspirations concerning these new ideals and gave people a new sense of dignity. The Constitution of 1791 seemed to be a model document of the Enlightenment. Those Germans who sympathized with the Revolution were generally enthusiastic about the establishment of the constitutional monarchy that the French established in September 1791.

For the great majority of Germans, French politics became a main preoccupation. Germany was littered with pamphlets, articles, and odes. A plethora of travel accounts, journals, treatises, pamphlets, and poems about freedom, equality, and fraternity was published daily. German writers and publishers perceived a vast demand for news from and about France. Translations of French books, journals, and political pamphlets were not enough to satisfy the demands of the German readership. A number of writers actually moved to France and sent home firsthand reports. Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), a proponent of the Enlightenment and

educator, wrote his *Briefe aus Paris zur Zeit der Revolution geschrieben*, first published in *Braunschweigisches Journal* in the form of letters addressed to the editor, and then republished as a book in 1790. Campe arrived in Paris soon after the storming of the **Bastille** on July 14, 1789, and devoted considerable time to the description and analysis of the event and its aftermath.

Positive and negative implications of current events were continuously discussed, and there was considerable debate about the different views on the Revolution, as exemplified in Edmund **Burke's** *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and Thomas **Paine's** *Rights of Man* (1791). The journals of J. W. von Archenholtz (1741–1812) and Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) declared their approval of the events, and the crowded **salons** of the Berlin hostesses Henriette Herz (1764–1847) and Rahel Levin (1777–1833) were buzzing with excitement. Georg Wilhelm **Hegel** (1770–1831) and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854) declaimed the principles of 1789 at Tübingen and hoped to plant a liberty tree there, while Johann Georg Kerner (1770–1812) burned his family's patent of **nobility** on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. Hölderlin wrote a *Hymn to Humanity*, and leading intellectuals, including **Kant**, Fichte, Klopstock, Herder, Schiller, Wieland, Tieck, and Jean Paul expressed similar sentiments.

The influence of the French Revolution was particularly strong in Brunswick, Hamburg, and the Rhineland. During the first months of the Revolution, there was considerable excitement among the peasants in several German states. Uprisings occurred in Saxony and Silesia, in Mecklenburg, Trier, and Speyer. Participants in peasant disturbances demanded the return of old rights to use the meadows and woods that were taken by the feudal seigneurs and often refused to provide feudal services. Sporadic outbreaks also occurred in several Free Cities. Since the discontent was mainly based on the notion of the old right, not the revolutionary declarations, it seems that Revolution only intensified chronic discontent.

With the development of events during the Revolution, German states were flooded with emigrants fleeing from the French and Mainz republics. Johann Wolfgang von **Goethe's** *Conversations of German Emigrants* (1795) contains an analysis of the political and ideological situation in which the **émigrés** found themselves. In the *Conversations*, an aristocratic family is described escaping the French revolutionary army in 1793 from their lands on the left bank of the Rhine to their property on the right bank. The family members represent the whole political spectrum of the time, from Karl, a cousin who is an enthusiastic advocate of the Revolution, to the old privy councilor ardently defending the **ancien régime**. The defeat of the republic in Mainz increased political argument, leading both Karl and the privy councilor to advocate terror as a way of achieving their revolutionary and reactionary aims. In general, the activities of émigrés in the German states made them the unwilling champions of the Revolution. This, combined with the activities of French propaganda, with its headquarters in Strasbourg, supported the idea of equality and the dislike of the **privileges** of the nobles and made German intellectuals support the Revolution as a vehicle of reform after all previous less radical attempts had failed.

The great majority of Germans empathizing with the French Revolution rejected the idea of revolution in Germany. Wieland was optimistic that Germany could not be fully receptive to French ideas because Germany was in a better state than pre-revolutionary France. Many were simply skeptical about Germans' political maturity. Scientist and author Georg Forster (1754–1794), for instance, even after

committing himself to the revolution in Mainz, emphasized that the Germans were not yet ready for a revolution. Instead, he believed that the German rulers should learn from the French example and actively promote reforms and improvements. In fact, the truly radical “Jakobiners” were a distinctly small group in Germany, while the term was broadly used by German conservatives to refer to those who were in any way sympathetic to the French Revolution, extending later to embrace all advocates of social change.

Many intellectuals who applauded the French Revolution but rejected the idea of a revolution in Germany felt that Germany had already had its revolution in the Reformation. Those Germans who idealized the values of the Lutheran Reformation believed that the principles of the Catholic Church clashed with the intellectual values propagated by the leaders of the French Enlightenment. The issue of freedom of thought and religious tolerance was one of the most pressing concerns of German observers (especially to German Protestants) early in the Revolution, and the role of the Catholic Church in French national life was closely scrutinized. Every indication of the weakening of the Catholic Church in France, including the confiscation of church lands, was widely approved of. German intellectuals followed the debates of the **National Assembly** about the role of the church in France with intense interest and applauded the reforms that were introduced. The developments in the northern German states in the 1780s had predisposed German observers of the Revolution to concentrate their attention on the treatment of **religion**. A religious edict introduced to Prussia was causing considerable controversy at precisely the same time revolutionary events were unraveling in Paris. Tolerance and freedom of thought and religious choice had been burning issues in Prussia since the accession of Frederick William II in August 1786. Frederick William, under the influence of J. C. Woellner (1732–1800) and Rudolf von Bischoffwerder (1741–1803), was known for his strong interest in Christian mysticism, Kabbalah, and theosophy, which led Berlin intellectuals like Friedrich Nicolai to raise an alarm in the *Berlinische Monatschrift* throughout 1785 over a supposed conspiracy of former Jesuits (formally dissolved in 1773) to infiltrate Protestant territories under the guise of secret societies. Frederick William’s *Religious Edict* of July 1788, the replacement of Enlightenment-minded officials, and the sharpened *Censorship Edict* of December 1788 raised even more concerns about the direction official policies in Prussia were taking.

With few exceptions, the courts and cabinets of Germany looked at revolutionary events with suspicion from the start. Many government circles propagated ideas about a revolutionary world conspiracy led by Illuminati and/or Freemasons. Although the Order of the Illuminati, a secret society organized at the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt in 1776, was suppressed by Bavarian authorities in 1785, various conspiracy theories assigned it an important role in the French Revolution. It was presumed that Masonic lodges, secret organizations popular with German intellectuals and the bourgeoisie, were being infiltrated by the Illuminati and **Jacobins** to be used for the destruction of order in the German states.

Another group that was frequently condemned was the German Jacobins, who welcomed French soldiers into the Rhineland from 1792 and supported the French administration there for a time. The Jacobin Club played a vital role in declaring Mainz a republic in 1792–1793 under the protection of French troops. Georg Forster, the most prominent member of the Mainz Jacobin Club, went to Paris in March 1793 as a delegate of the Rhenish Republic organized on the left bank. Nominated vice

president of the provisional administration and a deputy of the Rhineland German National Convention, Forster petitioned the French **National Convention** for the annexation of the left bank territories to the French Republic. The short-lived republic in Mainz ended in the middle of 1793 when the Prussian army occupied the city. Although the Mainz Jacobin Club had a relatively large membership, those Jacobins who regarded revolution by force in Germany as a necessity constituted an insignificant minority. However, a hysterical fear that the Jacobins were scheming and plotting in Germany only intensified with the development of the Revolution in France.

On the sympathetic side, there existed a large body of writings that sought to explain the principal concepts of French revolutionary ideology, the French Constitution of 1791, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in an attempt to relate these concepts to accepted notions of human or natural rights, while denying that the assertion of those rights represented an unlawful rebellion against a hereditary sovereign. On the conservative side, critics of revolutionary ideas considered the French (and their German sympathizers) radicals, dangerous for their religious and moral teachings, and eager to limit the traditional rights and duties of sovereigns and religious authorities. To counteract the spread of revolutionary values, conservatives advocated strict enforcement of censorship regulations that, eventually, prepared the way for a tighter control of political writing and commentary over the course of the 1790s.

There were also a number of German observers, especially in territories such as Brunswick, Danish-controlled Schleswig, and Holstein, Prussia, and the northern Imperial Free Cities, who considered themselves already to be living under better and more modern political conditions than the Revolution was ever likely to bring about in France. Their interest in the Revolution was primarily a disinterested one—the view of a spectator. In the early stages of the German analysis of the Revolution, the idea of spectatorship became an important one. Before the beginning of the wars between the German states and the French Republic, there was a certain feeling of safety in Germany. The Revolution was a peculiarly French concern. In the beginning, many Germans were spectators—uninvolved directly in events—though emotionally and intellectually touched by them. In this vein, Wieland identified the French Revolution as the greatest and the most fascinating of all dramas ever being played out on earth. In 1798, Immanuel Kant published his treatise *The Contest of the Faculties*, in which he wondered what historical events or experiences would allow the conclusion that humankind possesses a moral aptitude and that progress in general leads to better conditions. In his view, this event could not be a revolution itself but the way of thinking of the spectators, which becomes evident in the revolutionary drama of great transformations. Thus, the importance lies not in repeating the experiment, but in the participation of the spectators who are not involved in the spectacle themselves.

Whether observing, empathizing, or criticizing revolutionary events as they unfolded, views on the Revolution grew more and more somber. The German public was shocked by the excesses of the French Revolution, especially the execution of the king, and apprehensive about the possibility of their repetition in Germany. The **Reign of Terror** marked a turning point in the Revolution's effect on Germany. Many leading intellectuals, like Klopstock and Wieland, turned away from the Revolution. In his *Phenomenology of Mind* (1806), Hegel identified Jacobin terror with the hour of death. Edmund **Burke's** *Reflections on the French Revolution* and Friedrich



von Gentz's (1764–1832) translation of that book crystallized anti-revolutionary thinking in German states. The scale of the violence and the high death toll were staggering, and the political implications of the abolition of monarchy were hardly conceivable.

After the outbreak of war between revolutionary France and the German states it was difficult for Germans to distinguish between their views on the Revolution and their views on the war. French insistence on annexing German territories in the Rhineland and on extending the so-called natural frontiers of the country (the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees), combined with French military successes, caused the initial enchantment with the Republic to fade away. The French decision not to limit themselves to defending the achievements of the Revolution, but rather to pursue a policy of aggressive territorial expansion at the expense of the Germans, inevitably created a negative public image in Germany. Two concrete causes of friction between the new France and the old Europe arose over the abolition of the feudal rights of German princes on the left bank of the Rhine and the harboring of French émigrés in German states. The war that had begun in 1792 between France and the German states was extensively discussed in the press. The public was eager not only to hear the news but also to debate the decisions made by their respective governments. However, despite the rise in anti-French sentiment, there was no enthusiasm for war against France until 1813. The Peace of Basel in 1795 was welcomed by Germans, but friction began when France abolished feudal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the German lands in Alsace. Prussia joined the anti-French coalition, led by Austria, in 1792 but was defeated at the battles of **Valmy** and **Jemappes**.

Many considered the **Napoleonic Wars** to be a direct continuation of the **French Revolutionary Wars**, so that the struggle against the Revolution became the source of emerging national feeling in Germany. Although it could be argued that German **nationalism** existed long before 1789, it was the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars that started transforming German cultural nationalism into political nationalism. Concurrent with the military struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, leading German intellectuals, including Lessing, Klopstock, Hamman, and Herder, provided a solid foundation for a nationalist literature and a nationalist system of education, thus freeing German thought from French models. Ultimately, the experience of the Revolution became a prerequisite for the aesthetic theories and great works of art of German classicism and romanticism. The notion of art as a means of attaining the unity of the individual and of humankind in the works of Schiller, Novalis, and Hölderin was a reaction to fragmentation and violence in society and politics. In their declaration of the autonomy of art, art was equated with philosophical reason and sociopolitical activity due to its ability to exercise a humanizing social effect. In its autonomous essence, art could act as an ideal and model for man's self-determination. This new definition of art was exemplified by Friedrich Schiller in his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1794), a fundamental text on the theory of aesthetics. Drafted as an alternative to political revolution, it was built on the revolutionary postulates of freedom, self-determination, and humanity. According to Schiller, under existing social conditions, it was aesthetic experience, not a revolutionary experience akin to the French Revolution, that could liberate man in the fullness of his moral character. Improvements in political life could follow from man regaining his integrity and freedom in the aesthetic

condition. This freedom is not equated with political freedom but rather facilitates it. While Schiller called the aesthetic condition the “second creator” of humankind, Goethe regarded his claim as an excessive demand on aesthetic elements and classified it as aesthetic Jacobinism.

Another consequence of political events in France in general and revolutionary ideology in particular was the introduction into Germany of new terminology, symbols, and principles, including those of political and legal freedoms and national unity. New terms of political jargon came to symbolize these changes. An important part of German political vocabulary derives from the political language of the era of the French Revolution. The concept of the division of the political spectrum into Left and Right; the concepts of **citizenship**, representation of the people, majority, minority, and aristocracy; and the words “monarchist,” “democrat,” “demagogy,” “reaction,” and “propaganda” were all introduced. A large number of dictionaries of revolutionary language were published to reflect these changes in vocabulary. Thus, by 1795, the word “patriot” had come to signify not the ardent lover of fatherland, but an opponent of abuse of the old constitution, and later came to signify an opponent of monarchy. The new French symbols of political struggle were also introduced in Germany. In the early stages, **cockades** were worn, liberty trees were planted (as reflected, for instance, in Goethe’s sketch *Landscape with the Tree of Liberty*), and revolutionary clubs were founded.

The combined influence of the revolutionary ideas of 1789 and the wars that followed produced several concrete results in Germany. First, the political framework of the country changed. The reaction to the Revolution rendered German society very political and brought about a splitting and a polarization of society into various political and ideological factions, though such a tendency could also be seen before 1789. Second, the weakness the Holy Roman Empire demonstrated in the war, the fall of Prussia, and the disintegration of the Ecclesiastical Electorate clearly revealed that the German states needed to be reformed. Following Germans’ disappointment with the course of the French Revolution and the lack of reform from above in the German states after 1793, another opportunity for the realization of the reformist objectives arose after the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. The war with **Napoleon** gave further impetus for reform. In a way, the Napoleonic reforms introduced into the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, together with the earlier reforms of the revolutionary period, became a model for Prussia’s extensive post-1807 reforms that guaranteed equality before the law, freedom of the individual, property rights, the independence of the judiciary, the abolition of serfdom, and open access to public office. Thus, Prussia’s renaissance after its military debacle of 1806 may be considered an indirect consequence of the principles promulgated by the French Revolution.

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NATALIE BAYER

## Pugachev Rebellion (1773–1775)

The Pugachev rebellion was the greatest peasant rebellion in eighteenth-century Russia. The leader of the uprising, a Don Cossack, Emil'ian Ivanovich Pugachev (c. 1742–1775) assembled a diverse group of Cossacks, peasants, serfs, Ural mine workers, ethnic minorities, and religious dissidents dissatisfied with heavy taxation and military recruitment, the disruption of the traditional foundations of society, the tightening of state regulations, and the curtailing of local political autonomy. The spontaneous outbreak of disaffected elements grew into a rebellion aimed at changing the social and political foundations of society.

During the first phase of the revolt, in the fall and winter of 1773–1774, Pugachev led the attack on Orenburg, the seat of government authority in the Ural Mountain region, though the rebels soon had to retreat to the mountains. The second phase began in the late spring of 1774, when after amassing an army of followers, Pugachev took several fortresses in the Volga valley, including Kazan, by which time the rebels had established an imitation of the imperial court, complete with a government and a regular army. With the uprising at its height, Tsarina **Catherine II** redirected some troops from the war with Turkey to the Urals. The rebels were pushed into the mountains, where Pugachev was captured. Without its leader, who was publicly executed in Moscow in 1775, the uprising dissipated.

Claiming to be Tsar Peter III (1728–1762) and to have escaped death in Catherine's plot of 1762, Pugachev projected himself as an ideal ruler. While he granted only temporary relief from serfdom, taxation, and recruitment, he endeavored to establish a simple society where the ruler represented a father to his people. Pugachev aspired to limit the mediating power of the **nobility** and to restore the natural bond between the tsar and the people.

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NATALIE BAYER



# Q

## Quartering Act (1765)

The Quartering Act was passed by **Parliament** in 1765 and was intended to offset the cost of housing British troops in the North American colonies in the years following the close of the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The provisions called for soldiers to be housed in barracks and provided basic provisions, including bedding, cooking utensils, and a daily ration of cider. The initial act was amended in 1766 to include unoccupied buildings, inns, and taverns as potential billets for British regulars. The underlying motivation of this parliamentary action was to minimize outlays and to discern colonial reactions to indirect taxation.

The colonial leaders resented this infringement on their basic rights and registered their concerns with British officials. On a philosophical level, colonists opposed the act because their views were not considered and because they feared standing armies during periods of peace. On a practical level, the quartering of soldiers placed a financial burden on the colonies, albeit a relatively minor one, and compromised the privacy of many colonists. The opposition to this legislation was particularly strong in **New York**, where the British commander in North America was headquartered with a sizable contingent of soldiers. The New York Assembly announced in 1766 that it would only pay a fraction of the cost of housing troops, and Parliament promptly suspended the legislature and declared the Assembly's actions null and void. While tensions did eventually subside, the quartering of soldiers was a source of tension throughout the decade prior to the **American Revolution**.

A major component of the **Coercive Acts** of 1774 was an amendment to the Quartering Act, which allowed soldiers to be housed in occupied dwellings. The quartering of troops was listed as a grievance in the **Declaration of Independence** and motivated the passage of the Third Amendment to the **United States Constitution**.

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JAMES T. CARROLL

### Quebec Act (1774)

An act of **Parliament** considered by the rebellious 13 colonies to be one of the **Coercive Acts** contributing to the mounting case in favor of independence from **Britain**. Assuming that they would gain access to new territory to their west, the colonists had cooperated with Britain's successful efforts to eliminate French control of **Canada** and Louisiana in the French and Indian Wars (1754–1763). The **Proclamation of 1763**, however, halted settlement beyond the Appalachians, whereupon the Quebec Act gave administration of the Ohio Valley to Canada by extending the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio River in the south and to the Mississippi River in the west.

The act's purpose was twofold. First, Britain wanted to reconstitute the former French Empire in North America by restoring its economic unity through the integration of the area of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes with Quebec in such a way as to project British authority into the interior of North America beyond the Appalachians. Second, the act was designed to put Britain's relationship with its new French-speaking and Catholic subjects in Quebec on an amicable basis. In addition to new territory, the act therefore guaranteed to Quebec its seigneurial system of land tenure and civil law and confirmed the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, including the right to control of education.

The act halted 50 years of expansion of the American colonies and cut off the Crown's American subjects from territories to which they felt entitled after having aided Britain in expelling French power from North America. Additionally, Britain was now in principle establishing Roman Catholicism in the Ohio Valley. It confirmed the suspicions of the rebellious American colonies that the Crown sought to thwart their westward expansion even as it told the more militantly Protestant among them that **George III** tended toward "popery" and would surrender vast territory to a social and political system they regarded as a feudal tyranny in order to do so.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### Quincy, Josiah (1744–1775)

Josiah Quincy's place in history would be more prominent today had he lived longer. Although he was an important figure in **Massachusetts**, what is most important in considering his legacy are his travels to the other colonies. In traveling as far south as the Carolinas, Quincy gave a face and a personal presence to the ideas emerging from Massachusetts.

Under the name "Hyperion," Quincy wrote papers and articles that defined and supported opposition to **Parliament's** legislation. With John **Adams**, he defended the British soldiers tried for killing civilians in the **Boston Massacre** of March 1770. Although none of the Patriots believed the soldiers to be innocent, it was thought necessary to provide the defendants with the best courtroom defense possible to avoid accusations that justice could not function in Massachusetts.

In 1773 Quincy traveled to other colonies, meeting with local political leaders. Because most, if not all, of their knowledge of events in New England derived from correspondence, **pamphlets**, and newspapers, these personal meetings helped to create a feeling of common cause among different regions.

In 1774, Quincy wrote and published “Observations on the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Boston Port Bill, with Thoughts on Civil Society and Standing Armies.” Advocating a pact among the colonies to oppose British policies, it was printed and distributed throughout the colonies as well as in Britain. Later that year he sailed to **Britain**, where he met with Benjamin **Franklin** and sympathetic Whig leaders and advocated American rights. Leaving Britain in March 1775, he died at sea just offshore from Massachusetts. *See also* Boston Port Act; Coercive Acts; Navigation Acts; Whigs.

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ROBERT N. STACY





# R

## **Rabaut de Saint Etienne, Jean Paul (1743–1793)**

A prominent French revolutionary, Jean Paul Rabaut de Saint Etienne (also spelled Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, or Rabaut or Rabaud de Saint-Etienne) was born to a Protestant family in Nîmes. He followed his father's footsteps in becoming a pastor. He was educated at the Lausanne seminary in 1763–1765 and was ordained as a pastor in 1764. Serving as a Protestant pastor in Toulouse and Nîmes, he worked energetically to secure civil rights for Protestants, which **Louis XVI** granted in 1787. After writing *Lettres sur l'histoire primitive de la Grèce*, he gained national prominence and was elected as a representative of the **Third Estate** of Nîmes and Beaucaire to the **Estates-General** in 1789. He participated in the debates leading to the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, was elected a member of the committee for drafting the constitution, and was elected president of the **National Assembly** (March 15–27, 1790), despite protests among the nobles and Roman Catholic clergy, who opposed his demands for equal rights for Protestants.

In 1791, Rabaut de Saint Etienne worked on the framing of the constitution of that year and edited the *Chronique de Paris* and the *Moniteur Universel*. To publicize his views, he also published the *Feuille villageoise*. He was elected administrator of the *département* of Gard in September 1791 but chose to remain in Paris. In 1792, he was elected to the **National Convention** as a deputy for the *département* of Aube and sat among the **Girondins** at the trial of Louis XVI, where he voted for the detention, and later for the delay, of the king's execution. In late May 1793, he served as a member of the **Committee of Public Safety** to ensure the security of the Girondin-controlled government but failed to prevent the Jacobin coup on June 2, 1793. He was put on the list of the Girondin deputies subject to arrest and went into hiding in Versailles and Paris for the next few months. He was arrested and guillotined on December 5, 1793. Rabaut de Saint Etienne was the elder brother of Jacques-Antoine Rabaut, dit Rabaut-Pommier, deputy of the National Convention. *See also* French Revolution; Jacobins; Reign of Terror.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Randolph, Edmund (1753–1813)

Edmund Randolph was born on August 10, 1753, into a prominent Williamsburg, **Virginia**, family that was very closely associated with colonial politics in Virginia and the movement for independence. His father was the attorney general of Virginia, and his uncle served as the first president of the First **Continental Congress**. He attended the College of William and Mary and read law under the tutelage of his father—a partnership that endured until the two men split over the issue of independence. His father affirmed his **Loyalist** perspective and left for **Britain** when war broke out, while Edmund committed himself to the cause of revolution and sought out a commission in the **Continental Army**.

During the **American Revolutionary War**, Randolph made a very favorable impression on General George **Washington**, who in 1775 invited him to be his aide-de-camp, a position reserved for men devoted to both the revolutionary cause and to Washington personally. In 1776 Randolph served as delegate to the Virginia Convention and was chosen as the attorney general of the newly independent Commonwealth of Virginia. He was elected to the Second **Continental Congress** in 1779 and was governor of Virginia between 1786 and 1788.

Randolph's most important contribution to the early republic came at the **Constitutional Convention** in 1787. With significant assistance from James **Madison**, Randolph drafted and presented the Virginia Plan, which proposed scrapping the **Articles of Confederation** and forming a national legislature based on state population. This proposal—sometimes called the Randolph Plan—engendered intense debate and serious divisions in the Constitutional Convention yet provided an essential framework for the nascent federal constitution. The Connecticut Compromise, which called for a bicameral legislature in which the **Senate** would defend the interests of the individual states and the **House of Representatives** would reflect the interests of the general population, borrowed heavily from Randolph's plan. Concerns over the lack of checks and balances prompted Randolph's refusal to give his approval for the **United States Constitution**, yet he encouraged Virginia to ratify the instrument.

In spite of his misgivings regarding the power of the federal government, Randolph served as the first attorney general and second secretary of state during President Washington's administration. He resigned as secretary of state in August 1795 amid speculation fueled by **France** that he was soliciting bribes. He returned to the practice of law and defended Aaron Burr during his trial for treason in 1807. He died in Millwood, Virginia, on September 13, 1813.

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JAMES T. CARROLL

## Randolph, Peyton (1721–1775)

Peyton Randolph was a leading figure in colonial politics and was elected as the first president of the First **Continental Congress** in 1774 but died before the adoption of the **Declaration of Independence**. Randolph was born to a wealthy and prominent family in Williamsburg, **Virginia**, on September 21, 1721. He graduated from the College of William and Mary and studied law in London, where he was admitted to the bar in 1743. Randolph returned to Virginia and established a law practice, but in 1748, through his father's influence, Randolph was appointed the king's attorney (attorney general) for the colony. He was also elected a member of the House of Burgesses. Randolph gained fame throughout the colonies in 1751 when he claimed that the Toleration Act, which applied to **religion**, did not apply to the colonies. Randolph also led opposition to a fee imposed by the royal governor of Virginia on land transactions and secured the removal of the tax during a mission to London in 1754. Infuriated, the governor suspended Randolph, but the government in London ordered his reinstatement.

Randolph became a close confidant of George **Washington**, and he was both a friend and cousin to Thomas **Jefferson**. He had a series of very public disagreements with Patrick **Henry**. Randolph personified the older, conservative colonial elite, while Henry and his counterparts were more radical. Nonetheless, in 1760, Randolph approved Henry's appeal following the rejection of his law license. In 1764, Randolph chaired the committee that crafted the response of the Burgesses to the **Stamp Act**, though he opposed the series of amendments offered by Henry, known as the Virginia Stamp Act Resolution (five of Henry's seven amendments were adopted by the legislature).

Although he favored settlement of the outstanding disputes between the colonies and **Britain**, Randolph gradually came to favor independence. In 1766, he was elected Speaker of the Burgesses and resigned as king's attorney. Randolph continued to serve as a counterweight to the more impetuous Henry, but both increasingly worked to garner support for more autonomy for the colonies. Randolph supported Henry's proposed measures to oppose the **Townshend Acts**. In 1769, the Burgesses were dissolved by the governor because of their opposition to restrictive trade regulations.

In May 1773, Randolph became the chair of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, and he chaired the Virginia Convention the following year. The Convention appointed Randolph as one of its delegates to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia. The Congress unanimously elected Randolph as its president. The position was largely ceremonial, but the election of Randolph was seen as a unifying gesture among the colonies. He served from September 5 to October 21, 1774. Randolph then resigned but returned to Virginia to serve again as Speaker. He was elected to the Second **Continental Congress**, and again elected president on May 10, 1775, but again only served a brief period (less than one month) due to ill health. Randolph died in Philadelphia on October 22, 1775. *See also* Adams, John; American Revolution; Boston Port Act; Boston Tea Party; Committees of Correspondence; Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms; Declaratory Act; Randolph, Edmund; Virginia Resolves.

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TOM LANSFORD

### Rankin, William (1745–1830)

William Rankin was a **Pennsylvania** landowner and militia colonel who secretly passed information to British headquarters for five years during the **American Revolution**. After fleeing across British lines, he served as an advisor to Sir Henry Clinton and died in exile in **Britain**.

William Rankin was a member of a prominent family in western Pennsylvania. In 1776, he served in the Continental Congress but broke with American Patriots over the **Declaration of Independence**. He secretly offered his services to the British that year. The British instructed him to pass on intelligence but were too cautious to approve Rankin's more audacious schemes, especially after a 1778 plot to seize a magazine failed and Rankin came under suspicion.

As the war continued, Rankin languished on the Pennsylvania frontier, closely watched by his superiors and neighbors. Rankin was not idle; he built a formidable force of at least 1,800 Loyalist spies and agents. Rankin reported to General Clinton that he had as many as 8,000 men ready to rise up and seize forts along the western frontier. Clinton could not spare the men to assist a rising in western Pennsylvania, however, and Rankin decided not to risk his men without British support.

Suspicion caught up with Rankin in March 1781, when he was arrested. He managed to escape and fled to British-occupied **New York**. He became an officer on Clinton's staff and devised a number of new plots, including the seizure of Philadelphia by a flying column and the establishment of a Loyalist refuge in the upper South. Clinton decided this idea had merit and divided his forces to hold coastal **Virginia**. This decision led indirectly to the capture of Cornwallis's army at **Yorktown**.

In 1783, Rankin followed the evacuating British Army to Britain and his estate was seized by the U.S. government. Rankin received a generous pension from the British government and died in England in 1830. *See also* Continental Congress, Second; Loyalists.

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JAMES L. ERWIN

### Reign of Terror (1793–1794)

The phrase "Reign of Terror" refers to the most violent episode of the **French Revolution**, which took place from the summer of 1793 to the summer of 1794. That period of brutal repression is principally associated with the figure of Maximilien **Robespierre**, the most prominent member of the **Committee of Public Safety**. Ideologically, the Reign of Terror shows how principles of democracy, freedom, and virtue can be dangerously taken to the extreme to justify totalitarianism and the suspension of civil liberties.

The Reign of Terror did not start on a specific date in summer 1793. In the absence of any salient event such as a political coup, historians have proposed different dates to mark the beginning of the Terror. Many have adopted the date of September 17, 1793, when the **National Convention** (the legislative assembly) passed the **Law of Suspects** authorizing the charging of all alleged counterrevolutionaries with vaguely defined “crimes against liberty.” Some historians tend to prefer the date of September 5, 1793, when the Convention officially adopted terror as its national policy (the phrase “to make terror the order of the day” is often quoted in that respect, though it is not clear who coined it). Other scholars favor the earlier date of June 2, as the arrest of **Girondin** deputies (including Jean-Pierre **Brissot**) prefigured the deleterious way the Jacobin republic was to deal with all its opponents. Other symbolic dates include July 13 (assassination of Jean-Paul **Marat**, who was soon to become a patriotic martyr), July 27 (when Robespierre joined the Committee of Public Safety), and even October 16 (the beheading of **Marie Antoinette**, nine months after **Louis XVI**). In any case, the end of the Reign of Terror can be more precisely pinpointed: July 27, 1794 (arrest of Robespierre and other key “terrorists” such as **Saint-Just** and **Couthon**), and July 28–30 (execution of over 100 supporters of Robespierre in Paris), marking the beginning of the **Thermidorian Reaction**.

The key characteristics of the Reign of Terror include a state of emergency in which violence was justified to protect the young Republic, with a well-organized terrorist apparatus nationwide, resulting in many arrests, fines, imprisonments, and sentences to death. Historians concur that during these 10 to 12 months, up to a half-million people were imprisoned for political crimes. Revolutionary courts and tribunals sent over 16,000 men and women to the **guillotine**, and over 40,000 were executed without trial or died in prison awaiting trial. If one includes the 200,000 deaths from the **Vendéan rebellion**, the total number of deaths due to the Terror is over 250,000. With the exception of the Vendée and parts of Brittany, the Terror was predominantly an urban phenomenon; besides Paris, the cities most affected were Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon. The systematic repression of all perceived enemies of the Republic was made possible by a government highly centralized around the Committee of Public Safety.

Set up in April 1793, the Committee of Public Safety has become closely associated with the Reign of Terror, as it imposed terror as the national policy in order to safeguard the legacy of the Revolution. This group of 12 men is sometimes referred to as the Commission of Twelve. They all originated from the French petty bourgeoisie, and their average age of 38 years, the youngest member, Louis de Saint-Just, being only 26. This unique political organization within the Jacobin republic was essential to the mechanisms whereby the Terror spread across **France** with systems of arrests, show trials, and public executions. The Committee of Public Safety operated as an executive government responsible for the implementation of the laws passed by the Convention. Two other institutions, the Committee of General Security (responsible for the surveillance of the police force) and the insurrectionary Paris Commune (whose military power was supported by the *sans-culottes* and by a Parisian revolutionary army from September 1793 onward) initially competed with it.

The law of December 4, 1793 (14 Frimaire, Year II, in the French revolutionary **calendar**, hence its name, the Law of Frimaire), reorganized the revolutionary government, and by spring 1794, the Committee of Public Safety had substantially strengthened its authority and was leading the country and the policy of terror. Through an original system of collective decision making, shared responsibility, and

confidential debates, the 12 members of the committee—Bertrand **Barère** (1755–1841); Jean Nicolas (sometimes Jacques Nicolas) **Billaud-Varenne** (1756–1819); Lazare **Carnot** (1753–1823), Jean Marie **Collot d’Herbois** (1750?–1796); Georges Couthon (1755? –1794), Marie Jean **Hérault de Séchelles** (1759–1794); Robert **Lindet** (1743?–1825); Claude-Antoine Prieur-Duvernois, also known as Prieur de la Côte-d’Or) (1763–1832); Pierre-Louis Prieur, also known as **Prieur de la Marne** (1756–1827); Maximilien Robespierre (1758–1794); André **Jeanbon** Saint-André (1749–1813); and Louis Antoine Léon de Saint-Just (1767–1794), who was nicknamed the Archangel of Terror—co-led a quasi-dictatorial regime. With different areas of expertise, different personalities, and different interests, the 12 men were hardly ever together in Paris at the same time; some were often away on mission in the provinces, supervising the local implementations of the Terror through watch committees as well as the regional enforcement of the continuously new laws and decrees originating from the Paris-based Convention. Although Robespierre did not formally occupy any leadership role on the Committee of Public Safety, he was its de facto figurehead. He was often the committee’s spokesman at the Convention, at the Jacobin Club, and at the Paris Commune; he was also the key ideological force behind the Terror: while other committee members (such as Carnot and Collot) were men of action, Robespierre was rather a man of rhetoric and a thinker and was mainly responsible for the ideology behind the Terror.

Ideologically, the Reign of Terror did not follow any preplanned or prewritten political strategy: it was rather a continuous creation through the pragmatic application of the principles of the **Enlightenment** in a context of national chaos and anarchy, whilst the young French Republic was threatened both internally and externally. The writings of **Rousseau** (especially *The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right*, 1762), and to a lesser extent those of **Voltaire** and **Montesquieu**, were a particular inspiration to Robespierre, who took their concepts of liberty, individual rights, and democracy to the extreme, turning them into an ideology of terror. He was only 35 and had had limited experience in public office and with political responsibilities when his executive position on the Committee of Public Safety gave him the power and authority to turn his theoretical ideas into reality. He used terror as the process to create his utopia, a truly democratic society where virtue, equality, and freedom would reign. From his perspective, terror was necessary in order to ensure the eventual triumph of revolutionary ideals and the implementation of a morally united patriotic community. Both as a theory and as a practice, terror was inevitable and laudable. Extreme measures of repression, purges, bloodshed, and autocratic control were justified by the long-term public good and the supreme need to preserve the heritage of the Revolution and to ascertain the demise of the **ancien régime**: the end justified the means. Robespierre gradually conceptualized the notion of terror, referring to it in several speeches and texts: “Terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible; it is therefore an emanation of virtue; it is not so much a special principle as it is a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to our country’s most urgent needs.” Robespierre often associated terror with virtue, the two being inseparable: “If the aim of popular government in peacetime is virtue, then the aim of popular government in a time of Revolution is virtue and terror at one and the same time: virtue without terror is disastrous, terror without virtue is impotent.” Such statements provide an insight into Robespierre’s thinking and into the ideology of terror he developed and implemented through the Committee of Public Safety.

There is more to the Reign of Terror than its well-known excessive repression. Other aspects need to be considered in order to appreciate the political ambition of that failed yet original ideology, especially with regard to economics and **religion**. With regard to economics, the Terror initially occurred during a troubled period of food shortages and food riots. A range of measures were taken, such as the creation of public granaries. Price control was the strategy advocated by the Committee of Public Safety: on September 29, 1793, the Convention passed a Law of General **Maximum** on the price of food, including bread, wine, cider, meat, fish, fruit, vegetables, and honey, as well as the price of goods such as wool, leather, cloth, soap, steel, and copper. Hoarders and speculators were arrested, fined, and even guillotined. These economic restrictions also included wage control, which shows a clear attempt by the state to try to control and stabilize the economy. Although it was never fully implemented, the Terror was underpinned by a program of redistribution of wealth; the Ventôse Decrees of February 26 and March 3, 1794 (8–13 Ventôse, Year II), were written in that spirit: eliminating pauperism and ensuring some welfare for all were parts of the socioeconomic goals of the Terror. With regard to religion, one may distinguish between two phases: first, a brutal dechristianization (in autumn 1793), and second, an attempt at creating a new revolutionary religion (in spring 1794). The first years of the Revolution had already been marked by a strong **anti-clericalism**, and under the Terror this phenomenon intensified, with the looting of religious buildings, more deportation of priests or forced marriages, and even symbolic actions such as the removal of the word “Saint” from street names, as well as the desecration of the royal tombs at Saint-Denis. It is not possible in a few weeks to erase centuries of Catholic tradition though, especially in rural areas. The Committee of Public Safety realized that this policy would not rally national support but would lead to even more anarchy, so a change of direction was taken. Instead of eradicating religion across France and imposing atheism by force with little chance of success, Robespierre proposed a new cult to replace Christianity: the revolutionary eradication of the Catholic cult would take place through the cult of the Supreme Being. It was not a godless cult of reason, but rather a monotheist belief in a godhead who was watching over France and would help the Revolution triumph over its enemies. The cult of the Supreme Being was declared the state religion, and on June 8, 1794 (20 Prairial, Year II), the nation celebrated the first official Festival of the Supreme Being, orchestrated in Paris by the French artist Jacques-Louis **David**. This new religion only lasted a few months, as it never gained popular support, but it shows how ideological the Terror was—a vast enterprise of social and moral regeneration that aimed to create a new culture and even a new society.

Fiercely chasing and eliminating all apparent opponents was the method that enabled the Terror to carry on for almost a year, until even its figureheads found themselves outlawed and eliminated. The Terror fed on fights: military fights (against the **Chouans** in the Vendée, or against the coalition armies of Prussia and **Austria** on the northeastern borders of France, or against Britain with the siege of Toulon on the Mediterranean coast), civic fights (with national agents and representatives from the Convention sent to the provinces with the power to remove and condemn local administrative chiefs), and ideological fights (even against previous friends and allies such as Georges **Danton** and the Indulgents, who suddenly appeared too moderate, or Jacques **Hébert** and his supporters, who became too extreme). Under the pretext of protecting national security, crushing all types of

resistance and opposition was the motto and the tenet of the Terror. Following the military victories of the autumn of 1793—the Battle of Hondschoote on September 8, the defeat of the Austrian army at the Battle of Wattignies on October 16, and the French victory against the British at Toulon in December)—the Terror focused its energy internally in the spring and summer of 1794, resulting in an increase in the number of condemnations and executions. France was then living in an overwhelming climate of threat and suspicion: it was said that even flowers in a woman's hair could be a secret sign for possible conspirators. Although some regions were more affected than others, all over the country anyone could be arrested and suspected of being an enemy of the Revolution. Trials were swift and the guillotine was often used, especially in Paris. Its most important excesses took place in the last months of the Reign of Terror, as emblemized by the arrest of Danton on March 30, 1794 (10 Germinal, Year II). After a rapid trial over the following days, during which Danton was removed from the courtroom and unable to defend himself, he was found guilty on April 5 and guillotined a few hours later (16 Germinal). Two months later, the draconian law of June 10, 1794 (22 Prairial, Year II, hence the **Law of 22 Prairial**), streamlined the operations of the **revolutionary tribunals** and took legal procedures to the extreme: suspects lost the right to a lawyer and could be convicted even in the absence of any material proof. The Law of Prairial, which started a period called the Great Terror, is emblematic of the way the Terror was starting to self-destruct, having lost touch not only with the masses, but also with common sense and all rationality. Declining support from the population and from its representatives at the Convention, disillusion, moroseness, growing hostility, divisions, and internal tensions within the Committee of Public Safety all explain the paradoxical end of the Terror in July 1794, when Robespierre himself became a victim of the system he had designed and put in place. Following a conspiracy at the Convention, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon were declared enemies of the Republic on July 27, 1794 (9 Thermidor, Year II); they were arrested and guillotined the following day, without trial, in the pure style of the Terror.

As the bloodiest episode of the French Revolution, the Reign of Terror ended abruptly with the execution of Robespierre and over 100 Robespierrists. A few days later, the Law of Prairial was repealed, and within a few weeks, the whole machinery of the Terror was dismantled. The Convention explicitly signaled a political move into a different direction, yet the so-called **Thermidorian Reaction** could not avoid a phenomenon of repression very reminiscent of the Terror itself. Hundreds of Jacobins and previous proponents of the Terror were arrested and executed. During this **White Terror** of the Year III (September 1794–September 1795), the terrorists of the previous few months became the new targets; it was a form of revenge on the part of all the previous suspects, now released from prison, and many royalists. Violence followed violence, and anti-Jacobin terror replaced the Reign of Terror, whilst “Jacobin” became a term of opprobrium. Sporadic attacks across France lasted about a year until the formal demise of the Convention as a republican institution on September 26, 1795, when the Constitution of the Year III took effect, installing the **Directory** with the first bicameral legislature in French history, which started a new political era. The ideological heritage of the Reign of Terror is still controversial: it has been interpreted in several ways because of its intrinsic contradictions. In 1793–1794, the fear of a counterrevolution and the fear of invasion by foreign monarchist powers created the frenzied paranoia of



the governing bodies and the terrorist chaos that ensued. The state-sanctioned violence was paradoxically accompanied by a concern for humanitarianism, as emblemized by the decree on the abolition of slavery in the French colonies on August 23, 1793, and by the plans to redistribute to the poor the belongings of political prisoners. One can also see the beginnings of modern interventionism and socialism with social reforms, a new tradition of parliamentary democracy, and the separation of church and state, although all this occurred within a repressive and highly centralized government that prefigured twentieth-century totalitarian regimes (hence the frequent comparisons of Robespierre to Stalin and Hitler). The Reign of Terror arguably saved the French Revolution from disintegration, yet its extreme intransigence could only lead to self-destruction. It is mainly remembered for its violence and arbitrary executions, which is why, from an etymological viewpoint, the terms “terror” and “terrorist” took on the meaning and connotations they still carry today.

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L. L. LOMINÉ

## Religion

Religion in the revolutionary era of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was perceived in two primary ways: as a positive force for change and as a target for elimination by anti-clerical reformers.

In America, nearly all the Founding Fathers believed traditional religion to be helpful in the development of the new nation. While some, like **Virginia's** Thomas **Jefferson**, had become increasingly deistic in their beliefs, meaning they denied divine revelation and limited their faith to that of a Supreme Being, most, if not orthodox themselves, were respectful of the masses' faith. Evidence for this is found in the overwhelming number of references to the scriptures and Christian tradition in the writings of the Founding Fathers. A study conducted recently showed that of the 3,154 different citations found in their collected writings, 34 percent came from scripture, whereas only 300 came from **Enlightenment** figures like **Montesquieu**, **William Blackstone**, **John Locke**, and **David Hume**.

Traditional Christian faith, therefore, was not only a narrative backdrop for the founding of the American republic; it was also believed to be a primary source of virtue for the average citizen. **John Adams** articulated this clearly when he wrote, “It would be better to turn back to the gods of the Greeks than to endure a government of atheists.” In Europe, however, where the dominant intellectual force of the eighteenth century was the anti-clerical French Enlightenment philosopher **Voltaire**, institutional religion was about to enter a period of rapid decline. Though

Voltaire believed religious observance to be integral to the human identity and the health of the nation, his followers did not.

Part of the problem for the institutional churches and the **papacy** in Europe was the close ties to government held by church leaders. While the church would often claim that its welfare and the people's were synonymous, many critics argued that the church's welfare was more closely tied to the maintenance of monarchies and the various despots than to the people's. Despite the somewhat spurious motives of the clergy, however, the masses remained faithful in their religious faith.

The revolutionary leaders, however, were not so patient with and sympathetic to the interests of the institutional church. In **France**, soon after the Revolution's launch, dechristianization became an integral part of the revolutionary **National Assembly's** agenda. The anti-clerical measures began with the National Assembly's passage of the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**, on August 26, 1789. This legislation included the provision that "No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation." As many Frenchmen considered the pope a foreign power, this article was designed to minimize his influence in the nation.

The next assault on Christendom came with the expropriation of church properties in late 1789 (under the guise of paying off national debts). When hardly a cry came from the papacy or the clerics, however, the revolutionary leaders were emboldened in their efforts, and so, on July 12, 1790, a systematic eradication of clerical influence began in France with the legislation known as the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**. This measure placed France's Catholic Church under state control and made the ministers state employees. To make matters worse, on November 27, 1790, the Assembly prompted a civil war within the church by requiring an oath of allegiance from the clergy to the constitution.

The revolutionary leadership, however, was not content with mere dechristianization. In November 1793, they attempted to replace traditional faith with their own state-sponsored cult of Reason, the celebration of which included the desecration of the cathedral at Notre Dame. The nation's mostly observant Catholic populace, however, did not respond kindly to the ridicule and denigration of their church.

Sensing an emerging backlash against the National Assembly, Maximilien **Robespierre** decided to soften the leadership's image by creating the cult of the Supreme Being. Through a series of deistic rites and rituals, Robespierre attempted to inspire religious enthusiasm and patriotic morality in the state-sponsored Feast of the Supreme Being, held in June 1794. His efforts were for naught however, as the cult of the Supreme Being died with him the following month.

**Anti-clericalism** was not limited to the **French Revolution**, though it was most devastating there. This is not to say that religion died in Europe with the Revolution in France. It did not. There were some successful revivals and reformation movements in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Within Catholicism, there were several isolated revivals in addition to the ultramontanist movement, the most famous of which was the Oxford Movement of the 1830s, which produced one of the great Catholic thinkers of the last 200 years, John Henry Newman. Within Protestantism, there were also several revival movements, some of which were reform oriented, like the antislavery efforts of William **Wilberforce**, and others that were prophecy oriented, like John Nelson Darby's Plymouth Brethren. Despite these varying efforts,

however, the institutional church in Europe has yet to recover from the secularization of the revolutionary era.

On the other hand, in America, the various mainstream denominations experienced a great deal of growth throughout the nineteenth century. Through a combination of evangelical efforts and ecclesiastic-inspired social reforms, the American church remained a vibrant force for many years. Only recently has European revolutionary secularism and anti-clericalism been widespread. Through a rapid dechristianization of American schools and universities, and the governmental assumption of welfare duties, the church in America, like the church in Europe, continues to struggle for relevance and influence. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Ultramontanism.

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PETER R. MCGUIRE

## Representatives on Mission

Members of the **National Convention** were dispatched to the departments as soon as it assembled in September 1792. Yet it was the decree of March 9, 1793, that created the unique system of representatives on mission, dividing the country into groups of departments and assigning deputies to each. Others were sent to the armed forces, like Louis **Saint-Just**, who went to the Armée du Nord or **Jeanbon Saint-André**, who went to the navy, while yet others were entrusted with the task of supervising new means of making gunpowder. At any one time over 100 deputies might be absent from the Convention on mission, playing their part in a system that lasted until October 1795. Unlike intendants before them, or prefects later, they were representatives of the people on temporary assignments, not permanent administrators. In order to overcome the difficulty of enforcing the law on uncooperative or recalcitrant local authorities, however, they were given broad emergency powers. For their part they were tremendously energetic, not to say sometimes violent in their conduct, but they played a key role in ensuring the survival of the embattled Republic during its period of great crisis in the mid-1790s.

Representatives had a largely free hand to issue their own decrees as well as to suspend existing laws, though they had to work with people on the ground as well as keeping in touch with Paris. Indeed, the best way to understand them is to read the proclamations and reports they regularly submitted to the **Committee of Public Safety**. They were empowered to requisition resources for the war effort as well as levy taxes, dismiss elected officials, and appoint replacements. Most controversially, they were given powers of arrest and the authority to condemn guilty parties to death. Even after the passage of the law of 14 Frimaire, Year II (December 4, 1793), which attempted to impose some order on the various measures that had grown up with the revolutionary government during the past nine months, some representatives continued to act in a more independent fashion. Their reluctance to return to the Convention when summoned to do so was in some cases out of fear of being held to account for corrupt or excessive practices, though many of these

republican proconsuls were loath to abandon the influence they exercised over the localities.

In many parts of the country they were simply emissaries for the Revolution, frequently expressing surprise at the ignorance they encountered. Clearly they were concerned to establish personnel who would continue after they had moved on, so typically, they would commence with a visit to the Jacobin Club of a major town. There they would seek intelligence to help shape their policy and choice of personnel. Unreliable local administrations were purged, and more humble individuals were often appointed to office, partly for political reasons, but also because wealthier inhabitants had become increasingly unwilling to serve. Since representatives were nominated by the Committee of Public Safety, then approved by deputies in the National Convention, it is no surprise that they largely reflected the dominant political tendency. Most of the 400 deputies who went on mission were regicides, and half of them may be classed as Montagnards, but the teams in which they traveled might well have been mixed in terms of affiliation.

Those dispatched to rebellious areas like the west or the Midi had little choice but to concentrate on breaking resistance to the Republic. This was achieved through military force—in the Vendée or at Lyon or Toulon—followed by severe repression. Establishing tribunals and overseeing executions seems to have enthused some representatives, such as Jean Marie **Collot d'Herbois** at Lyon and Louis-Stanislas **Fréron** at Toulon, who exulted in the liquidation of hundreds of “enemies of the people.” There is no doubt that even though they were faced with desperate circumstances, some *représentants* vastly exceeded their punitive brief. Jean-Baptiste **Carrier**, who drowned more than 2,000 prisoners from the Vendée in the freezing waters of the Loire in January 1794 is a classic case in point; he would later pay for his crime with his own life, at the hands of fellow deputies a year later. Claude Javogues pursued a personal vendetta in his native Montbrison. The closure of churches and defrocking of priests that characterized dechristianization was often the work of representatives, especially if they were former priests like Joseph **Fouché**.

As the machinery of the Terror was gradually dismantled after the fall of Maximilien **Robespierre** in Thermidor (July 1794), representatives continued to be sent on mission for another year. Their political composition, however, altered considerably, and it was now the turn of moderate deputies from the **Plain**, or survivors of the Girondin purge lately readmitted to the Convention, to generally supervise the pursuit of former terrorists in their devastated departments. Some of these *représentants* gained as notorious a reputation as their Montagnard predecessors, among them Henri **Isnard**, who, confronted with a Jacobin uprising at Toulon in May and June 1795, urged opponents who lacked weapons to “dig up your fathers’ bones and use them to exterminate this horde of brigands.”

Yet a myth has grown up around these roving deputies. They were by no means just bloody agents of the Terror, as the exaggerated attention accorded to certain extreme cases would suggest. Many of them engaged in constructive measures aimed at improving education and welfare, as well as ensuring compliance with existing legislation, not least in the quieter departments where the political pressure was rather less intense, and violence rare. In the Isère, for instance, a department on the eastern frontier, defensive measures were extremely important, but *représentants* like Deydier and Petitjean proceeded calmly. Intervention from the center overriding the decentralized regime that had marked the early years of the Revolution had

become essential for the infant Republic, not least in a context of foreign war and internal instability. Without the indefatigable efforts of the representatives on mission, the Republic would surely have come to grief in the Year II. See also Girondins; Jacobins; The Mountain.

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MALCOLM CROOK

## Republicanism

Throughout early modern Europe and into the eighteenth century, republicanism developed as a potent political ideology that challenged the political norms expressed within monarchical structures. In contrast to the monarchical system, where the king exercised personal authority over his subjects and ruled his kingdom as a personal possession, republicanism revived the norms and concepts of antiquity, arguing that government was the common business (*res publica*) of the citizens that governs according to the common good. Republicanism emerged as an oppositional political discourse that rejected the theory of absolutism and the divine right of kings and looked to secure the freedom of the citizen within a constitutional framework that included representative institutions. Republicanism was first and foremost a theory of political liberty. Secondly, republicanism articulated a theory of government and a moral theory of **citizenship** that aimed to define the institutions and conditions necessary for the experience of liberty.

Republicanism grew out of the practical experience of the Italian city-states of the late Middle Ages. It was out of the fifteenth-century city-states such as Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, where there were no kings or princes, only citizens who lived by common laws and statutes, although only a minority had the full privileges of citizenship, that Italian jurists, historians, and political theorists developed the basic tenets of a republican theory of liberty, government, and citizenship. They theorized about their practical situation by appealing to the republics of antiquity for political values and drawing from a wide body of ancient texts: the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, the political and moral writings of Cicero and Seneca, and the Roman histories of Livy and Tacitus, to name the most prominent. From **Italy**, largely owing to the work of Machiavelli, republican discourse spread to the political culture of many European nations. It became a central part of the political struggles in seventeenth century England, including the English republic of 1649, and a potent force in the revolutionary struggles of the late eighteenth century, when both the American and French revolutions culminated in the project of founding a new republic. The experience of revolution transformed the early modern discourse of republicanism, marking a transition to a modern revolutionary republicanism that would play an important part in nineteenth-century political struggles, especially in **France**.

Republicanism begins with a theory of freedom as nondomination. For republicanism, the experience of freedom means the absence of domination by the will of others. The republican does not live, as Romans said, *in potestate domini* (in the power of a master.) According to republican theory, freedom required the political status and political institutions that could prevent the arbitrary will of another from imposing itself upon the citizen. This view of freedom conditioned the opposition to monarchy, where the arbitrary will of the king was a constant presence within the political community, even if the king acted benevolently toward his subjects. In contrast, republicanism emphasized the rule of law insofar as it argued that whatever interference or restraint the citizen was forced to accept must be dictated by the laws that citizens have given themselves through their participation within free institutions. Drawing on Roman sources, republicanism emphasized the importance of law as an expression of freedom, and a *republic* was defined as a government where the law was more powerful than any individual. In this sense, republicanism drew a central distinction between being subject to domination and being subject to restraint, and what it rejected about the monarchical structures of early modern Europe was the absence of free institutions and the rule of law.

The problem of government was central to its theory of freedom, and republicanism sought to define the sort of government that could secure the experience of nondomination. Republicanism was a theory of representative self-government, where government was organized according to constitutional limitations. Republican theorists argued that government was necessary for the experience of freedom, but it was also a danger that, without check, could threaten to dominate the citizen. This led republicanism to favor a theory of a mixed constitution, whereby the various institutions of government would check and balance the power of one another. For republicanism, the best government is one that combines the three classical forms of governance—the rule of one (monarchy), the rule of the few (aristocracy), and the rule of many (democracy). This was expressed by a theory of a balance of powers within the sovereign body, whereby the legislature, deliberative, and executive powers check the power of each other while enabling different interests to be represented within constituted bodies. The classic model of the republican theory of mixed government was exemplified by the Republic of Venice, and the theory served as the basis for the system of republican government created by the **American Revolution**. In contrast to the classical practice, the revolutionary republicanism of the **French Revolution** rejected the theory of mixed constitution, and drawing largely on the ideas of Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, the revolutionaries defined the Republic as “one and indivisible.” According to this view, sovereignty could not be divided among different powers, and the Republic that was created in 1792 rejected the classic view of mixed government. This was a significant departure from early modern republicanism, and it exemplifies one of the ways that the French Revolution developed a distinctive vision of republican government.

While republicanism emphasized the centrality of freedom, it combined with this concern for freedom a moral discourse about citizenship. In a republic, according to republican theory, a citizen is free, but he has the duty to care for his freedom and to care for the republic. Republicanism emphasized the value of civic virtue and the necessity of a political way of life that would enable the citizen to lead a virtuous life. Furthermore, politics is theorized as a central component of living a full and good life. The republic is defined not merely as an assemblage of political

institutions, but as a moral community. By participating in the life of this community, the citizen is able to realize his full potential for a full and good life. Republican discourse emphasized that the common good of the republic required the citizen to perform certain duties and services, and it demanded that citizens place the needs of the community above their own private interests. As a moral discourse, it argued that the freedom the republic secured for the citizen came with the moral commitment to lead a life of virtue, which was the only true preservation of both the republic and the freedom its institutions enabled. For this reason, republicanism was a moral theory of virtue, patriotism, and duty as well as a political theory of liberty and free government.

The republican theory and practice of the Italian city-states, derived as it was from Roman sources, was not democratic or egalitarian. It was the experiences of revolutionary America and France that combined a democratic and egalitarian discourse with the central republican themes of liberty, law, government, and republican virtue. The experiment of constructing a republic for a large nation, as opposed to a city-state, forced the revolutionaries to make important innovations within republican theory. At the same time, by combining a theory of the rights of man with republican theory, the American and French revolutions produced a distinctive change that led to the creation of modern republicanism. For this reason, modern republicanism can place considerable emphasis on the importance of political participation within democratic institutions and the centrality of **equality** that was not expressed within the broader tradition of early modern republicanism. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Hamilton, Alexander; Jacobins; Jefferson, Thomas; Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de le Brede et de; Paine, Thomas; Robespierre, Maximilien; United States Constitution.

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BRODIE RICHARDS

## Revenue Act (1766)

The Revenue Act of 1766 (also known as the American Trade Act) was a response by the Marquess of **Rockingham**'s short-lived Whig administration to the outrage over the **Stamp Act** and other taxes levied by **Parliament** in the North American colonies. The Rockingham government followed a general policy of conciliation with the colonies while not relinquishing any parliamentary claims to authority. After repealing the Stamp Act, the government turned its attention to other issues, which, in turn, also divided the colonists from **Britain**. One was the high tax on sugar imported to the colonies from the French islands of the Caribbean in the form of molasses. This tax, more strictly enforced since the passage of the **Sugar Act** in 1764, was borne by the powerful American rum industry and supported by British West India sugar planters. In return for concessions relating to inter-island trade in the Caribbean, the West India planters acquiesced in a reduction and remodeling

of the tax. The Revenue Act, passed into law on June 6, 1766, reduced the duty on molasses from three pennies to the gallon to one penny. It also applied the duty to both foreign molasses and molasses from the British Empire. Since this modification rendered the sugar tax a pure revenue-raising device, rather than as a means of forcing colonists to buy British sugar, the tax was an effective moneymaker for the government and aroused little opposition in America.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### Revere, Paul (1735–1818)

Paul Revere, a multitalented Boston artisan, was recognized by contemporaries for his work as a silversmith and engraver but is best known today as one of two messengers dispatched by Dr. Joseph Warren the night of April 18, 1775, to alert John **Hancock** and Sam **Adams** that the British intended to arrest them and put them on trial in **Britain** for treason. Born in Boston, Revere was the eldest of seven children of Paul Revere (originally Apollus Rivoire, born in **France** in 1702) and Deborah Hichborn. Upon leaving Boston's North Grammar School, Revere apprenticed with his father to learn the gold- and silversmith trade. He married twice: to Sarah Orne in 1757 (d. 1773), and then five months after Orne's death to Rachael Walker.

During the Seven Years' War, Revere served in a New England militia expedition to Canada organized to seize (French-controlled) Crown Point. But after waiting six months at Fort William Henry on Lake George, the expedition was abandoned and never saw military action. Following this conflict, Revere returned to Boston and worked as a silversmith. In the late 1760s he expanded his vocational repertoire to include creating engraving plates used to produce printed illustrations. Revere's engravings captured on paper significant episodes of the revolutionary movement. His engraving of the March 5, 1770, **Boston Massacre** distorted actual events but was enormously successful as a piece of Whig propaganda.

Revere was a staunch Whig and ardent Patriot, but as an artisan he was never included in the inner circle of **Massachusetts** Whigs or elected to public office. He did serve on subcommittees of the Boston Committee of Correspondence and was a member of most of Boston's Whig-leaning social clubs, including the North End Caucus and the **Sons of Liberty**. As a Son of Liberty, Revere participated in the **Boston Tea Party** on December 16, 1773.

Revere's skill as a dentist introduced him to Dr. Joseph Warren, who, along with Sam Adams and John Hancock, led Boston's Whigs. This contact led to Revere's now-celebrated role as a hired messenger. He frequently carried dispatches between Massachusetts's Provincial Congress and the First **Continental Congress** but also carried the **Suffolk Resolves** to the **Continental Congress** in September 1774. On April 18, 1775, Warren dispatched Revere (along with William Dawes) to alert Hancock and Adams in Lexington that he believed the British intended to arrest them for treason and send them to London for trial. Revere's ride was dramatized by Longfellow in the poem "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere," published in *Tales of the Wayside Inn* (1863). After Revere delivered Warren's message, he continued toward Concord but was quickly captured and briefly detained by a small British



detachment. Though released as soon as the first shots were heard at Lexington, Revere did not return to Boston for fear of being arrested for treason. He remained with his family in Charlestown until the siege of Boston ended with the departure of the British for Nova Scotia in March 1776.

During the **American Revolutionary War**, Revere printed currency for both the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and the Continental Congress, established a gunpowder mill, and served as a lieutenant colonel in the militia stationed at Fort William on Castle Island in Boston Harbor. Following the war, he established a foundry in Boston's North End that cast bells and cannon as well as supplied the copper work for the frigate *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") and the copper plates for Robert Fulton's first steamboat. Revere was also instrumental in organizing the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, an organization of laborers that predated the first organized labor unions of the mid-nineteenth century. *See also* Boston Port Act; Lexington and Concord, Actions at; Tea Act.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

## Revolutionary Committees of the French Revolution

Although they predate the **Reign of Terror** by several months, the revolutionary committees of the **French Revolution** were probably its most ubiquitous instrument. The first committees were the spontaneous creation of a few communes across **France** during the fall of 1792 (most notably in Paris) in response to the fears generated by the disastrous course of the war with **Austria**. Their anomalous and quasi-legal position was clarified and legalized on March 21, 1793, by the **National Convention**. Every commune was henceforth required to set up a committee in each city section and to periodically renew its membership through elections. Initially, they were responsible only for registering and monitoring foreigners, but the definition of "foreigner" was amorphous enough that most suspects were, in fact, Frenchmen who came from outside the local community and were thus foreigners only in the broadest sense. By the fall of 1793 many municipal and departmental governments had begun to delegate portions of their authority to the committees and thus saw their tasks dramatically augmented. Among these new assignments were not only the supervision of foreigners but also suspects in general, the issuance of certificates of civism and residence, censorship of the mail, and the enforced observation of the *décade* (the new 10-day week, which took the place of the 7-day week). These functions gave them a unique perspective on the activities of resident foreigners as well as every city resident as denunciations began to accumulate on the desks of the committees.

Despite the clear requirements of the law, most communes failed to create committees until the fall of 1793, when various representatives from the National Convention were sent out to the departments to organize a response to the civil war. The **representatives on mission** created committees wherever they went in order to both identify and arrest suspects but also to assist efforts in organizing the war effort. These appointed committees outnumbered elected committees in most places,

and their assiduity often depended upon the activities of the representatives and the tasks they were charged with; the Convention's attempts to create a uniform system of committees was never achieved, as not only did some communes fail to create any committees (and were never visited by a representative), but the powers allocated to and assumed by existing ones were quite disparate. Some communes elected committees that met only to formally acknowledge receipt of the new laws from Paris, discuss mundane issues, and adjourn, while others tried very hard to peer into as many private matters in their communities as they possibly could, whether such invasions were legal or not.

The committees were provided with various tools by the Convention, including a national standard, which defined suspects on September 17, 1793, and was known popularly as the **Law of Suspects**. The committees were empowered to identify people who satisfied the terms of the law, arrest them (using the **National Guard** or local gendarmes), and hold them until the war ended. The law, which was intentionally vague, permitted the committees to seize a wide range of people who were not able to sufficiently prove their favorable opinion of the Revolution. Most of the suspects arrested under the Law of Suspects were either ex-nobles or clergy, groups that were generally assumed to harbor a serious antipathy toward the Revolution. The committees lost their reason for existence after the French began winning the war and civil war, and the overthrow of Maximilien **Robespierre** led most to begin wrapping up their activities and releasing their suspects. *See also* Committee of Public Safety.

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LEE BAKER

## Revolutionary Tribunals

The revolutionary tribunals were established as political courts for trying and executing anyone deemed to be an enemy of the Republic—especially supporters of the monarchy—but quickly became instruments of broad terror, overseeing the execution of tens of thousands of people from all social backgrounds. Almost 200 tribunals oversaw executions throughout **France**.

The genesis of the revolutionary tribunals can be found in the efforts of Maximilien **Robespierre**, Georges-Jacques **Danton**, and Jean-Paul **Marat** to abolish the monarchy completely and establish and defend France as a republic under the governing **National Convention**. Initiated by decree of the Convention in March 1793, on the recommendation of Danton, the revolutionary tribunals were presented as a means of defending the Republic during its early stages against the actions of provocateurs, whether in the services of royalists, the church, or foreign powers.

Each revolutionary tribunal was made up of 12 members: a 9-person jury and 3 public prosecutors. Decisions of the tribunals were final and there were no appeals. In Paris the revolutionary tribunal was headed by M. J. A Hermann with Antoine Quentin **Fouquier-Tinville** serving as public prosecutor.

Political purges not only were directed at counterrevolutionaries, monarchists, and those who sought alliances with other countries but also came to target political moderates and even the poor who became frustrated that the Revolution was not radical enough. Eventually the purview of the revolutionary tribunals was expanded

to such an extent that any criticism of the government could become the basis for criminal charges. The range of charges that might send an accused individual before the tribunal became increasingly broad, including such vaguely outlined transgressions as seeking to inspire discouragement, abusing the principles or purity of revolutionary or republican principles, seeking to mislead opinion, and depraving morals or corrupting public conscience. Furthermore, every citizen was called upon to ferret out counterrevolutionaries and required to denounce them immediately upon identification.

It was not long before Robespierre recognized the strategic political value of the revolutionary tribunals as a means of dealing with his political opponents and, as importantly, his rivals among the **Jacobins** and their allies. The extremes of injustice carried out under the revolutionary tribunals mirrored the growth of Robespierre's influence within the **Committee of Public Safety**. They soon became the primary mechanism of the **Reign of Terror**.

On 22 Prairial (June 10, 1794) Robespierre and his supporters on the Committee of Public Safety proposed a law to release the revolutionary tribunals from the control of the Convention. This proposal sought to limit the opportunities available for the accused to defend themselves, thereby increasing the power of prosecutors. In addition to preventing the accused from employing defense counsel, the **Law of 22 Prairial** also dispensed with the hearing of witnesses, except where this might contribute to the discovery of accomplices. Moral "proof" became sufficient to establish guilt. The new law further imposed the death penalty as a mandatory sentence for anyone found guilty. Over the course of 49 days, between the law's enactment and the fall of Robespierre, more people, almost 1,400, were condemned to death under the revolutionary tribunal than had been throughout the previous year.

The revolutionary tribunals eventually devoured their own, as both founder Danton and first prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville, found themselves standing accused before it. The revolutionary tribunal in Paris was abolished on May 31, 1795, almost a full year after the rise of the **Thermidorians** and their coup against Robespierre and the Paris Commune. It might be noted that despite their professed opposition to the Terror, the Thermidorians saw fit to deploy the tribunal toward their own ends.

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JEFF SHANTZ

## Rhode Island

Rhode Island, like every other American colony, found itself divided into regions with differing and competing economic, social, and political interests. The two centers in the colony were the port cities of Providence in the north and Newport in the south. While the majority of **Loyalists** were in Newport, they still formed a minority in that area. When the **Stamp Act** was introduced in 1765, both cities saw riots and demonstrations against it.

Before the **American Revolution**, Rhode Island actually elected its own governor. His position as executive was weak and subordinated to the Assembly and the Council. Rhode Island participated in the Continental Congresses and adopted the **Articles of Confederation** in 1778. At the conclusion of the war, the state strongly opposed the ability of the states under the Articles of Confederation to collect taxes. Within the state there had, however, been some expressed interest in strengthening the Confederation, but not enough to support a **Constitutional Convention**. Rhode Island sent no delegates to Philadelphia in 1787 for the Confederation and would not even convene a state convention to ratify the **United States Constitution**. Eventually the new United States brought pressure to bear. If it did not ratify the Constitution, Rhode Island would be treated as a foreign power in terms of commercial transactions and duties. In 1790, therefore, Rhode Island gave its ratification. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Constitutions, American State; Continental Association; Continental Congress, First; Continental Congress, Second; New England Restraining Act; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act Congress.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Riot at Golden Hill

*See* Golden Hill, Riot at

## Rivington, James (1724–1802)

James Rivington was a bookseller and printer and the most effective Loyalist newspaperman during the **American Revolution**. Born in London, he was a member of one of **Britain's** most important publishing dynasties, but his own wish to seek easy profits, a need fuelled by his gambling problem, led to his bankruptcy and immigration to New York City in 1760. Rivington established bookshops in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and in 1773 he began to publish *Rivington's New York Gazette*, which, due to its excellent editing and news content, established a subscribership of 3,600 by 1775. During the rising imperial crisis, Rivington initially attempted to remain politically objective in his paper, a policy that targeted him for Patriot hatred and increasingly focused his Loyalism.

Rivington's contribution to the notion of a free press in America is now difficult to establish. Twice his printing shop at the foot of Wall Street was attacked by the **Sons of Liberty**, and finally in January 1776 he returned to London in September 1777, only to return to New York City as the king's printer. Under the protection of the British garrison, he established the *Loyalist Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette*, which was published from 1777 to 1783. Later renamed the *Royal Gazette*, this pro-British paper attacked American leaders, especially Governor William **Livingston** of **New Jersey**, and by successfully coordinating the publishing schedules of the other city printers, Rivington was able to produce the first daily newspaper in America. His

often-outlandish stories, such as the assassination of Benjamin **Franklin** and a report that Russia was sending Cossacks to America to fight for Britain, led his enemies, however, to dub his paper “Rivington’s Lying Gazette.”

Rivington’s later wartime activities remain hard to access. When it became clear that Britain was losing the war, his attacks on American leaders decreased and eventually ceased altogether. In 1783, he refused to leave New York City with other **Loyalists**, and he renamed his paper *Rivington’s New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*. His property was never seized, nor was he persecuted by his enemies, developments that have led to speculation that he was, after all, a spy for **Washington** during the war. Whatever the truth may be, Rivington never regained his prosperity and after a long spell in debtor’s prison died in poverty on July 4, 1802, in New York City. *See also* Newspapers (American).

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RORY T. CORNISH

### **Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore (1758–1794)**

Maximilien Robespierre has achieved notoriety as the arch ideologue of the **French Revolution** and the prime instigator of the **Reign of Terror**. His unswerving devotion to the cause led to his nickname “the Incorruptible.” He entered politics at the age of 31 in 1789 and went on to become one of the foremost revolutionary leaders. His influence on the **Committee of Public Safety**, the ruling executive, ensured the Jacobin consolidation of his faction’s power during the bloody years of the Terror.

Robespierre was, paradoxically, a somewhat elusive figure, especially in his later life. He finally became an almost total recluse who addressed the **National Convention** just once in the last two months of his life. It is too simplistic to dismiss Robespierre as a mere dictator who fell on his own sword, although the Committee of Public Safety was primarily involved in repression. He was an exponent of the bourgeois Left, which was subject to the bitter factionalism of the time. A man who dominated **France** during its struggle for modernity, by Thermidor of the revolutionary calendar’s Year II (1794), he had fallen victim to the vicissitudes of revolutionary politics and was executed. Politically, he was a follower of **Rousseau** and was said to sleep with a copy of his works under his pillow. Most works about Robespierre underline his fanaticism and blind faith in the Revolution.

Robespierre was born in Arras, the provincial capital of Artois in the north of France, and became a lawyer. Contrary to some reports, his family were not descendants of Irish immigrants, as several genealogists have traced his roots back to the Middle Ages in northern France. Perhaps significantly for his later development, Robespierre was left an orphan at the age of eight and experienced poverty more than any other revolutionary leader, except possibly **Marat**. Rudé tells us that “There are evident signs in his early writings and pleadings of a deep concern for greater justice and equity, of a man acutely sensitive to poverty and outraged by the abuses of power and once convinced that virtue alone was the basis of happiness.”

In 1788, he became involved in the debate over how the **Estates-General** should be formed. He argued that if previously used methods of election were employed,



Maximilien Robespierre. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

the body would be wholly unrepresentative. He had started to make his mark in politics and was eventually elected fifth deputy of the **Third Estate** of Artois at the age of 30. It was in the Estates-General and its successor body, the **Constituent Assembly**, that he achieved his reputation as something of a rabble-rouser. He was a frequent speaker in the Constituent Assembly and made a significant impression. He shifted his attentions from the newly formed Assembly to the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, known as the Jacobin Club, one of many **political clubs** that mushroomed in France.

Consisting originally of the Breton deputies but eventually attracting artisans and shopkeepers, it was here that Robespierre found a receptive audience that would go on to idolize him. His name first appears in club records in April 1790, and between January and September 1791, he took to the floor some 35 times. The prospect of war was never far away at this time, and the intrigues over the looming conflict with **Austria** were a major part of Robespierre's political development. From October 1791, the leftist group in the new **Legislative Assembly**, led by Jacques-Pierre **Brisot**, wanted a people's war against the monarchies of Europe in order to spread the principles of the Revolution. The Girondin party was not alone in clamoring for war: **Marie Antoinette** hoped that war would restore the authority of the crown. Robespierre was originally attracted by the pro-war argument, but following Marat and others, he eventually aligned himself against the hawks. War would benefit the

royalists, he argued, leave France vulnerable to military dictatorship, and threaten the nascent Revolution itself. These judgments indicate that Robespierre was more in tune with political realities than he is normally given credit for.

Following the insurrection of August 10, 1792, and the taking of the Tuileries, Robespierre took his seat on the Commune of Paris, which had overthrown **Louis XVI**, as a means to check the political ambitions of the **Girondins**. The Commune was glad to have him, purely because of his popularity, his reputation for virtue, and his influence over the Jacobin Club and its branches across France. As proof of his personal popularity, he was later elected first deputy for Paris to the National Convention, where he was again attacked and vilified by the Girondins, whose federalist plans he in turn rejected. The Girondins lacked support in many areas, and with the idea that federalism threatened to divide the country in the face of the enemy, steps were taken to destroy their influence.

On July 27, 1793, the Convention elected Robespierre to the new Committee of Public Safety. It was thought that the country needed strong executive government to prevent the victory of foreign armies. The solution was found in the Committee of Public Safety, and the Convention was not long in strengthening its powers. The Committee of General Security was also created to rule alongside and was given the management of the internal policing of the country. Georges **Couthon** and Louis **Saint-Just**, acolytes of Robespierre, sustained his policy. Over time, Robespierre's maneuverings systematically weakened and removed his opponents from the committee, enhancing his position, powers, and prestige.

Some have tried to belittle Robespierre's role in the Terror, but as he was the mouthpiece of the new order, it is difficult to exonerate him totally. Georges **Danton** is often cited as the prime mover when it came to the Terror, as he was one who felt it was necessary to resort to extreme measures to keep France united and strong at home to successfully meet and see off her enemies. Robespierre had an influential following and was one of the most popular speakers in the Convention, where his pronouncements on revolutionary order led many to believe that the Terror was a means to an end and was indeed necessary, if not inevitable. His perceived integrity and incorruptibility gave further credibility to the committee.

In 1793–1794, it became certain that the Hébertiste party must fall, or its opposition within the committee would make Robespierre's own position untenable due to their significant influence in the Commune of Paris. Robespierre had a personal reason for intensely disliking that party of atheists and *sans-culottes*, as he was a deist who believed in the necessity of religious faith of some sort.

Danton's voice of moderation and his rejection of the continued series of sacrifices under the guillotine were unacceptable to Robespierre and his followers and left them open to attack. For Robespierre, Danton and his followers threatened the Revolution with their reluctance to continue with any means necessary to further the cause. He reached the conclusion that the end of the Terror would mean the loss of the impetus to enforce and promote the ideals of Rousseau. Robespierre abandoned Danton and cooperated in the attacks of the committee on the Dantonists and **Hébertistes**. Both men and their supporters were guillotined.

The fall of the Hébertistes, in particular, served to augment and improve Robespierre's patronage and power, bringing the Commune, the **National Guard**, and most of the executive commissions under his auspices. But considering the turbulence of the times, his grasp on power, despite appearances, was always tenuous. The main

threat came from the Parlement, where Danton's comrades were intent on not only wreaking revenge but implementing his strategy for peace and the end of the revolutionary government.

In May 1794, at Robespierre's insistence, the National Convention proclaimed as an official religion the cult of the Supreme Being, which was based on Rousseau's theory of deism. This decree antagonized both Roman Catholics and atheists, but Robespierre still had the powerful backing of the Commune of Paris, and in June he was elected president of the National Convention. In Paris, Robespierre wanted to increase the tempo of the Terror. Georges **Couthon**, an ally in the committee, proposed the draconian **Law of 22 Prairial**, which put paid to any semblance of justice and created a kangaroo court, in effect. As a result of this law, between June 12 and July 28, the day of Robespierre's death, no fewer than 1,285 victims perished by the guillotine in Paris.

Robespierre's increasingly aggressive speeches caused many influential members of the National Convention and the Jacobin Club to fear for their own safety. A series of French military victories then made the extreme security measures seem less imperative, and a conspiracy was formed for the overthrow of Robespierre. On July 27, 1794, he was barred from speaking at the National Convention and was placed under arrest. An uprising in his support by soldiers of the Paris Commune was thwarted, and on July 28 Robespierre died on the guillotine with his close associates Saint-Just and Couthon, along with 19 other supporters. Eighty more of his followers were executed the next day.

Robespierre is the only one of the revolutionary leaders of whom it can be claimed that when he fell from power, the Revolution itself came to an end. Despite the historical tarnishing of his reputation, there are a number of positive aspects of his leadership. He was one of the greatest strategists of revolution who set an example that would be followed by Marxist-Leninists of subsequent generations. He was bold in his promotion of novel ideas and has even been directly compared by Rudé to Lenin, "with his genius for adapting the teachings of Marx to the circumstances attending the Russian Revolution of 1917; and, in particular, of his adoption of the Soviet form of government and of the bold experiment of the New Economic Policy following the devastation of war and civil war."

Robespierre's persistence in communicating his political ideas has also been applauded. He was not the type of orator to rabble rouse on the streets. His was a more refined, subtle approach. One contemporary German visitor described him thus: "When he mounts the rostrum, it is not with a studied indifference or exaggerated gravity, nor does he rush upon it like Marat; but he is calm, as though he wished to show from the outset that this is the place, which without challenge, is his by right."

Robespierre was ever vigilant against any form of recidivism and a slide toward the tyranny of **ancien régime** monarchy. Known as a watchdog of the Revolution, he stands in stark contrast to Danton, who was eager to slip away to the country for a peaceful life at the first opportunity. In a speech of February 1794, he made his constant quest for vigilance clear:

The first concern of the legislator must be to strengthen the principles on which the government is founded. Thus, it is your duty to promote or establish all that tends to arouse a love of country, to purify matters, to elevate the spirits and to direct human



passions towards the general good. Conversely, you must reject and suppress all that tends to direct these passions towards a love of self or to arouse infatuation with what is petty and contempt for what is great. In the system we have created all that is immoral weakens the body politic, all that corrupts is counter-revolutionary. Weakness, vice, prejudice are so many sign-posts leading back to monarchy.

Mao and other communist leaders used a similar approach when they emphasized the need to purge the party and uproot dangerous vestiges of bourgeois culture and ideology within the party and the state.

Robespierre is akin to **Napoleon** in that he can provoke widely divergent views from historians to this day. He remains a highly controversial figure. His staunch defenders have a tendency to view most of the measures of the Committee of Public Safety as necessary for the defense of the Revolution and tend to play down his responsibility for the bloodshed. Others tend to ignore Robespierre completely, as if his role was too despicable and tangential to merit a mention.

In Paris he was not understood till he met his audience of fellow disciples of Rousseau at the Jacobin Club. His fanaticism won him supporters, his singularly sweet and sympathetic voice gained him hearers, and his upright life attracted the admiration of all. As matters approached nearer and nearer to the terrible crisis, he failed, except in the two instances of the question of war and of the king's trial, to show himself a statesman, for he had not the liberal views and practical instincts that made Gabriel-Honoré **Mirabeau** and Danton great men. His admission to the Committee of Public Safety gave him power, which he hoped to use for the establishment of his favorite theories, and for the same purpose he acquiesced in and even heightened the horrors of the Reign of Terror. It is here that the fatal mistake of allowing a theorist to have power came about: **Billaud-Varenne** systematized the Terror because he believed it necessary for the safety of the country; Robespierre intensified it in order to carry out his own ideas and theories.

His legacy has been greatest in Marxism. Politicians admired and aped his tactics, his interpretation of the democratic ideal, and what Hardman calls his "sense of moral superiority." Robespierre's characteristics, Hardman maintains, "are present in the militant tendency all over the world: mastery of procedures, invention of a pompous jargon concerning them, late night votes when all the moderates have gone home or reversing 'bad' decisions in the morning before they have got up." The historian Andrew Roberts recently argued that Robespierre and his Jacobin acolytes were not simply reacting to the Bourbons' "political idiocies" but were actively trying to create what Robespierre called Virtue, stating: "Intimidation without virtue is disastrous; virtue without intimidation is powerless." Roberts argues:

It was to build a brave new world, and make a definitive break with the pre-1789 past, that the revolution abolished Sunday and Christianity, creating instead a new calendar that started at year zero, and a new state religion. It guillotined so many people because it was a way of cleansing and purifying France, imbuing her with Virtue. Concentration on the fear of counter-revolution is only half the answer, and the less important half at that. The revolutionaries were not killing out of paranoia, but because they believed they were making a better world.

Ending the Terror was not as simple as dispatching the so-called arch terrorists, and it would be some time before France could enjoy a truly stable government, as

the Napoleonic era, arguably, merely papered over the cracks left by the Revolution. With the focus of the world on terrorism as never before, it is doubtful that interest in Robespierre will wane any time soon. It would appear that his influence is alive and well to this day. *See also* Guillotine; Parlements.

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STEPHEN STEWART

### Rockingham, Watson-Wentworth, Charles, Marquess of (1730–1782)

Born Charles Watson-Wentworth, the second marquess of Rockingham was a politician and twice prime minister (1765–1766, 1782) of **Britain**. The eighth child and only surviving son of the first marquess of Rockingham, he was educated at Westminster School and St. John's College, Cambridge. He succeeded to his father's title in 1750 and took up a seat in the House of Lords the following year. He thereafter rose to so dominate political life in Yorkshire that the Whig Club in York renamed itself the Rockingham Club in 1753.

With the accession to the throne of **George III** in 1760, Rockingham became critical of the admission of **Tories** to court offices from which they had been excluded under George I and George II and quickly came to share the distrust of veteran Whig politicians concerning the policies of the new monarch. Due more to his skill and personal appeal than to any forthright pursuit of power, this parliamentary faction accepted his leadership and was soon commonly referred to as the Rockinghamite **Whigs**. Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury under the premiership of the Duke of Cumberland in July 1765 and became a caretaker prime minister the following October upon Cumberland's death.

As prime minister, Rockingham inherited the crisis in the American colonies precipitated by the **Stamp Act**, a bill Rockingham repealed in March 1766 even as he passed the **Declaratory Act** proclaiming the right of **Parliament** to pass laws binding on all the colonies. For Rockingham there was an important distinction between the powers Parliament possessed and those it chose to exercise—a distinction lost on many of his contemporaries in Britain and the American colonies alike. Rockingham was dismissed from the premiership by the king in a quarrel over appointments and thereafter spent most his life in parliamentary opposition, supporting the claims of the American colonists that their rights were being usurped by George III's government. As early as 1799 Rockingham stated that the colonists should be given their independence. He was also an advocate of religious toleration and extended civil liberties for Catholics in England.

In March 1782, the resignation of Lord **North** forced the king to appoint Rockingham prime minister for the second time. Because the Marquess died on July 1, 1782, his second ministry lasted only 14 weeks. His first action as prime minister, nonetheless, had been to acknowledge the existence of the United States.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### Roland, Marie-Jeanne Philipon (1754–1793)

Marie-Jeanne Philipon Roland was a revolutionary activist and the wife of Jean Marie **Roland**, minister of the interior. Daughter of a Parisian engraver, and well educated at home, Madame Roland claimed to have read Plutarch by age seven. A devotee of Jean-Jacques **Rousseau** from her youth, Madame Roland actively supported the **French Revolution**. When she and her husband arrived in Paris in 1791, she hosted a political salon in their Paris apartment. Members of this salon included left-wing deputies of the Assembly such as Maximilien **Robespierre**, François **Buzot**, and Jérôme **Pétion** in addition to journalist friends Jean-Pierre **Brissot** and Thomas **Paine**. Madame Roland was a regular contributor to Brissot's *Patriote Français*. Her anonymous articles appeared under the title "Letters from a Roman Lady." Although she could not be a member of the Jacobin Club, Madame Roland was frequently present in the public galleries. Perhaps more politically ambitious than her husband, Madame Roland assisted her husband in the running of his ministry when



Marie-Jeanne Philipon Roland. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

he was appointed minister of the interior in 1792. She drafted the famous letter to **Louis XVI** dated June 10, 1792, that resulted in her husband's dismissal.

Madame Roland was arrested following the uprising of May 31 through June 1793, when her Girondin friends were purged from the Convention. She spent time in the Abbaye and Saint-Pélagie prisons, where she drafted her famous *Memoirs* in the months before her execution on November 8, 1793. *See also* Girondins; Jacobins; Newspapers (French).

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LEIGH WHALEY

### **Roland de la Platière, Jean Marie (1734–1793)**

Jean Marie Roland de la Platière was a French revolutionary politician and minister of the interior in 1792. Roland was the fifth child of a provincial magistrate in Villefranche-en-Beaujolais. His mother came from an old noble family. The Rolands added “de la Platière” to their name after the family domain of Thizy, where Roland was born. Four of Roland's brothers were priests, and he was also meant for the church, but at the age of 18, he entered a commercial business in Nantes, where he worked until 1754. The following year he began working as an inspector of manufactures.

He met his future wife, Marie-Jeanne Philipon, in 1776 on a business trip to Paris. They married in February 1780 and began their intellectual partnership. Between 1780 and 1789, the two collaborated on numerous publications concerning economics, the most important of which was the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1784–1785, 1790), which was devoted to arts and manufacturing. Roland obtained the post of inspector of manufactures at Lyon on the eve of the **French Revolution**.

The elections to the **Estates-General** sparked Roland's interest in politics. He was elected a municipal official in Lyon in 1790 and in the same year went to Paris to negotiate Lyon's debt. He also assisted in the founding of the Lyon Jacobin Club.

The Rolands moved to Paris in December 1791, when they began associating with Jean-Pierre **Brissot** and his circle. Roland also became a member of the Paris Jacobin Club. He supported the views of many revolutionaries by collaborating on their **newspapers**, such as Brissot's *Patriote Français* and the Marquis de **Condorcet's** *Chronique du Mois*.

Roland was appointed minister of the interior on March 23, 1792, through Brissot's influence. Although an able minister, Roland was dismissed from this post on June 13, 1792, when Madame Roland drafted a threatening letter, signed by her husband, pressuring **Louis XVI** to sign decrees that he had vetoed concerning refractory priests and **émigrés** and the formation of an armed camp around Paris. After the insurrection of August 10, Roland was reappointed to his post. Although elected to the **National Convention** from the department of the Somme, Roland did not take up his seat but continued as minister of the interior. Roland, under the influence of his wife, began attacking Georges **Danton**. This in turn led Danton to seek an alliance with Maximilien **Robespierre**.

On November 20, 1792, Roland found Louis XVI's papers in a secret safe at the Tuileries. Since he went through the papers without witnesses, he was condemned

by the **Mountain** for allying himself with the former monarchy. Although this episode ended his second ministry and his revolutionary career, he did not resign from his post until January 23, 1793. Roland fled Paris after the purging of the **Girondins** on June 2, 1793, and later committed suicide when he learned of his wife's execution. *See also* Jacobins; Roland, Marie-Jeanne Philipon.

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LEIGH WHALEY

## Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was a French social philosopher whose ideas about politics and society spread throughout Europe. His writing influenced a wide range of people, from philosophers such as Immanuel **Kant**, to the leaders and supporters of the **French Revolution**, to generations of romantics including artists, spiritual seekers, and counterculturists. He also produced important works on the education of children and the meaning of nature, as well as minor works in music and the arts.

However, Rousseau was also a controversial figure who spent much of his life moving throughout Europe to avoid political persecution and the problems brought about by his difficult personal relations. Today, his works remain controversial, especially among those who believe his ideas about communal self-rule are authoritarian because they limit individual freedom. However, others see him as trying to reconcile personal freedom with communal solidarity.

### *Life and Background*

Rousseau was born in Geneva at a time when it was a Calvinist city-state. His father was a watchmaker who, when Rousseau was a youth, was forced to leave Geneva to avoid personal disputes. His mother had died when he was born, and Rousseau spent his adolescence unhappily under the care of her family. At 16, he left the city and was taken in by a somewhat older baroness named Madame de Warens in Savoy, who later became his lover. In her library, he was able to broaden his reading of classical and contemporary works in philosophy, history, and politics. Rousseau also benefited from her tutelage in acquiring the social skills that allowed him to meet and impress important people throughout his later travels.

In addition to other romantic attachments, Rousseau had a long-term relationship with a servant, Thérèse Lavasseur, the daughter of a family that had fallen into poverty. Rousseau fathered five children with her, but each was given up to an orphanage because, as he declared, he was not suited for parenthood.

In Paris, Rousseau met leading members of the French **Enlightenment**, the optimistic intellectual movement that emphasized the ability of science to solve all social problems. Rousseau at first joined them, contributing to the *Encyclopédie*, the great project intended by its creators to be a definitive survey of Enlightenment thought. However, he later rejected the optimism of the movement, arguing instead that modern society was a form of entrapment that limited the natural freedom and goodness with which humans were originally born.

Rousseau's break with the Encyclopedists was not just intellectual. Throughout his adulthood, his relationships with other thinkers often followed a pattern in which he sought acceptance at first but later rejected his new allies. As he aged, he became increasingly suspicious of the motives and actions of those around him. Many commentators today believe he was clinically paranoid in late adulthood. However, his final years were by his own accounts more peaceful, spent in spiritual introspection, the contemplation of nature, and the writing of autobiographical works.

### ***Major Works***

Rousseau first articulated his reaction against the optimism of the Enlightenment when he entered an official essay contest on the question of whether new scientific ideas contributed to the advancement of morals. In his later autobiographical writing, Rousseau reported that this question caused him to have something like a religious epiphany, a sudden vision of great clarity about the corrupted state of society and the lost possibilities of human life. His prize-winning essay, *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts* (1750; often called the *First Discourse*), described the development of civilization as a downward spiral in which humans give up their natural freedom in exchange for superficial comforts and the artificial constraints of modernity. Here Rousseau first developed his idea that prior to the social problems of modern life, humans in their original state of nature were happy, prosperous, and free. While he did not use the term "noble savage" in any of his works (though he did refer to "the savages of America" as "happy and simple" in the *First Discourse*), this phrase has come to summarize Rousseau's belief that humans are naturally good but become corrupted by modernity.

In *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755; also known as the *Second Discourse*), Rousseau further developed his ideas about the fall of humanity from its original state of natural goodness. Civilization develops in stages, and at each stage humans lose more of their natural freedom. The first humans lived happily and freely in conditions of independence from each other. Only when they began to live together in social groups did problems arise: love turned into jealousy, achievement turned to envy, self-esteem became self-importance. With the development of civil society came the unnatural institution of private property, which led to the creation of restrictive laws and social rules to protect the rich from the poor. In short, the source of human inequality is social organization. As society becomes more complex, the people within it increasingly become unhappy, unfree, and unequal.

Although Rousseau's two *Discourses* expressed a yearning for the lost state of nature, Rousseau did not propose to overthrow modernity and return to the past. In his best-known book, *The Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau argued instead for a different kind of revolution, not back to the state of nature but forward to a new form of society. The human race had outgrown its original condition and could no longer survive naturally. Instead, the inequalities that arose from civilization could be eliminated with a radically new form of political unity—a new social contract based not on material self-interest but on the united will of the community. If the will of each individual were to combine into a single great voluntary force, which Rousseau famously called the General Will, a new form of society could be created. He argued that the loss of personal liberty that comes from fusing one's private will with that of the community would be more than offset by the gain of power in the larger entity. Although later writers objected that the rule of the community inevitably involves

the rule of some individuals over others, and that individual wills are too disparate to unite so completely, Rousseau believed that the power of community is much greater than the sum of its parts. The particular will of every individual is weak, but the General Will of the community is strong. Only by uniting into a greater power may individuals find their true freedom. Rousseau argued that it was only inequality and self-interest that kept communities apart. By eliminating those unnatural constraints, a new community of free wills could be born.

In addition to his political works, Rousseau wrote a well-received popular novel, *La nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), and a treatise on education written in novel form, *Emile* (1762). The latter described the education of a boy meant to develop his innate potential while maintaining his natural liberty. It also outlined the education of his future wife, Sophie, but within the limits that Rousseau believed were natural to women.

In an important section of *Emile* entitled “The Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar,” Rousseau described his own religious beliefs. Although during his travels he underwent repeated conversions between Protestantism and Catholicism, the “Profession” depicts a peculiar form of deism (the belief that God’s will can be discovered in nature rather than in biblical revelation) in which the natural world is ruled not by the materialistic laws of Newtonian physics but by the spontaneous forces of growth and self-development.

His later autobiographical works include the *Rousseau, Judge of Jean-Jacques* (1780), *The Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, and *The Confessions* (1782–1789).

### ***Influence on Revolution and Ideology***

After Rousseau’s death in 1778, events were underway that would culminate in the French Revolution, in which social and political institutions were overthrown in an attempt to create a new French republic of equal citizens. Although the Revolution had a range of social, economic, and political causes, Rousseau’s ideas were widely influential in stimulating the desire for radical social change. The popular slogan of the Revolution—**Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity**—may be seen as an encapsulation of his political vision. However, his ideas also had a more troubling influence on those events. In 1793, the Revolution entered its bloodiest phase, known as the **Reign of Terror**, during which **Robespierre**’s Jacobin party guillotined not just aristocrats but also earlier revolutionaries and others in the name of the General Will. Today, these events continue to fuel the controversy over whether Rousseau’s ideas favor liberty or whether his deeper themes are authoritarian and even totalitarian.

Rousseau was widely influential among philosophers, including the most famous thinker of the European Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who had a portrait of the French thinker in his study. Kant was especially interested in Rousseau’s idea of liberty as self-rule or autonomy. (From the Greek *auto-* for “self” and *nomos* for “law,” “autonomy” literally means the power to give law to oneself.) To be autonomous, both men agreed, humans must neither be ruled by others nor be governed solely by the laws of nature. Instead, to be truly free one must have the power to give one’s own defining laws to oneself. Kant tried to show that every autonomous being should give itself laws that also apply equally to every similarly autonomous being. By arguing that individual freedom is consistent with universal willing—a form of will even more general than the General Will—Kant sought to reconcile

individual freedom with communal autonomy. However, Kant's philosophy is also seen by some as implicitly authoritarian.

Among political thinkers and social critics, Rousseau influenced a wide range of revolutionary writers, including Karl Marx (1818–1883), who followed Rousseau in seeing private property as a key source of social problems. Marx's communism is one version of a wider family of political-economic theories generally called socialism, in which economic equality is the most important prerequisite to social unity. Like Rousseau, socialists generally believe that the ultimate goal of society is not just equality but communal autonomy—that is, the collective power to give defining laws to ourselves as a group. Thus, Rousseau can be understood as a precursor to modern socialism.

Rousseau's beliefs about the natural goodness of humanity also influenced later thinkers known as anarchists, such as the Frenchman Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1862) and the Russian Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876). Although anarchists diverge in their beliefs and proposed solutions, most would agree that humans are naturally virtuous and that vice comes about only from the pernicious influence of social institutions and authorities. However, while the themes of natural goodness and the oppressive nature of social institutions were clearly influenced by Rousseau's two *Discourses*, not all anarchists would agree with the proposal in *The Social Contract* to construct a new form of political authority. Most anarchists would endorse the idea of the General Will only if it could be shown to arise from, and to be compatible with, the freedom of individuals.

Rousseau's ideas about the spirituality of nature, described in such works as the *Reveries* and the "Profession," were influential among later "back to nature" thinkers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) and Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862). Similarly, the late modern belief that we find our true selves when we commune with nature or become one with the natural world reflect Rousseau's naturalism in combination with his holism. Thus he can be seen as the author of a range of today's environmentalist themes. More generally, he was a founding figure of the romantic movements among artists and counterculturists who see freedom as creativity and social spontaneity. *See also* Jacobins.

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BORIS DEWEIL

### **Royer-Collard, Pierre-Paul (1763–1845)**

Enthusiastic about the outbreak of the **French Revolution** in 1789, Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard subsequently became wary of the popular energies and violence it had unleashed. During the Bourbon restoration, he used his position in the Chamber of Deputies to support a moderate form of constitutional monarchy rather than liberal **republicanism** or ultraroyalism. As a philosopher at the Sorbonne and as head of the Commission for Public Instruction, he promoted the humanities,



history, and a worldview that rejected the materialism deemed characteristic of the **Enlightenment philosophes**.

Born to a family of landowning farmers, he was strongly influenced by the Catholic piety of his mother and his uncle. He excelled in school and became a lawyer in Paris, where he joined elite intellectual circles and absorbed the reformist ideas of the day. In 1790, he was elected to the **National Assembly** and became assistant secretary for the revolutionary Paris Commune. He distanced himself from the Revolution as it entered its radical phase in August 1792, however, for he disliked the destruction and opposed the abolition of the monarchy. From his family home in Sompuis, he watched the rise and fall of **Robespierre**.

Royer-Collard returned to public life in 1797 as a member of the **Council of Five Hundred**. He earned a reputation as a fine orator for his advocacy of clemency for **émigrés** and of freedom of **religion**. He became one of the future king's councilors in 1799 and worked to promote the accession of **Louis XVIII**. This did not prevent him from supporting **Napoleon**, however, for which Royer-Collard was rewarded in 1811 with the chair in modern philosophy at the Faculté de Paris. He switched his loyalty back to Louis XVIII during the Hundred Days, and the new king made him head of the Commission for Public Instruction in 1815.

Royer-Collard determinedly fought against the ultraroyalists in the Chamber, and he became the leader of the Doctrinaire party of royalists who sought to retain the charter of 1814 and the new constitutional monarchy. By 1820, the Doctrinaires had become the opposition; Royer-Collard resigned his public functions. He returned to the Chamber in 1821 and became its president in 1827. In the same year, he was elected to the Académie Française. In 1830, he read *Address from the 221*, which denounced the king's authoritarian proclivities, to Charles X.

Given Royer-Collard's desire for a liberal monarch balanced by a parliament, he found it easy to back Louis-Philippe's rise to power. Due to his advancing age, he exercised no important public functions under the July Monarchy. He retired from political life in 1842, but he continued to serve as a friend and political inspiration to French liberals such as François Guizot and Alexis de **Toqueville**. Royer-Collard is now best remembered for his efforts to realize a political system that would reconcile the need for authority and stability with the people's desire for liberty.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

## Rule of Law

The rule of law is the principle that government can exercise authority only in accordance with written laws that have been adopted through a formal, established procedure. The purpose of the principle is to safeguard against arbitrary action by the government.

The concept of rule of law was expressed as far back as Aristotle, who theorized that the law was a system of rules that were inherently discoverable in the natural world. The modern concept developed largely in **Britain** during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a counterargument to the principle of the divine right of

kings and, by extension, lesser **nobility**. The theory of divine right held that the king was the maker of law, and also above it. He was free to act in any way he saw fit, because he inherently manifested the state and its subjects.

Thus, in the Anglo-American system, the rule of law originally developed as a guard against tyranny—the unchecked rule of the leader. This protection is, in practice, far more sweeping than the implications of its origin—protection from an arbitrary or capricious king. As the United States and, later, western Europe became more democratic, the rule of law began to develop a second meaning—the protection of the minority from the unfettered exercise of authority by the majority. In this context, the rule of law works to extend certain minimum protections to the minority, thereby protecting them from tyranny of the majority.

The concept of rule of law in the twenty-first century encompasses several more meanings. Corruption of government officials is now considered a major impediment to a functioning society. Regardless of how fair and progressive a nation's written laws may be, if its citizens must bribe officials to gain access to the benefits of those laws, the rule of law has not really been established.

Transparency—the idea that the decision-making process should be open and visible to the population at large—is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the rule of law. Government officials should not only follow the rules but also show that the rules were drafted in a fair manner, without undue influence from those who stand to benefit. It is also increasingly understood that a functioning society must have strong institutions that are committed to the concept. Strong and independent police, investigative, and judicial institutions are necessary to enforce the rules. In recent years, business and economic interests have expanded the concept to explicitly include laws affecting commercial relations, such as contract terms and government regulation of business and financial markets. These interests maintain that predictability and consistency in the enforcement of business law is essential to the expansion of commerce. Their argument is that businesses and individuals need to know ahead of time how any given law will be enforced and that it will be enforced consistently in all circumstances, regardless of whether an interested party is favored by the people in charge of the government. In other words, from a business perspective, the application of the rule of law means the government will not show favorites in either enforcing laws or awarding contracts.

The concept of rule of law does not address the justice or fairness of the laws themselves, but simply how the legal system establishes and upholds those laws. In theory, an undemocratic or authoritarian state can exist with the outward forms of the rule of law. In practice, however, authoritarian governments tend to disregard even the appearance of legality. As a result, the rule of law is considered, at least in the Atlantic community, a prerequisite, or at least a contemporaneous requirement, for the development of democracy. As such, it has served as a common basis for human rights discourse with authoritarian states.

There are two ideological arguments against the concept. First, majoritarians object to the restrictions on the rights of the majority. Protections of minorities restrict the rights of the majority. In practice, in dynamic societies consisting of multiple interest groups, these limitations are constantly subject to modification in the ebb and flow of democratic politics.

A second objection is that the concept leads to an emphasis on procedure to the detriment of substantive issues. Put another way, too much focus on how a law is

prepared and how it is enforced can lead to less focus on the substance of that law. Overemphasis on the procedures required to obtain any given outcome can result in the system losing sight of whether that outcome is just or appropriate in a moral and ethical sense. The red tape so often complained of in dealings with governmental institutions is a manifestation of this problem.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

### Rush, Benjamin (1746–1813)

Benjamin Rush was a Princeton- (1760) and Edinburgh-educated (MD, 1768) colonial American physician, Patriot, natural philosopher, and educator known as the father of American psychiatry because his *Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind* (1812) was the first formal exposition of psychiatry in America. Rush practiced medicine and taught chemistry, the theory and practice of medicine, the institutes of medicine, and clinical medicine at the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania College of Physicians. He published the first American textbook in chemistry, entitled *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry*, in 1770 and authored over 65 publications in medicine. Rush was a staff physician at Pennsylvania Hospital (1783–1813) and served as the president of the Philadelphia Medical Society.

As an early proponent of colonial rights and an advocate of American independence, Rush assisted Thomas **Paine** in his writing of *Common Sense* (1776). He was a member of the **Pennsylvania** Provincial Congress and drafted a resolution urging independence (1776) before being elected to the Second **Continental Congress**, where he chaired the committee that recommended the **Declaration of Independence** (1776), which he signed. He was critical of the single-house legislative structure created by the **Articles of Confederation** (1776), attended the Continental Congress in Baltimore (1777), was a member of the Pennsylvania state convention that ratified the **United States Constitution** (1787), and coauthored with James **Wilson** the Pennsylvania state constitution (1790).

Rush served as surgeon to the Pennsylvania navy (1775–1776) and was appointed surgeon general and then physician general of the Middle Department of the **Continental Army** (1777–1778). He treated soldiers at the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Valley Forge. Though he resigned his position in the Continental Army due both to a disagreement with his superior (who had the support of General George **Washington**) regarding the management of military hospitals and his criticism (1777) of Washington's prosecution of the Revolutionary War, he published *Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers* (1778) and later recommended health measures for the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–1806). Rush assisted David Ramsey in writing *History of the American Revolution* (1789), proposed a secretary of peace (1793), helped reconcile John **Adams** and Thomas **Jefferson** (1809–1812), and served as the treasurer of the U.S. Mint (1797) until his death.

Rush is also known as the father of public schools under the Constitution for his promotion of free public schools for all (*On the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic*, 1784), the limited and appropriate use of corporal punishment (*Thoughts upon the Amusements and Punishments Which Are Proper for Schools*, 1790), and the use of the Bible as a public school textbook (*A Defense of the Use of the Bible as a School Book*, 1791). Rush was publicly laudatory of the role of **women** in the **American Revolution** and supported their participation in government (1784) and education. He also helped found five colleges and universities: the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), the University of Pennsylvania College of Physicians, the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia, Dickinson College, and Franklin College.

Rush was a noted humanitarian, helping to found the Philadelphia Dispensary for the Poor (1786) and the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (1787), as well as an advocate for the involvement of government in the economy; for example, he supported funding textile manufacturing in Philadelphia (1775). When Rush's use of bleeding to treat yellow fever epidemics in Philadelphia during the 1790s was attacked by a paper called *Peter Porcupine's Gazette*, he sued, won a jury verdict, and distributed the proceeds among Philadelphia's poor.

He advocated prison reform (*An Inquiry into the Effects of Public Punishment upon Criminals and upon Society*, 1787) and was an early advocate of the abolition of slavery (*An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave Keeping*, 1773), co-founding, with Benjamin **Franklin**, America's first antislavery society, the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of the Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Rush helped fund the organization with a gift of 5,200 acres of land in Bedford County. He served as the president of the national convention of abolition societies in Philadelphia, published *To the Free Africans and Other Free People of Color in the United States* (1796), and became the president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (1803). He also helped found the first African church in Philadelphia (St. Thomas; 1791–1793).

Rush believed that total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco was best for the health of society and the individual and published extensively on this subject: *An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors upon the Human Body, and Their Influence upon the Happiness of Society* (which urged presidential prohibition of the use of alcohol and urged ministers to preach against its use; 1784); *Sermons to Gentlemen upon Temperance and Exercise* (1772); *Observations upon the Habitual Use of Tobacco upon Health, Morals, and Property* (1798); and *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind* (1804).

Rush believed that Christianity was an essential element of the American ethos and asserted that the United States Constitution was divinely inspired on the level of the Bible. He recommended a congressional day of thanksgiving and then urged national days of prayer and fasting at the beginning of the War of 1812. He helped begin the American Sunday School movement with the founding of the First Day Society (1790); served as vice president of the Philadelphia Bible Society, which he founded (1808); and helped publish America's first mass-produced Bible (1812).

Rush helped to found the American Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge (1768) and, at the combined American Philosophical Society (1769), presented its annual speech in 1774 ("Natural History of Medicine among the Indians of North America") and served as its vice president (1799–1800). Among Benjamin Rush's

many honors was a medal awarded him by the king of Prussia (1805) in appreciation of Rush's replies to inquiries concerning yellow fever, and a Yale University LLD (1812). *See also* American Revolutionary War; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

## Russia, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on

For Russia, the eighteenth century started with an introduction to Western science, technology, and values undertaken by Peter the Great (1672–1725). By the middle of the century, with access to a wide range of ideas and values from western Europe and having been shaped by Western tastes and manners, the Russian educated elite had become fully incorporated into the European cultural sphere. At the end of the century, Russians faced a Europe that was undergoing profound changes originating in **France**. Russia itself had changed. The violence of the **Pugachev Rebellion** (1773–1775) at home and the turn of the **French Revolution** to the **Reign of Terror** led many Russian intellectuals to reject the critical and analytical ideas of the **Enlightenment** and invest in romantic moral concerns.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the goal of bringing Russia into Europe was closely connected with the efforts of the state, especially during the reign of **Catherine II**, a Russian philosophe on the throne. Catherine's taste for everything French was actively replicated by the educated among Russian society and by the court. No writer was more widely read in eighteenth-century Russia than **Voltaire**, and on the surface, French literary, artistic, and cultural models dominated the Russian scene. However, French philosophical ideas played a relatively minor role in shaping the Russian mind. For a small part of the educated elite the introduction to radicalism brought from the West was combined with disappointment in the Orthodox Church in a phenomenon called Voltairianism. Voltairianism can be defined as an attempt to create a worldview that was not based on the authority of the church but the autonomy of reason propagated by radical French **philosophes**. For the majority of Russian intellectuals, Voltaire and the French philosophy were associated with superficial **anti-clericalism** and godlessness. The course the revolutionary events in France took did little to change this perception. The excesses of the Revolution quickly alienated the sympathies of those few who applauded it in the beginning. The Russian general public muddled together French philosophy, the Revolution, and France itself into one and condemned them all. Following the tone set by the royalist **émigrés**, most Russian contemporaries considered the Revolution a series of absurd Saturnalia. Even the fashion of the day extolled dresses à la *reine* and hairdos à la counterrevolution over Jacobin hats and cravats.

The court actively propagated and supported the negative perception of the Revolution. The first mention of revolutionary events in official sources appeared in the *St. Petersburg Gazette* in an article on the fall of the **Bastille**. The events were characterized as “absolute madness” of “freethinking, greed, and godlessness.” In the same newspaper, the storming of the Tuileries palace on August 10, 1792, was associated with the fall of Christian Jerusalem. Despite Catherine's personal sympathies

with French thought, with the onset of the Revolution she rejected many of the foundational ideas of her philosophe friends. She became strikingly conservative and increasingly hostile to criticism. Although the empress counted on Russia's geographic remoteness to block the French revolutionary "disease" from spreading to her empire, she nevertheless established special procedures to preclude the "contamination" of Russian society. In August of 1790, all Russian travelers were recalled from revolutionary Paris. French émigrés in Russia were forced to cut all ties with France. After breaking diplomatic ties with the Republic, Catherine prohibited ships flying the tricolor from entering Russian ports.

From 1790 to 1796, the two main sources of information emanating from France and reaching Russia were the officially censored articles of the *St. Petersburg Gazette* and censored private correspondence. Nevertheless, radical ideas and news about revolutionary events were able to find their way in Russia. While Russian society in general was more interested in French literature and fashion than in French political theory, it was well known to the educated public. The transmission of ideas was not restricted to books. Many young Russian aristocrats were educated by French teachers and were well traveled. For example, the young Count Stroganov, who was raised by an ardent French radical, joined the Jacobin Club. Inspired by their free-thinking friends, the princes Golitzin disregarded Catherine's orders and fought on the streets of Paris in support of the Republic.

Despite intense Russian interest in the revolutionary events occurring far to the west, revolutionary ideas failed to receive wide reception in Russia. In addition to a relatively small and vulnerable public sphere, which was not conducive to revolution, the three essential elements of the French Revolution were lacking in Russia: a privileged but powerless **nobility**, an ambitious middle class, and a proprietary peasantry. Alexander Radishchev (Radischev) (1749–1802), a prominent forerunner of Russian radical intelligentsia, observed this in his *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, published anonymously in 1790. Catherine, one of the first readers of the *Journey*, immediately associated the author's ideas with what she called "French fallacies" and considered Radishchev a more dangerous rebel than Pugachev—a threat to the very foundations of the state. Criticizing serfdom and autocracy, the author emphasized popular sovereignty and the rights of people. The *Journey* revolved around two main themes that were at the center of concern for Russian intellectuals familiar with the English Glorious Revolution, and the American and French revolutions: constitutionalism and abolitionism. Radishchev, on the other hand, rather than trying to envision a free society in Russia, relied not on the controversial French model, but on the model of American liberalism. Throughout the *Journey*, he praised the legacy of the **American Revolution** and the foundations of American society as based on a universal reliance on law, constitution, and self-government.

Radishchev was condemned to death for his book, but Catherine changed the verdict to a 10-year period of exile in Siberia. Radishchev's tribunal coincided with the trial of Nikolai Novikov (1744–1818), publisher, journalist, and the leader of the Moscow Freemasons, who fell under suspicion for harboring political designs and having extensive contacts abroad. Both trials, which involved leading Russian intellectuals, proved shocking, for the defendants' ideas violated many of Catherine's earlier principles. Her references to Radishchev's "infection" with French ideas and her questioning of Novikov over his foreign connections demonstrate that the empress

was frightened by the French Revolution and feared that revolutionary ideology could spread among the literate Russian nobility—her main pillar of strength.

When Catherine died in 1796, she was succeeded by her son Paul I (1754–1801), who led the first Russian military campaigns against revolutionary France (1798–99). Paul continued to enforce his mother's measures against the French "contamination," tightened control over travel to and from Russia, established an embargo on all foreign literature, and even banned the use of such words as "citizen" and "society." Nevertheless, it was to be Paul's son Alexander I (1777–1825) who would take a leading role in defeating **Napoleon** and returning the Bourbons to power in France.

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NATALIE BAYER

### Rutledge, Edward (1749–1800)

A **South Carolina** politician and signer of the **Declaration of Independence**. Edward Rutledge was the youngest son of Dr. John and Sarah Rutledge. He studied law at the law office of his older brother, **John Rutledge**, and then at London's Middle Temple. In 1772, he was admitted to the English bar, and to the South Carolina bar the following year. In 1774 Rutledge was elected to the First **Continental Congress** along with his older brother. In 1775 he was elected to the extralegal Provincial Congress, which elected him to the Second **Continental Congress**. By early 1776 Rutledge had apparently begun to support independence, although he opposed a declaration until a confederation had been adopted. However, for the sake of unity, Rutledge eventually became the youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence. He also served as a peace commissioner (along with Benjamin **Franklin** and John **Adams**) that negotiated with General William Howe.

He returned to South Carolina in late 1776 to assume a seat in the General Assembly and a captaincy in the Charleston Artillery Company. Rutledge served in a number of battles in the 1779 campaign to defend Charleston. He was captured while leaving the besieged city to report to his brother, Governor John Rutledge. Edward was imprisoned at St. Augustine. He was exchanged in July 1781 and returned to the state House of Representatives, where he advocated retaliation against **Loyalists**. During the 1780s Rutledge served in a number of municipal offices, including justice of the peace, fire master of Charleston, trustee of the College of Charleston, and eventually major in command of the Charleston artillery. In 1788 he was elected to the state ratifying convention and chaired a committee to draft proposed amendments to the new **United States Constitution**. Rutledge turned down appointments to **Congress** and the **Supreme Court**. He was a presidential elector in 1788, 1792, and 1796. In 1796 he was elected to the state **senate**. In 1798 the state legislature elected Rutledge to his final office as governor of South Carolina.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON

**Rutledge, John (1739–1800)**

A **South Carolina** politician during the colonial and early national periods famous for being the first president of South Carolina and second chief justice (temporarily) of the U.S. **Supreme Court**, John Rutledge was the first son of Dr. John and Sarah Rutledge. After studying at a local attorney's office, John Rutledge was accepted at London's Middle Temple in 1754. In 1760 he was admitted to the English bar. He was admitted to the South Carolina bar and elected to the Commons House of Assembly the following year. Rutledge's rise was rapid; in 1764 he was named the colony's interim attorney general. He quickly joined the Patriot cause, serving or chairing a number of committees that championed the cause of the Assembly. The Assembly elected Rutledge a delegate to the **Stamp Act Congress** in 1765 and to the **First Continental Congress** in 1774.

In 1775, Rutledge was elected to the extralegal Provincial Congress, which elected him (with the approval of the Assembly) to the **Second Continental Congress**. Rutledge chaired a committee that recommended the colonies move temporarily to a government based on popular sovereignty. Soon after, Rutledge returned to South Carolina and was once again elected to the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety. As a member of a Provincial Congress committee, Rutledge helped draft the temporary state constitution. In March 1776 the new General Assembly elected Rutledge president and commander-in-chief of South Carolina. In March 1778 he resigned when the General Assembly passed a new, more democratic state constitution. After a stint in the state legislature, Rutledge was elected governor by the legislature in February 1779, just in time to defend the state from British invasion. He left Charleston before the city's fall in May 1780 and spent much of the rest of the war as a governor in exile. Rutledge helped organize resistance in the state, supplying and commissioning partisans like Francis Marion as generals. In August 1781 Rutledge returned to South Carolina with General Nathanael Greene's army and began to restore the state's government. In 1782 Rutledge accepted a seat in the legislature, which elected him to **Congress**.

In 1784, Rutledge returned to South Carolina, where the legislature elected him judge of the Court of Chancery. In 1787, the state legislature selected Rutledge as a delegate to the **Constitutional Convention**, where he served as the chairman of the committee of detail, charged with organizing and fleshing out the resolutions of the convention. Rutledge defended the **United States Constitution** in the state's legislature and ratifying convention. In September 1789, Rutledge accepted an appointment by President George **Washington** as associate justice of the **Supreme Court**. In 1791, Rutledge resigned when the legislature elected him chief justice of South Carolina. In 1795, President Washington gave him a recess appointment to chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Although he presided over the court for one term, the **Senate** refused to confirm him because of his opposition to the Jay Treaty and his mental and physical decline. *See also* Constitutions, American State; Rutledge, Edward.

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ROBERT J. ALDERSON



# S

## **Saint-Just, Louis Antoine Léon Florelle de (1767–1794)**

Louis Antoine Saint-Just was a radical deputy in the **National Convention**, a Jacobin, and a member of the **Committee of Public Safety** who played a significant role in the founding of the First French Republic and the **Reign of Terror**. He exemplified the austere morality of Jacobin politics, combining with this austerity, tremendous energy, political skill, and devotion to the revolution. Idealistic and severe, Saint-Just's vision of the Republic and revolutionary politics was grounded in moral terms, emphasizing the centrality of civic virtue to republican politics. His speeches and written works emphasized the themes of virtue, purity, and devotion. His application of these themes to the practical work of founding the Republic made him a central architect and theorist of the Terror. Relying on his youthful zest and his oratorical skills, Saint-Just rose from obscurity to become one of the leading Jacobin deputies. As a member of the Committee of Public Safety, he exercised considerable influence and was a key figure in drafting the Constitution of 1793, purging the Convention, and establishing the revolutionary government. Saint-Just was a central leader in the Jacobin dictatorship of Year II (June 1793–June 1794) who, alongside Maximilien **Robespierre**, was targeted by the **Thermidorians** and was guillotined following the **Thermidorian Reaction** of the Convention.

Saint-Just led a rather unremarkable childhood. Born at Decizes (Nièvre), he spent his childhood at Nampcel (Oise) and Blérancourt (Aisne). His father rose from a peasant family, through military service, as sergeant of the guard and captain in the artillery, to settle in Blérancourt, where he owned considerable property, and died in 1777, leaving a modest inheritance that his mother used to secure her son an education suitable for the legal profession. Educated at the Oratorian college of Saint-Nicolas at Soissons, where he studied from 1777 to 1785, he later pursued legal studies at the Faculty of Law at Reims. Upon completing his courses, he returned to Blérancourt and seemed destined to live the life of a provincial lawyer, although the publication of a scandalous poem, *Organt*, and his trips to Paris in 1786 and then again in 1789 suggest that he was seeking something beyond the world of law and provincial life.



Louis Antoine de Saint-Just. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

The outbreak of the **French Revolution** offered Saint-Just the opportunity to get involved in local politics. Due to his friendship with the radicals who controlled the municipal government of Blérancourt, Saint-Just entered the **National Guard** as a lieutenant colonel despite the fact he did not meet the fiscal qualification. In October 1790, he attempted to gain election as a justice of the peace, although the law clearly specified that the minimum age was 30, and Saint-Just was only 23. For the time, Saint-Just was forced to be content with his role in the National Guard and the influence he was able to exercise through his friendship with members of the radical faction in municipal government. Saint-Just made a name for himself in the defense of peasants in their seigneurial disputes with landowners. He gained some fame at Blérancourt for defending local peasants against a large landowner, a former marquis named Grenet. Finally, in 1790, he was selected by the town of Blérancourt to act as deputy to a departmental meeting organized to decide whether Laon or Soissons should be the capital for the new department of Aisne. Saint-Just felt no particular passion for the debate, although he was instructed to plead the case of Soissons, and he used the opportunity to showcase his oratory skills and present himself to a wider audience, obviously with the hopes of preparing for future

electoral success. His activities in local affairs exemplify Saint-Just's strong desire to bring attention to himself in Paris, and having begun a correspondence with Robespierre and Camille **Desmoulins**, he actively sought opportunities within his local setting to distinguish himself as an orator and politician.

In June 1791, Saint-Just published *Esprit de la Révolution et de la constitution de France*. Borrowing heavily from **Montesquieu**, the book explained the fundamental principles implicit in the new institutions being created by the **Legislative Assembly** and the constitution that was being finalized. The book was part history, celebrating the actions of the **National Assembly**, and part political program, examining the principles of the new political order and suggesting how they should be implemented into new institutions of civil society. He divided the work into five books analyzing the constitution, which he argued exemplified the moderation and balance of powers that Montesquieu praised, as well as examining what civic institutions were required as the logical consequences of the constitution. The book presents a clear indication of the central themes that would preoccupy Saint-Just in his practical political activities and his other theoretical works. The work consistently proposed that the Revolution must be moral and not strictly political and argued that the true objective of the revolutionary assemblies was to guide the people through a moral regeneration and to build the institutions that would secure this regeneration. The problem that would face France as it sought to make itself a republic was outlined with considerable clarity in this work. While Saint-Just consistently lamented the role of force, and the corruption of natural society through the application of political force, the book's concern for moral regeneration anticipates the Terror, when the use of force was justified as a necessity to compel the moral transformation of the citizens of the new republic.

Despite the role he played in local affairs, the early years of the Revolution proved frustrating for Saint-Just. Not content to be a local politician, he sought election to the Legislative Assembly in September of 1791. He was 24 at the time, and the Constitution of 1791 clearly established the age limit for deputies as 25. Not deterred by the obvious legal barrier, Saint-Just attempted to subvert the rules of the constitution, disguising his age before the local assembly. When the assembly asked him to show proof of his age, Saint-Just's deception was made clear and he was ejected from the meeting. Having failed in his attempt, Saint-Just was unable to directly participate in the great national crises that the Legislative Assembly faced in 1792: the declaration of war, the invasion from foreign armies, and the overthrow of King **Louis XVI** in the revolution of August 10. Saint-Just remained detached from these events, having given up on direct action, and he spent his time continuing his activities in the National Guard, although by now relegated to second in command, and his defense of peasants' cases. There can be little doubt that he welcomed the proclamation of the **National Convention** as an opportunity to finally settle in Paris and enter the national political arena. He was now eligible for election, having turned 25 and having bought sequestered church lands. Saint-Just was elected to the Convention, entering it as the youngest member, and representing the department of Aisne. In the Convention, Saint-Just aligned himself with the **Mountain**, frequented the Jacobin Club, and became recognized as one of the leaders of the radical faction that would come to dominate the Convention.

Saint-Just first came to national prominence in the National Convention during the debates over the trial of Louis XVI. Adopting a radical stance far removed from

the majority opinion of the Convention, Saint-Just argued against the trial. With the laconic rhetoric that dominated his oratorical style, his speech rejected all the proposals for a trial and argued that the only logical and proper act was to simply condemn the king. Arguing that the relationship between the king and the people, and hence the Convention, was a state of war, Saint-Just proposed that the only solution was political, not legal, and the Convention had the moral duty, as founders of a republic, to destroy the king and the monarchy as the first act of establishing the Republic. Had the Convention followed his advice, there would have been no trial for the king, a policy favored by the **Jacobins**, and Saint-Just's speech became the leading argument for the Jacobin response to the question of the trial. For the first time, the Convention witnessed the severity and incessant moralizing that Saint-Just applied to political questions, and his extreme radicalism won him the favor of the Jacobins and firmly established his place among the radicals in the Convention.

On May 30, 1793, Saint-Just was elected to the Committee of Public Safety, and from that point on he became one of the leading architects of the Terror and the Jacobin Republic. He spoke often in the Convention, discussing a range of issues, including subsistence, the army, factions, and policing, and his speeches highlight the radical program of the Jacobins. After the purge of the **Girondins**, Saint-Just became a member of a new constitutional committee and helped draft a new constitution to replace the first constitution drafted by a Girondin-controlled committee. Saint-Just's energies were devoted to two principal tasks. As a spokesman for the Committee of Public Safety, it often fell to Saint-Just to report to the Convention, before whom his speeches exemplified his radicalism and leadership. Secondly, Saint-Just took particular interest in military affairs, and his missions to the armies constitute one of his most important contributions to the Republic.

Saint-Just's oratorical skills were one of his most important contributions to the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety. On October 10, 1793, Saint-Just spoke before the Convention, demanding a vigorous reorganization of the government, including full civil and military authority for the committee and suspension of the constitution the Convention had recently enacted. This speech led to the decree on revolutionary government that firmly secured the dictatorship of the Jacobins and the Committee of Public Safety. On February 26, 1794, Saint-Just was charged with the task of presenting the report that justified the Terror and demanded the confiscation of suspects' property. Following this report, on March 3, Saint-Just proposed a plan that would involve a census of the poor, an examination of all suspects held in custody, and a scheme to distribute confiscated property to the poor. Saint-Just's proposal, the Ventôse Decrees, was never put into place, but it exemplified his radicalism and the degree to which the Jacobins were prepared to enact policies to placate the *sans-culottes* and retain their support for the Jacobin control of the Convention. Saint-Just played a key role in the factional struggles of the Convention. In July 1793 he presented the report on the Girondin faction, which had been purged from the Convention on June 3. In March 1794, he was again entrusted with the task of denouncing factions, and following this report, the Convention decreed the arrest and trial of Jacques René **Hébert** and the **Hébertistes**. On March 31, Saint-Just turned his attack to Georges-Jacques **Danton** and his followers. Saint-Just played a prominent role in the decision to attack the Hébert and Danton factions, and he was charged with explaining and justifying the actions of the committee to the Convention.

As a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Saint-Just was twice sent as a deputy on mission to various armies of the Republic: first, in mid-October 1793 he was sent, along with Philippe Le Bas, to the Army of the Rhine in Alsace; second, in late April 1794, he was sent to the armies on the northern frontier. These missions to the armies were very important, and they represent the most successful initiatives that Saint-Just carried out as a member of the Committee of Public Safety. In both instances, he proved himself an effective organizer and an effective mediator between the common soldiers and the Convention. Saint-Just also exemplified his moral vision concerning the relationship between the army and the development of moral character, emphasizing a strict view of discipline and moralization of the soldier's duty and sacrifice for the Republic. At the same time, he applied these moral principles to the examination of officers and local officials, relieving them of their positions upon an examination of their conduct in directing the war effort. In Strasbourg, Saint-Just showed his willingness to improvise, his conviction that the needs of the army stood above any local or individual needs and rights, and his ability to organize the resources available. He imposed demands on wealthy inhabitants, aggressively reorganized the provisioning of food and supplies, removed incompetent officers, and restored the morale of the soldiers. His efforts on both missions increased the strength of the army and its effectiveness, and his talents were recognized by the Convention after the armies secured important victories following his missions.

Saint-Just exemplified the Jacobin practice of combining a ruthless devotion to the Revolution with a stoic moralization of politics. While there is some evidence that he could be kind and gentle to his friends and was, at times, a voice of moderation and compromise within the Committee of Public Safety, his public persona was dominated by the young, handsome, energetic, and severe revolutionary whose laconic and moral austerity made him someone to fear. It is this persona that dominates the historical representation of him, earning him the nickname "the Angel of Terror." Saint-Just entered national politics in the fall of 1792, and his career as a deputy was characterized by a period of radicalization and intensification of revolutionary politics. He endorsed the Terror as a means to found the ideal Republic, and his vision of a virtuous citizenry led him not only to support but also enact some of the most severe measures of the Terror. In the Thermidorian Reaction, Saint-Just was attacked as a leading member of the Robespierrist faction and was guillotined the day after his arrest. His devotion to republican morality was evident in his stoic acceptance of his arrest and death. He died as he had lived his revolutionary career, inflexibly and austere, devoted to an ideal of virtue that was terrifying to those who would not submit to the Jacobin vision of the Republic. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Republicanism.

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BRODIE RICHARDS

## Saint-Simonism

Saint-Simonism refers to the beliefs and practices of a group of French philosophers in the early nineteenth century whose ideas were influenced by Claude Henri

de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), one of the originators of French socialism and of a science of society called positivism. Saint-Simonism began after the death of its namesake, and though it adhered to the original ideas in some ways, it tended to take on a life of its own. The group's radical ideas of a social and political reformulation of society had a great influence on eighteenth-century Europe.

Saint-Simon had several followers, including Auguste Comte, who would later become known as the founder of the discipline of sociology; Barthélemy-Prospér Enfantin; and Saint-Amand Bazard. Enfantin and Bazard became the leaders of the new movement, though they developed a fierce rivalry.

The Saint-Simonians were especially interested in Saint-Simon's ideas on **religion** that were formulated at the end of his life, although many of their ideas on spirituality were their own. Under the leadership of Enfantin, the group became something of a cult, wearing monastic clothing, practicing celibacy, and awaiting the appearance of a female messianic figure whose arrival would herald a world filled with harmony. Enfantin was sentenced to a year in prison for his beliefs but, upon his release, returned to the order.

The group also adopted a socialist vision of the world. Especially in the early years under the guidance of Bazard, the Saint-Simonians opposed laissez-faire economics and even advocated the elimination of material inheritance. They developed a doctrine that merged the conservative ideology of order and social hierarchy with the socialist emphasis on utilitarian ideals and communalism. The group maintained authoritarian ideas as a means to exhibit control over all aspects of social life; they were, however, opposed to any form of violence to accomplish this endeavor.

The group recruited several members of the intelligentsia in Europe and became a major influence on many key social thinkers, including Comte. Their ideas have even been described as a moral impetus behind the Industrial Revolution in France. The Saint-Simonians would later abandon their religious and social ideology, and many became leaders in industry. They were also instrumental in the completion of the Suez Canal, a long-held desire of Saint-Simon.

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LEONARD A. STEVERSON

## Salons

European salons started in the seventeenth century as informal social gatherings for poetry readings, music, and convivial discussions. Although throughout the eighteenth century the term “salon” was used to refer only to a reception room, by the middle of the century, salons had emerged as important social spaces. They became not only the centers of urban social and intellectual life but also the centers of the **Enlightenment**.

It was the seriousness and regularity of eighteenth-century salons that distinguished them from seventeenth-century salons and other gatherings of the time. Eighteenth-century salons were central to sociability and intellectual, social, and

cultural practices. They performed social functions, operating as private associations, communicative centers, and meeting places. In contrast with universities or academies often associated with the state, salons were private institutions used by groups of intellectuals for intellectual production and collaboration. Salon-goers were provided with an opportunity for discussion and learning in a place that valued ideas and fostered their development. Although salons emerged as mainly literary and philosophic clubs, they cultivated and spread political and social ideas. The principles of intellectual exchange, production, and equality were discussed in Enlightenment salons and contributed to the formation of a new ideological construct of public opinion.

Salons became an institution of Enlightenment not only by developing a new set of values, but also by applying those values to reality, especially in eroding class barriers. Unlike the leisurely salons of the seventeenth century that granted entry only to the old aristocracy, eighteenth-century salons were open to men of all religions, nations, and social strata. Ignoring traditional social taboos, salons, nevertheless, were exclusive in the sense that they required a formal invitation. Evidence of weakening social restrictions can also be seen in the leading role played by women in salons. The hostess, a Paris *salonnière*, a London bluestocking, or a Prussian or Jewish hostess in Berlin, a woman of some independent wealth, was the center of her salon and had influence over the invitations and the direction her salon took. A facilitator for socializing, she opened her house to selected members of polite society. Among the most famous *salonnières* of the Enlightenment were the Paris hostesses Madame Geoffrin (Marie Thérèse Rodet, 1699–1777), Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, and Madame Necker (Suzanne Churchod, 1739–94). **Voltaire**, **Montesquieu**, Denis **Diderot**, A.R.J. **Turgot**, David **Hume**, and Edward Gibbon frequented the salon of Madame Geoffrin, who financially supported Diderot's project of the publication of the *Encyclopédie*.

Because French salons were often associated with the development and spread of revolutionary ideas, after the **French Revolution** they were suppressed so that the upper classes could not express their political opinions and concerns. During the **Terror**, many Parisian salons moved to other European capitals, along with emigrating aristocracy. **Napoleon's** rule witnessed the return of the salons as makers and expressers of public opinion.

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NATALIE BAYER

### **San Martín, José de (1778–1850)**

An Argentine soldier and statesman who fought the Spanish and helped achieve the independence of Argentina (1816), Chile (1818), and Peru (1821), José de San Martín was born on February 25, 1778, at Yapeyú, in the far north of modern-day Argentina. His father, Juan de San Martín, was a professional soldier who became the Spanish colonial administrator of Yapeyú, a former Jesuit mission in the lands of the Guaraní Indians. His mother, Gregoria Matorras, was also Spanish. When San

Martín was six, the family returned to **Spain** and the boy attended the Seminary of Nobles in Madrid from 1785 until 1789.

San Martín started in the military as a cadet in the Murcia infantry regiment and spent 20 years in the Spanish army. In 1791, he saw action at Oran in modern-day Algeria and seven years later fought the British, who held him as a prisoner of war for some months. He was released and fought against the Portuguese in 1801 in the War of the Oranges and was promoted to captain three years later. In 1808 the French invaded and occupied Spain, and San Martín took part in the uprisings against **Napoleon's** forces. San Martín himself was in the Seville junta, which fought in the name of the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, who had been imprisoned by the French. After the battle of Bailén in 1808, San Martín was raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel and, after the Battle of Albuera in 1811, was given the command of the Sagunto Dragoons.

Rather than taking up this post, San Martín received permission to go to Lima, the capital of the viceroyalty of Peru, and the center of Spanish power in Latin America. He went to London and then to Buenos Aires, where he arrived on March 9, 1812. The latter was a city seething with revolutionary ideas. It had been captured by the British in 1806 and held briefly by them. The locals had then ejected the British but, realizing their newfound power, started a campaign of resistance against the Spanish. San Martín quickly sympathized with the revolt and in 1812 was put in charge of raising a corps of grenadiers to defend Buenos Aires from Spanish royalists based in Lima.

Historians have long debated this change of allegiance on the part of San Martín. There have been suggestions that it began to change when he was a prisoner of the British. Argentine nationalist writers see him responding to the yearning for independence in the land of his birth. British historians emphasize his time in London and the influence of revolutionary Spaniards there, including associates of Francisco de Miranda, as well as several Britons, notably James Duff, the fourth earl of Fife. It is also probable that during San Martín's time in the army prejudice against people born in the Americas would have annoyed him, causing him to identify with the people in Buenos Aires.

Whatever the reason, San Martín proved himself a capable commander. He defeated the royalists at San Lorenzo on February 3, 1813, and was then sent to Tucumán to reinforce the army of General Manuel Belgrano. San Martín quickly recognized that he had to attack Lima. However, the traditional route through Upper Peru (modern-day Bolivia) was blocked by Spanish troops. Thus he trained his men at Tucumán and, pretending to be ill, had himself appointed governor of the province of Cuyo on August 10, 1814. He then went to Mendoza, from where he would lead his men across the Andes. San Martín's plan had been to join up with revolutionary forces in Chile. However, the Spanish had just managed to retake Chile, causing the Chilean rebel leader, Bernardo O'Higgins, to flee to Mendoza. This delayed the attack.

On July 9, 1816, the United Provinces of La Plata (Argentina) declared its independence and on August 1 appointed San Martín commander-in-chief of the Army of the Andes. On January 9, 1817, San Martín and O'Higgins led their men over the Andes. Using subterfuge, the two commanders managed to get the Spanish to move their forces elsewhere. Sweeping down from the Andes, they defeated the Spanish at Casas de Chacabuco on February 12, 1817, and entered Santiago, Chile's capital, in triumph. O'Higgins took over ruling Chile, while San Martín



prepared his men for their march on Lima. The Spanish victory at Cancha-Rayada on March 19, 1818, delayed the attack. However, he defeated the last of the Spanish royalists at the Battle of Maipú on April 5, 1818, and then left for Peru.

By this time San Martín had managed to put together a Chilean navy under Arturo Prat and gather together some troop ships. In August 1820 these were placed under the command of Admiral Thomas Cochrane, later the tenth earl of Dundonald, and they left the port of Valparaíso to attack Callao in Peru. They were unable to take the city but did blockade it while San Martín prepared for his assault on Lima. By this time the Spanish royalists realized that no reinforcements were coming from Spain, and they withdrew, allowing San Martín to enter Lima and proclaim the independence of Peru on July 28, 1821. He was declared the protector of Peru.

While San Martín was liberating the south of South America, Simón **Bolívar** had defeated the Spanish in the north. On July 26, 1822, at Guayaquil, in modern-day Ecuador, the two generals met. There has been much historical and nationalist speculation about what was discussed. The exact nature of what was said is unknown, but San Martín returned to Lima disheartened. Some of his troops had been worried that he might have elevated himself to the status of dictator, but San Martín certainly harbored no ambitions to assume such a position. He resigned his post as protector on September 20 and then left for Brussels, where he stayed with his daughter, before moving to Paris and then Boulogne-sur-Mer, in the south of **France**, where he died on August 17, 1850. His body was later brought back to Argentina and is now interred at the Metropolitan Cathedral in Buenos Aires.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### *Sans-Culottes*

The *sans-culottes* were the predominantly poor and working-class people who organized politically during the **French Revolution**. Their name was derived from their refusal to wear the fashionable knee breeches, or *culottes*, preferred by the elite classes. Rejecting the social divisions represented by elite fashion, the *sans-culottes* opted for the more functional trousers worn by working people. The *sans-culotte* commitment to social equality was also reflected in their preference for addressing each other as *citoyen* (citizen) rather than *monsieur* or *madame*. These choices gave expression to a radical egalitarianism that characterized *sans-culotte* political desires throughout the Revolution.

Rather than a formal political movement, the *sans-culottes* were street revolutionaries motivated as much by concerns over the price of bread as by political ideology. They were at the same time, as many have remarked, the engine of the Revolution. Their popular insurrections, from the storming of the **Bastille** to the uprisings of 1795, provided much of the force behind the Revolution's most radical demands and its material successes against the former ruling classes and against the reactionaries.

Central aspects of the *sans-culottes'* social and political outlook included a firm commitment to social equality and the importance of direct and participatory democracy open to all people, including the poor and formerly excluded classes. Their expression of radical republican principles, sometimes called *sans-culottism*, combined

collectivist views on property with a defense of individual freedoms. Despite the popular conception of *sans-culottes* as a movement of the working class and the destitute, in some important ways, both in terms of ideology and in terms of movement composition, the *sans-culottes* were a petit bourgeois or artisanal movement. They were not opposed to private property on principle, for example, but were most concerned with concentrations of wealth, in the hands of the aristocracy and the emergent bourgeoisie, and with great disparities between rich and poor. They sought to break up large estates and industrial enterprises and argued that each citizen should be entitled to one piece of productive property. Theirs was a vision of the nation as properly consisting of small farmers and small shopkeepers.

While the category of *sans-culottes* included people of various backgrounds, most notably the extremely poor and casual workers but also more privileged members such as petty officials and teachers, the core of the movement consisted of poor artisans, trades people, and journeymen. They were craftspeople rather than members of the professional societies, with skilled crafts such as cabinet making and wig making as well as arts such as painting, sculpture, and music well represented among their labors.

Though many were wage earners, the *sans-culottes* were hardly equivalent to the proletariat of industrial capitalism, which reflects the general lack of labor concentration in French industry at the time, even in the northern industrial districts. Most were employed in small shops rather than as factory workers. Their numbers also included many immigrant workers, especially among porters; construction workers; and those who worked various jobs along the riverside, including shipping and loading.

Most lived under conditions that are best described as wretched in close, crowded neighborhoods with unsatisfactory shelter. Extreme poverty was prevalent and persistent, as the poor and unemployed numbered nearly as many as those who worked for wages. It was from these neighborhoods that the most militant *sans-culotte* activity emerged. Most notable among the centers of *sans-culotte* radicalism were the poor eastern suburbs of Paris, especially the Faubourg Saint Antoine and the Faubourg Saint Michel. It was the people of Saint Antoine who led the assault against the Bastille during the revolt of July 14, 1789. The popular insurrections sparked by the *sans-culottes*, which provide some of the most iconic images of the Revolution, were in many ways based in the bread riots and uprisings that were a traditional means of airing grievances among the poor.

Gwyn Williams offers an account of the occupational background of those *sans-culottes* who served as *commissaires* in the *comités révolutionnaires* of the Paris sections during the Revolution's Year II. Noting that these formed the vanguard of revolutionary activity, Williams reports that of the 450 of these militant *sans-culottes* who can be placed, more than 60 percent were craftspeople and shopkeepers. Only 10 percent were wage earners, approximately half of whom were domestic servants. Among craftspeople, the occupations with the most representation were tailors, timber workers, and furniture makers. The traders included several wine merchants.

This picture is repeated if one looks at the existing records of those who were active in popular societies and assemblies. Williams suggests that of the 500 participants who can be traced, artisans and traders once again predominated. The 214 artisans counted among their numbers shoemakers, builders, furniture makers, hairdressers, and tailors. Among the 80 traders, the most represented were wine makers

and grocers. There were almost twice as many wage earners as on the committees, although servants made up the largest number. Williams also reports that of the 132 councilors of the Commune whose occupations are known, 82 were small manufacturers, craftspeople, and traders, while 31 were members of the professions. While most *sans-culottes*, and certainly the revolutionaries of the streets, were members of the poor, the working class, and the lower middle classes, it became popular for some public officials, especially during the **Reign of Terror**, to identify themselves as *citoyens sans-culottes*.

In the popular imagination the *sans-culottes* are most durably associated with the violent street insurrections, or *journées*, that dramatically marked successive stages of the Revolution. On August 10, 1792, *sans-culottes* launched an assault on the king's palace, killing several hundred guards and forcing **Louis XVI** and **Marie Antoinette** to take refuge in the **Legislative Assembly**. Only a month later, *sans-culottes* would play a leading role in the so-called **September Massacres**. The September uprisings culminated in the official abolition of the monarchy and establishment of the republic on September 21 and 22. The most radical elements among various revolutionary governments owed much to the support of the *sans-culottes* and their willingness to take to the streets to defend progressive government proposals against forces of reaction.

On June 22, 1793, an armed crowd consisting of tens of thousands of *sans-culottes* marched on the **National Convention** to force the arrest of members of the Girondin faction and their replacement by the more radical Jacobin faction. For a time the ascendancy of the **Jacobins** to government control seemed to give a formal political expression to the social desires of the *sans-culottes*. The Jacobins, however, were a bourgeois party, unwilling to pursue the truly radical social aims of the *sans-culottes*. After August 10, 1792, military power was held by the insurrectionary Paris Commune, which was closely allied with the *sans-culottes*, who also led the Ministry of War. Opposition from the *sans-culotte*-controlled institutions to the Jacobin-controlled **Committee of Public Safety** was of particular concern to Maximilien **Robespierre**. The participatory democracy of the *sans-culottes* was fatally weakened by the Jacobin government by the end of 1793, under the cover of responding to the emergency of war. On September 9, the Convention established the revolutionary armies, in large part to confiscate grain from farmers, and *sans-culottes* made up the bulk of this force. While relying on the political activities and readiness for armed insurrection in defense of the Republic that the *sans-culottes* provided, the Jacobins also feared the *sans-culottes* as a spontaneous and unpredictable force, loyal to no political leadership but its own. The Jacobin-controlled Committee of Public Safety shut down the various **political clubs** in which the *sans-culottes* participated.

Segments of the *sans-culottes* gave their support to the revolutionary extremism espoused by Jacques-René **Hébert**, publisher of the uproarious publication *Père Duchesne*, which was popular among *sans-culottes*. Less concerned with issues of property and ownership than groups such as the Enragés, the **Hébertistes** were mobilized largely around the execution of aristocrats and profiteers and the abolition of **religion**. Hébertistes called for the dechristianization of **France** and the destruction of Christian symbols. Robespierre sent Hébert to the **guillotine** on March 24, 1794.

The most militant and radically democratic expression of *sans-culotte* desires was put forward by the Enragés, a street movement that viewed all the political parties, including the Jacobins, with deep suspicion. Influenced by the priest Jacques Roux, who

ministered to the *sans-culottes* of Graviilliers, and the journalist Jean Leclerc, the Enragés undertook a program of direct action and violence in support of a social, not simply political, revolution. The Enragés, who viewed productive property as a national or social trust that must be brought under state control, suggest to many commentators a precursor to modern communist movements. In addition to their commitment to direct democracy, under *sans-culotte* control, the Enragés also supported the call for women's **suffrage** raised by the Revolutionary Republican Women.

The last vital stirrings of the *sans-culottes* as a movement with any capacity for a mass uprising were finally extinguished militarily in the spring of 1795 under the rule of the reactionary **Thermidorians**, who had taken power in the coup that overthrew Robespierre on 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794). On April 1 and May 20, 1795, the *sans-culottes* once again mobilized behind the dual banners of bread and the Constitution of 1793 in a desperate attempt to turn back the conservative tide and address the people's need for essentials such as flour, meat and dairy products, and fuel. May 20, 1795, represented not only the last popular uprising of the French Revolution but the death throes of the *sans-culotte* movement. The insurrection of 1 Prairial saw a group of *sans-culottes* take over the Convention before being violently suppressed on the orders of the government. Nearly 150 people were tried by an extraordinary military commission, and 36 condemned to death. Close to 4,000 people in Paris were arrested and disarmed. *Sans-culotte* leaders were subjected to ongoing police harassment, which ended further organizing activities for most of them.

The government's response made clear that the *sans-culotte* moment of the Revolution was over. So too was the vision of an egalitarian and cooperative outcome for the country. By refusing to address even minimally the demands of the poor, the government was able to weaken the poor people's movements to such an extent that they would not reemerge with anything resembling their former vigor for another generation.

All the same, however, the influence of the *sans-culottes* left an important mark on the future, as numerous revolutionary movements and theorists, as well as organizations of poor people, have drawn inspiration from their example. In their spontaneous forms of organization, activist militancy, and commitment to participatory democracy and radical egalitarianism, the *sans-culottes* in many ways prefigured the emergence of anarchist movements less than a century later. *See also* Girondins; Women (French).

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JEFF SHANTZ

### Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759–1805)

Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, German poet, dramatist, and historian, was one of the greatest German literary figures. He has exercised an extraordinary influence from his own time through the twentieth century with his poetry, plays, and works on art and ethics, aesthetics, history, and education.

Schiller was born in Marbach, Württemberg, to the family of a low-ranking military officer in 1759. He attended a military academy and studied law and medicine.

In 1780, Schiller was appointed an army surgeon to a regiment based in Stuttgart. Unsatisfied with his medical career in Stuttgart, he turned to writing.

Schiller's first published play was the socially critical *The Robbers* (1781). An example of the Sturm und Drang movement, the play questioned the limits of personal liberty and the law and the nature of moral and political tradition and considered the psychology of power. *The Robbers* was successfully performed on stage in Mannheim in 1782. The Duke of Württemberg was outraged by the content of the play, and Schiller had to flee to Mannheim, where he lived in 1783–1784. Later Schiller lived in Leipzig and Dresden, finally settling in Weimar in 1787. In 1789, he became professor of history and philosophy at the University of Jena. By this time, Schiller was already an established playwright; the author of a classical historical drama, *Don Carlos* (1785); and an influential researcher of the Dutch revolt against **Spain** (1788). At Jena, he mainly wrote works on history, such as *History of the Thirty-Years' War*, and studies on aesthetics, turning from the emotions of the Sturm und Drang to the moral instruction of German classicism.

It was Schiller's friend **Goethe** who convinced him to return to literary work. During the period that followed, Schiller composed a whole corpus of historical dramas, including *Wallenstein's Camp* (1798), *The Piccolomini* (1799), *Wallenstein's Death* (1799), *Mary Stuart* (1800), *The Maid of Orleans* (1801), and *William Tell* (1804). Schiller settled in Weimar, where he collaborated intensely with Goethe. On May 9, 1805, Schiller died at the age of 46.

Schiller is often called the poet of freedom, a philosophizing poet, and a politicizing philosopher, for many of his ethical, lyrical, and educational messages have politically and morally oriented foundations. Schiller's crucial work, *Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man*, was written during and immediately after the **French Revolution** and reflects Schiller's disenchantment with revolution. The bloodshed of 1793–1794 and the **Reign of Terror** that followed the revolutionary chaos brought Schiller to explore the polarity between the moral duty of human rationality and the compulsion of the bodily nature.

In the *Letters*, Schiller establishes that a person's self-conscious attention to beauty, its spiritual absorption, and its consequent realization in behavior can cultivate one's moral awareness. Aesthetic education creates good citizens, as it makes people automatically act morally when they are given their freedom, as opposed to having violent inclinations, as in the case of the French Revolution. Virtue is understood as a favorable inclination to duty. A person who obtains virtue has a *schöne Seele* (beautiful soul) and is characterized by the harmony among his sensuousness, rationality, obligation, and inclination.

Thus, according to Schiller, freedom is possible when there is no conflict between man's sensuous nature and his capacity for reason. Their union is a "play drive" (*Spieltrieb*), which can also be called artistic beauty. In the *Letters*, Schiller presents an ideal state as a free union of everyone who is content, where everything is beautiful. This, Schiller's utopia, was, in a twisted way, appropriated by German nationalists during the Wars of Liberation (1813–1815) and later by Marxists and fascists. *See also* Kant, Immanuel; Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich.

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NATALIE BAYER

### Seabury, Samuel (1729–1796)

Infamous for his pre-Revolutionary War pro-British pamphlets entitled the *Farmer's Letters*, Samuel Seabury was elected the first Episcopal bishop of **Connecticut** and **Rhode Island** (1783). Seabury was born in Groton, Connecticut; graduated from Yale (1748); was tutored in theology by his father; and studied medicine for a year (1752) in Edinburgh before becoming an Anglican priest (1753) and serving parishes in **New Jersey** and **New York**.

His three *Farmer's Letters* arguing against American independence—"Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress," "The Congress Canvassed," and "A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies"—were authored under the pseudonym of A. W. Farmer (i.e., a Westchester farmer) soon after the Association of the Continental Congress (October 1774) was named. The 17-year-old Alexander **Hamilton** answered the second pamphlet with his own, entitled *A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, from the Calumnies of Their Enemies: In Answer to a Letter under the Signature of A. W. Farmer* (1774). Seabury's third pamphlet was a response to Hamilton, who answered back with *The Farmer Refuted* (1775). Seabury then produced a fourth pamphlet entitled *An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New York* (1775), again assailing the validity of the Congress and proposing a local colonial government under the full authority of **Parliament**, before proceeding to sign the White Plains protest (April 1775) against all unlawful congresses and committees.

Seabury's colonial ministry effectively ended after his Loyalist activities led to his arrest (November 1775) and imprisonment for six weeks in New Haven, Connecticut. He eventually made his way (1776) to New York City and the safety of the British lines, where he practiced medicine and was commissioned a chaplain (1778) in the King's American Regiment after the University of Oxford awarded him a DD in 1777. **See also** American Revolution; Continental Congress, Second; Loyalists.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Second Continental Congress

*See* Continental Congress, Second

### Second Estate

The **nobility**, by tradition those who fought, comprised the Second Estate in eighteenth-century **France**. Nobles constituted a privileged order par excellence, founded on descent, though their fiscal exemption, which was justified by state service, most notably in the armed forces (the so-called blood tax), was by no means complete. Moreover, the noble estate was rather more open than historians used to

believe, though it is unclear exactly how many nobles there were in 1789: estimates range between 100,000 and 400,000, but 25,000 noble families is the best guess. They were rather less reactionary and, above all, much more differentiated than was once thought. Sword and robe, the military and administrative arms of the nobility, were far from integrated, but a greater problem concerned the poor nobility, who had only their titles to distinguish them from ordinary mortals. Tales of nobles from the more remote regions of France who had to remain in bed while their breeches were repaired, or who ploughed fields with a sword at their side, may be apocryphal. They are nonetheless indicative of a society where money and merit were becoming more important than birth as a criterion of status, and where letters of nobility were purchased or awarded in increasing numbers.

In this fluid context, it is no longer easy to distinguish nobles from the wealthy bourgeois, especially since the latter sought to invest money in office or land in order to become aristocrats over the course of time, keen to sport the noble *particule* as they did so. If there was an aristocratic reaction, then it was directed at this aspiring *noblesse*, especially on the part of poorer nobles who had only their lineage to commend them. Great nobles continued to dominate the command of army and navy, ministerial office and the bishops' bench, with the occasional non-noble only proving the rule. Yet this preponderance was not necessarily deployed in a reactionary fashion but was often expressed in terms of business innovation (despite rules on derogation), social behavior, and, above all, cultural practice. The nobility participated strongly in the French **Enlightenment**. Many of the writers were of noble origin and much of the audience for their ideas was drawn from the same social group. The system of elections to the **Estates-General** in 1789 revealed profound fissures within an order that was somewhat artificially divided from prosperous commoners, and the *cahiers de doléances* they drafted reveal plenty of reformist sentiment. However, among those elected to represent the nobility at Versailles, alongside a liberal minority inspired by members of the elite like the Marquis de **Lafayette** or Liancourt (not to mention **Mirabeau**, who sat for the **Third Estate**), there was a majority of more cautious nobles who hailed from the backwoods and were rather more reluctant to embrace change. By 1789, they were willing to abandon tax exemption, but social privilege remained a stumbling block. Their obstinacy led not just to the end of the estate, but also to the abolition of noble titles in 1790. *See also* First Estate.

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MALCOLM CROOK

## Senate

The term "senate" derives from Latin and is employed in reference to the upper house, or chamber, of a legislative body. With a history dating back to the Roman era, senates have become fundamental components in the national political

decision-making process of many industrialized countries such as the United States of America, Argentina, Australia, **Belgium**, Brazil, **Canada**, **France**, **Italy**, and **Spain**. Members of a senate, who may be appointed or elected in the system of government, are known as senators and may be smaller in terms of numbers than members of a lower house (e.g., **National Assembly**, House of Assembly, and **House of Representatives**) of a legislative body. In some nations, most notably the United States, members of the senate are fixed in number per state regardless of that state's geographical size, economic stature, or demographic size. As a consequence, senates are often criticized within the context of democracies for granting too much importance within the national political process to regions that are less developed, which often specifically relates to rural places.

In Europe one of the most notable senates is that of France. Established following the **French Revolution** (1789), the senate of France (*Le Sénat*, in French) presently resides in the Luxembourg Palace, in Paris, and consists of about 300 or so elected members who are voted into positions of authority by tens of thousands of local administrative councils scattered across all parts of France. Thus the French senate is elected by both the urban and rural regions of the country. Criticisms of this system still abound in France due to the bias of the senate's composition regarding rural areas.

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IAN MORLEY

## September Massacres (1792)

Between September 2 and 7, 1792, about 1,400 prisoners were murdered in Parisian jails, ostensibly to forestall a prison plot. At least 244 prisoners in provincial jails were murdered as well after news of the Paris massacres spread. The most important consequence of this "first terror" was the fragmentation of the radical movement, which became polarized into Montagnard and Girondin factions in the months that followed.

The September Massacres were originally conceived by radical journalists, most notably Jean-Paul **Marat**, who called in the month of August for a purge of conspirators in Paris's swollen prisons. More immediately, the massacres were triggered by the perilous military situation in the summer of 1792. On September 1, the last fortress on the way to Paris fell to the forces of the Prussian general, the Duke of Brunswick, who had threatened to lay waste to the city of Paris in a July 25 manifesto. Many feared that the advancing Prussians would be assisted by plotters scheming to break out of Parisian prisons. To prevent this, several hundred radicals from the sections and volunteer soldiers invaded nine Parisian prisons over the course of six days and put to death hundreds of refractory priests, counterrevolutionaries, and common criminals, often without even the pretence of a judicial hearing. The massacres were regulated and moderated, but not halted, by delegates from the Paris Commune after September 2.

Although significant in themselves, the massacres were given additional meaning by their interplay with an ongoing power struggle between the **Legislative Assembly** and the Commune. Fearful of the Commune's power, the Legislative Assembly ordered the dissolution of the Paris Commune on August 28. In response, Maximilian



**Robespierre** charged Jean-Pierre **Brissot**'s faction with treason on September 1, and the Commune's Surveillance Committee, under Marat's influence, issued arrest warrants for Brissot, Jean Marie **Roland**, and eight other deputies in the Legislative Assembly. If justice minister Georges-Jacques **Danton** had not quashed the arrest orders, Brissot and his allies might have fallen victim to the September Massacres.

At first, Brissot and his allies supported the massacres, but when news of the arrest warrants became known, they changed their view. Claiming that they were "under the knife of Robespierre and Marat," Brissot and his allies launched a political campaign in both the Legislative Assembly and the **National Convention** against the September murderers and their complicit Montagnard allies. Indeed, both their repeated Girondin calls for a departmental guard and their appeals to the people during the trial of **Louis XVI** owe their origin to a desire to contain Parisian militant radicalism. The Montagnards, in turn, sought to shore up their Parisian power base by portraying the massacres as a patriotic act. In this way, the Paris massacres exacerbated the formation of the Girondin and Montagnard factions within the formerly united radical movement in the **French Revolution**. *See also* French Revolutionary Wars; Girondins; The Mountain.

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BENJAMIN REILLY

### Sherman, Roger (1721–1793)

Roger Sherman was the only person to sign the **Continental Association** of 1774, the **Declaration of Independence**, the **Articles of Confederation**, and the **United States Constitution**.

Born in **Massachusetts**, he moved to **Connecticut** at an early age. He had no formal education and eventually became a lawyer. He served several terms in the Connecticut Assembly until 1785. From 1777 to 1779 he served in the Connecticut Council of Safety. Sherman was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1781. He helped draft both the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. At the **Constitutional Convention**, he was one of the most frequent speakers and was a member of the Committee for Postponed Matters, a subset of the Convention that resolved issues on which the larger Convention could not agree.

Sherman was committed to independence and later endorsed the notion of a central national government. He balanced this view, however, with a well-defined concern for the rights of states in this new government and a balance of power between large states such as **New York** and **Pennsylvania** and smaller states such as Connecticut. He opposed an assembly based strictly on population and favored a **senate** with equal representation for all states. Sherman also successfully fought against the demise of the Articles of Confederation before the Constitution had become a reality. His concern was that the precedent of nullifying the Articles without a formal substitute in place would make any subsequent governments vulnerable. Strongly opposing an independent executive, Sherman wanted the executive's powers to be limited. The legislature should choose the executive and should exercise strong control over that branch. *See also* American Revolution;

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ROBERT N. STACY

### Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, Abbé (1748–1833)

The abbé Sieyès helped both to shape the character of the **French Revolution** at its outset and to bring about its conclusion. His highly influential *Qu'est-ce que c'est le Tiers état?* publicized the notion that the desired political reforms could not occur if the old social structure based upon privilege remained intact. Sieyès subsequently lost much of his influence, especially during the **Reign of Terror**, but he regained it after the demise of Maximilien **Robespierre** and the creation of the **Directory**. As one of the directors, he facilitated the coup d'état that facilitated **Napoleon's** rise to power; thus, he effectively terminated the Revolution.

Along with other leaders of the Revolution, the abbé Sieyès emerged from political obscurity as a result of his response to the crown's financial crisis and to the summoning of the **Estates-General**. His family lacked the noble status that would have made it easier for him to satisfy his ambitions and to attain a position suitable for a man of his intellect. As the son of a minor royal official who lived in the small Provençal town of Fréjus, on the Mediterranean coast, Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès was born in 1748 into a society that was at once accommodating and resistant to social climbing. Given the large size of his family, its modest means, and his own physical frailty, a church career seemed the only suitable option.

Even though the young man felt little religious vocation, he entered the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris in 1765 and also began to take courses in theology at the Sorbonne. Sieyès's lack of enthusiasm for the subject matter might account for his unimpressive academic record. Mediocre grades did not, however, diminish his self-confidence and determination to improve his social status. He received his ordination as a priest in 1772 (at age 24) and then his *licence* in theology in 1774.

In the **ancien régime** church, sons of the **nobility** controlled the bishoprics, as well as the wealth and power conferred upon the occupant of a see. The acquisition of a position with an income that would support a comfortable lifestyle required connections and patronage. Fortunately for Sieyès, his father worked determinedly on his son's behalf and won for him the attention of the abbé of Césarge, the younger son of a marquis. At first the vicar general of Fréjus and then almoner of the king's oratory in Versailles, Césarge secured for Sieyès the job of secretary to the bishop of Tréguier, de Lubersac. Through the joint efforts of his patrons, Sieyès became chaplain to the king's aunt in 1779, the year immediately before her death. Sieyès then followed de Lubersac to Chartres, where the latter had become bishop. As vicar general of Chartres, Sieyès became involved in diocesan affairs. He assumed the role of canon in 1783 and that of chancellor for the cathedral chapter in 1788. He was delegate for the Chartres diocese at the Sovereign Chamber of the Clergy

in Paris from 1786 and was chosen representative of the clergy at the provincial assembly of Orléans in 1788.

Sieyès thus enjoyed a considerable improvement in his situation during the decade or so that followed the completion of his religious studies. In fact, his success was probably as great as any non-noble without significant political or social connections could have achieved in the era. Sieyès never forgot that he had attained these positions through patronage alone. He resented that his society almost compelled him to adopt obsequious manners and to become dependent upon his social superiors in order to rise to a position that, in a meritocracy, he would have achieved due to his abilities. Meanwhile, nobles less able than he became bishops and lived in luxury.

His discontent with the pre-revolutionary French social system resulted largely from his personal experiences and his personality, though his reading and intellectual pursuits also contributed to it. While in seminary, he delved into the philosophical and economic texts of the **Enlightenment** writers; his notebooks from the time indicate his familiarity with authors such as Condillac, Helvétius, **Locke**, Quesnay, **Mirabeau**, and **Turgot**. He confidently tackled the ideas presented by the **philosophes** and intended to publish his *Letters to the Economists on Their Political and Moral System* (written in 1774) until Turgot lost his position as minister in 1776 and reformist hopes declined.

Sieyès remained silent as an author until 1788, even though he continued to read and comment upon the latest works in private. Almost all his published writings appeared in response to particular crises or debates. He evidently craved fame as a political thinker and actor, not as a writer. In treatises such as the famous *What Is the Third Estate?* he displayed a gift for assimilating complex ideas and for thinking independently.

He also had a talent for recognizing and seizing opportunities. In the context of intense debates about the form and appropriate voting methods to be adopted by the upcoming meeting of the Estates-General, Sieyès wrote a political pamphlet entitled *Vues sur les moyens d'exécution dont les représentants de la France pourront disposer en 1789*. His ideas had already grown more radical by the time of its completion, so he wrote another, *An Essay on Privileges* (published in late 1788). *What Is the Third Estate?* appeared in early 1789. By the start of spring 1789, Sieyès was receiving invitations to Paris **salons**. He joined the Committee of Thirty, which assisted Patriots with their election campaigns, and became deputy for the **Third Estate** from Paris. He arrived at Versailles in late May.

As events unfolded, the suggestions that Sieyès had offered in his *What Is the Third Estate?* proved immensely insightful. He had advised the delegates from the Third Estate to separate from the other two groups and to proclaim themselves the sole representatives of the nation. Since, argued Sieyès, the nobility and the church did not perform any productive labor and thus detracted from the prosperity of **France**, they were essentially parasitical upon and alien to the body politic of the nation. If they could not rightfully claim to share the nation's interests, then they should have no part in writing a new constitution or deciding upon fundamental reforms. The Third Estate, which comprised all those who did work that redounded to the public good, should acknowledge that it was *everything* in France, whereas the other two estates were *nothing*.

In practice, Sieyès amended his recommendations slightly. He urged the delegates to “summon” the other orders; all who failed to appear had ceded their power. The remaining delegates would form a representative assembly. Although the actual motion simply invited the other delegates, Sieyès’s proposal carried the day. As he expected, a number of parish priests recognized the commonality of their interests with those of the Third Estate and joined the assembly. On June 17, the new body became the **National Assembly**, the name that Sieyès had proposed in his *What Is the Third Estate?*

Sieyès enjoyed enormous respect and exercised his greatest influence in June 1789, as the National Assembly formed and undertook the basic measures for creating a new political, juridical, and social system. He won a place on the Committee on the Constitution and then was chosen by the committee to write the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**. Although shorn of his philosophical preamble and several clauses, the essentials of Sieyès’s draft were accepted in September by the Assembly.

His prestige then began to decline. His lack of interest in oratory meant that the Assembly heard little from him in the course of its debates. More significantly, Sieyès opposed the Assembly’s decision in August 1789 to end the clerical tithe. He could not conceive of the tithe as a privilege akin to those that he had rejected in his writings. Certainly, his August 10 speech caused his colleagues to wonder at his apparent hypocrisy.

During the subsequent years of the Revolution, Sieyès worked on the first new constitution and planned the overhaul of France’s administration that substituted newly created uniform departments for the old heterogeneous provinces. He contributed to the reform of the clergy and of the legal system. He remained outside the intense factional conflicts of the **National Convention**, to which he was elected in 1792. He supported the execution of **Louis XVI**, though he was not otherwise associated with the Montagnards. Sieyès made himself rather scarce during the Terror, which enabled him not only to survive but also to acquire renewed importance after Robespierre’s fall from power.

The Terror caused Sieyès to advocate a less democratic model of government. He no longer believed that the French should concentrate power in the legislature. Instead, they should spread governmental activities across four bodies; the government (executive) and a constitutional jury would have the greatest power. Despite his proposals, the Convention chose to create a new republic, known as the **Directory**, in 1795. Sieyès was elected to the new legislature and was in turn selected by his colleagues to serve as a director. He refused this honor, however, since he disliked the new constitution. He returned to power after the September 1797 republican coup, when he became president of the **Council of Five Hundred** (the lower legislative house). After a year as ambassador to Prussia, he joined the Directory in 1799. Then, he abetted the coup that enabled **Napoleon** to attain power. Sieyès had no influence over the new leader, but he was appointed to the senate and then named a count of the Empire. He spent the years of the Bourbon restoration in **Belgium**; he returned from exile in 1830 and died three years later.

In addition to his political activities and contributions to the Revolution, Sieyès extended the tradition of political philosophizing associated with the Enlightenment. Although an admirer of John **Locke** and of Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, Sieyès

distinguished himself from those philosophers in his conceptualization of modern democracy. Whereas Rousseau rejected representation as entailing a surrender of **citizenship**, Sieyès defined citizenship as associated with labor rather than abstract rights and thought representative democracy entirely suited to the demands of his time. His grasp of eighteenth-century political economy permitted him to conceive of the social contract as operating to protect individual liberties and property (in agreement with Locke). In addition to that rather restrictive purpose, Sieyès held that the social contract facilitated the production of wealth by society. He thought that all who labor contribute to the “general labor”; their cooperation within civil society allows each to maximize his productivity. The Sieyèsian general labor, analogous to Rousseau’s general will, represents more than the sum of individual components. Sieyès pointed out that subsequent increases in productivity and wealth require divisions of labor within society. It also necessitates the creation of an efficient government responsive to the citizenry, ready to organize public works, and able to supervise production.

Sieyès thus joined together social contract theory and political economy. Representative democracy became legitimate as the best system by whose means people could govern themselves and increase their prosperity through a division of labor. Political labor would require the same degree of specialization as any other task. Thus, Sieyès offered a way to think about the functions of government and its composition in the forthcoming era of industrial capitalism. *See also* Brumaire, Coup d’Etat de; Constitutions, French Revolutionary; The Mountain; Prussia and Germany, Impact of Revolutionary Thought on.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

## Signers of the Declaration of Independence

The American **Declaration of Independence**, which was submitted to the Second **Continental Congress** on July 2, 1776, and approved two days later, was the handiwork of a group of men with vast experience in the public service. The roster of signatories of the Declaration represents the best and brightest minds living in the North American colonies in the eighteenth century. They were well educated and wealthy and enjoyed international reputations. In fact, their prominence gave many British parliamentarians cause to argue against further alienation of the colonies. The status of individuals like Benjamin **Franklin**, John **Adams**, and Robert Morris promoted intense debates in **Britain** over the efficacy of waging war in North America.

When the Second Continental Congress was convened on May 10, 1775, it faced several serious issues, including the logistical challenges of training and equipping an entirely new army to face the veteran forces of Britain and serious internal dissension over the future of the united colonies. In several colonies, including **Maryland**, Delaware, **New Jersey**, and **New York**, delegates abstained from voting

on pivotal matters, awaited direct consent for their colonial legislatures, and lobbied in their states to win support for American independence. Nonetheless, the Congress appointed a Committee of Five on June 11, 1776, to work on a draft of a document declaring independence. These members of the committee—Thomas **Jefferson** of **Virginia** (appointed chair by virtue of the number of votes he received), John Adams of **Massachusetts**, Roger **Sherman** of **Connecticut**, Benjamin Franklin of **Pennsylvania**, and Robert Livingston of New York—were the architects of the document and, with the exception of Robert Livingston, who refused to sign, are the most prominent signatories. Thomas Jefferson was responsible for drafting and writing the document and deserves the designation as father of the Declaration of Independence. He received sound advice from John Adams, who assisted with ideas and revisions, and Benjamin Franklin, who provided much-needed inspiration throughout the process. All five men became prominent leaders at state, federal, and international levels. More importantly, they produced a document that still serves as a guide for American idealism and continues to inspire independence movements around the world.

A total of 56 men signed the Declaration of Independence—a large number affixed their signatures on August 2, 1776, in the Assembly Room of the State House in Philadelphia; the final signer affirmed the document on January 18, 1777. Demographically the signers were relatively young—the youngest, Edward **Rutledge** of **South Carolina**, was 26, and 70-year-old Benjamin Franklin was the eldest—the vast majority being lawyers, with a significant representation of merchants, plantation owners, and scientists. All were to varying degrees influenced by the political ideas of the **Enlightenment**, especially the works of John **Locke**. A significant minority were opposed to rapid independence from Britain and endorsed patience and accommodation. For instance, Robert Livingston of New York and John **Dickinson** of Pennsylvania made significant contributions to forming the ideas contained in the document and drafting the instrument yet refused to sign because of serious reservations about the implications of the action.

Those men who signed the declaration included future presidents and vice presidents—Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Elbridge Gerry. Six of them—Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, George Clymer, James **Wilson**, and George Reed—were at the **Constitutional Convention** in 1787 and once again affixed their names to a seminal document in United States history. In terms of the documents that created the United States, Roger Sherman is the only man to have signed the **Continental Association** (1774), the Declaration of Independence (1776), the **Articles of Confederation** (1777), and the **United States Constitution** (1787), where he brokered the Connecticut Compromise. Other signers gained notoriety as members of **Congress**, justices of the **Supreme Court**, national financiers, prominent merchants, and founders of institutions of higher learning. On a less stellar note, the majority of the signatories were slave masters, and nearly one-quarter owned large plantations. A total of 17 served in the **Continental Army** during the **American Revolutionary War**, and 9 made the ultimate sacrifice. Three—George Clymer of Pennsylvania, William Hooper of **North Carolina**, and Matthew Thornton of **New Hampshire**—either were not members of the Continental Congress when the declaration was drafted or were absent when it was approved, yet they were allowed to sign.

The heroism and commitment of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was captured by John **Hancock**, president of the Second Continental Congress, who

admonished the members to stand united behind the cause and stated bluntly, “There must be no pulling different ways. We must all hang together.” Benjamin Franklin responded, “Yes, we must, indeed, hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately.” Legally, the signers of the document were staging an act of treason against a legitimate government, which would have certainly prompted a harsh response by Britain had she been victorious. Nonetheless, 56 Patriots signed the instrument of independence and thereby guaranteed their place in history.

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JAMES T. CARROLL

## Slavery and the Slave Trade

Slavery, a social institution governed by either law or by social customs, is the most absolute involuntary form of human servitude. The practice of slavery has existed at every level of social development and among all races and peoples, though its forms and features differ vastly. There is a disagreement among scholars regarding the definition of slavery, but the term has often been used for a wide range of institutions, including plantation slavery, forced labor, sweatshop labor, child labor, semi-voluntary prostitution, paid child adoption, and bride-price marriage. These diverse forms of slavery are primarily derived from the most recent direct Western experience with slavery, which has been arbitrarily constructed out of the representations of that experience in nineteenth-century abolitionist literature.

### *Slavery in an Historical Context*

The practice of slavery dates back to prehistoric times, although its institutionalization probably first occurred in early historical times, when agricultural advances provided impetus for the formation of organized societies. Slaves were needed for various specialized functions in these societies and were obtained either through raids or conquests of other peoples or within the society itself, when some people sold themselves or their family members to pay debts or were enslaved as punishment for crimes.

### *The Ancient Period*

Slavery was an accepted feature, often essential to the economy and society, of all ancient civilizations. The ancient Mesopotamian, Indian, and Chinese civilizations employed slaves, either domestically in homes and shops or in groups for large-scale construction or agriculture. In order to build royal palaces and monuments, ancient Egyptians used slaves on a mass scale. The ancient Hebrews also used slaves, but they were required by religious law to free slaves of their own nationality at certain fixed times. In the more advanced civilizations of pre-Columbian America—for example, those of the Aztec, Inca, and Maya—slave labor was also used on a large scale in both agriculture and warfare.

In the Homeric epics, slavery is the ordinary destiny of prisoners of war. In later years even Greek philosophers did not consider the condition of slavery morally objectionable, although Aristotle went so far as to suggest that faithful slaves might be freed as a reward for loyalty. Roman slavery differed in several important aspects

from that of ancient Greece. With the power to legally exercise control over life and death, Roman masters commanded more power over their slaves. Slavery was also far more necessary to the economy and social system of Rome, especially during the empire, than it had been in Greece. Roman aristocracy needed considerable numbers of slaves to maintain large city and country homes. Imperial conquests and long-drawn programs of territorial expansion eventually strained the native Roman workforce. Thus, great numbers of foreign slaves had to be imported to fulfill the needs of agricultural labor.

The primary way of acquiring slaves was through war; tens of thousands of captured prisoners of war were brought to Rome as slaves. Other sources of slaves were debtors, who sold themselves or members of their families into slavery, and persons convicted of serious crimes. Ultimately, greater dependence on the institution of slavery contributed significantly to the downfall of the Roman Empire.

### *The Medieval Period*

The medieval period witnessed a slight improvement in the conditions of slaves but did not see the elimination of the practice of slavery. After the fall of Rome, during the barbarian invasions that occurred at various times between the fifth and tenth centuries, the ancient institution of slavery was transformed into the generally less binding system known as serfdom. Islam recognized the institution of slavery from the beginning, in the seventh century. The Prophet Muhammad urged his followers to treat slaves kindly, and on the whole, slaves owned by Muslims were comparatively well treated. Most were employed as domestic servants.

### *The Modern Period*

Conquest, colonization, and imperial domination by European powers in Africa, North and South America, and parts of Asia provided the impetus for modern slavery and the slave trade. Portugal, which suffered from a shortage of agricultural workers, was the first modern European nation to meet its labor needs by importing slaves. The Portuguese began the practice in 1444, and by 1460, they were annually importing 700 to 800 slaves to Portugal from trading posts and forts established on the African coast, to which the captives were brought by other Africans. **Spain** soon followed, but for more than a century Portugal virtually monopolized the African slave traffic. In addition, Arab traders in North Africa shipped slaves taken from central Africa to markets in Arabia, Persia, and India.

During the sixteenth century, in tropical Latin America, Spanish colonists were the first to force the native population to work the land. The indigenous people, however, could not survive the harsh conditions of slavery and were nearly wiped out, in part by exposure to European diseases and the unbearable conditions of forced labor. To resolve this problem, Africans were then transported to the Spanish colonies, primarily because it was believed that they could endure forced labor in the generally more enervating Caribbean and mainland Latin American climates.

England entered the slave trade in the latter half of the sixteenth century, contesting the hitherto monopolized right of the Portuguese to supply slaves to the Spanish colonies. Subsequently, **France**, Holland, Denmark, and the American colonies entered the trade as competitors. In 1713 the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves was granted to the British South Sea Company.



The first African slaves in North America landed at Jamestown, **Virginia**, in 1619. Brought by Dutch ships, they were subjected to limited servitude—a legalized status carried by Native American, white, and black servants that preceded the formal establishment of slavery in most of, if not all, the English colonies in the New World. The number of slaves imported was initially small, and it did not seem necessary to define their legal status. Statutory recognition of slavery, however, occurred in **Massachusetts** in 1641, in **Connecticut** in 1650, and in Virginia in 1661; these statutes mainly concerned fugitive slaves.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, however, with the development of the plantation system in the southern colonies, the number of Africans imported as agricultural slave laborers increased greatly, and several northern coastal cities became centers of the lucrative slave trade. In the northern colonies, slaves were generally used as domestics and in trade; in the Middle Atlantic colonies they were used more in agriculture; and in the southern colonies, where plantation agriculture was the primary occupation, almost all slaves worked on the plantations.

Contrary to popular belief, slaves did have some legal rights, such as support in old age or sickness, a right to limited religious instruction, and the right to bring suit and give evidence in special cases. Customs conferred numerous rights, too, such as private property, marriage, free time, and contractual ability. Brutal treatment such as mutilation, branding, chaining, and murder were regulated or prohibited by law, but instances of cruelty were common before the nineteenth century.

### *Characteristics of Slavery*

The institution of slavery exhibited certain common social and cultural attributes across the New World. Slaves were often cut off from any birthrights they may have had as members of a community. New slaves were always given new names, and often ordered to wear special clothes and haircuts. In cultural terms this natal alienation is usually expressed as a form of social death. In legal terms, masters in most slave-holding societies had the right to kill their slaves with impunity. Even when laws restricted the master's power to kill a slave, the punishment for doing so was rarely more than the imposition of a fine. In any case, because all known societies extended to a master the right to physically punish the slave, it was usually difficult to disprove a murderous master's claim that a slave had died while undergoing some legally acceptable punishment.

In no slave society did slaves have legal custody over their spouses or children. Lack of custodial powers, however, did not mean the absence of stable sexual unions or families. In most slave-holding societies it was unusual for slaves born in the household to be sold, although the master generally had the right to do so. Slave women in all slave societies were powerless against the sexual demands of their masters. Nonetheless, societies varied considerably in the degree to which legal restraints were placed on third parties who attempted to rape female slaves.

In no cases were slaves permitted full rights or power to own property; however, they were allowed to accumulate some material goods, which one could acquire by working beyond what was demanded by the master. Sometimes masters permitted slaves to engage in commerce in order to acquire enough money to enable them to purchase their long-cherished freedom. For this reason, many slave-holding societies had high rates of manumission.

It is unwise to define slaves as persons who are part of the property of others. This is because, in sociological and legal terms, all persons, not only slaves, can be the objects of proprietary relations. Slaves were distinguished, rather, by their loss of power, rights of natality or birth, and honor. Such a definition allows us to identify more rigorous distinctions between slaves and other categories of dependent or bonded persons. Serfs differ from slaves, as they are never natively alienated, cut off from the rights of birth. They belong to communities, usually more clearly than do their lords, who are often conquering outsiders. They are acknowledged to be full persons and are in no way regarded as socially dead. They usually have some proprietary powers, especially over moveable personal property, and they can claim custodial power over their spouses and children.

### *The Institution of Slavery in the New World*

Slavery emerged in the New World within the context of three major types of socioeconomic systems: the pure plantation system, the mixed plantation system, and the colonial settlement system. In the first type, a small elite group of masters controlled the vast majority of the slave population. The entire economy, in this system, was based on the slave plantation, where crops were planted for the export market, rather than for local consumption. Such a system became prominent in northeastern Brazil; in the Dutch and British colonies of Surinam and Guyana, respectively; and in its most extreme form, in the British and French islands of the Caribbean.

On the other hand, slavery was simply a supplementary form of labor in a colonial context, where European settlers and mestizos dominated both politically and demographically. In this system, the institution of slavery played a minor role, existing in pockets, though in mining, large-scale slavery existed. Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century, slavery outside the household had largely disappeared. Except for Columbia and nineteenth-century Cuba, most of Hispanic America practiced this type of slavery. In Mexico, slaves were numerous in the silver mines in the early sixteenth century, but by the middle of the seventeenth century, slavery was on the wane and was limited mainly to household work and crafts. The same was true in Peru and in most of the other Spanish New World colonies. A primitive agro-pastoral household slavery existed in Jamaica, in Cuba until the last third of the eighteenth century, and in Puerto Rico and the Spanish part of **Hispaniola** until the early nineteenth century. Several British colonies, notably colonial New England and British Canada, also practiced this type of slavery.

The mixed plantation system lies somewhere between these two socioeconomic systems. A single-crop plantation shaped the general economy without totally determining its character. Although most people and farms were not directly connected with slavery or the plantation system, the interests of the dominant political class were based on the wealth of the large slave plantations. Classic examples of this type of slavery can be found in the American South, though Cuba during the nineteenth century, Columbia, southwestern Brazil during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the Dutch Antilles also adhered to this system.

Seen from an historical and cross-cultural perspective, New World slavery consisted of a unique conjunction of features. Its use of the slave population was strikingly specialized, with its heavy emphasis on the production of sugar and cotton for the world market. Both masters and slaves came from abroad, from distinctly different cultures and races, and they constituted from the start two visibly distinct

layers of the population. The slave population occupied a separate stratum at the bottom of the social scale. This disparity created the popular association of New World slavery with race. Slaves were completely removed from relations based on kinship because marriage between masters and slaves was not recognized.

In most other societies, particularly in the simpler ones, slavery operated in a quite different context. Most societies were indigenous and had deeper roots in the local sociopolitical milieu. Slaves usually came from nearby areas, sometimes from within society, and the cultural and biological distances between master and slave were often small and sometimes nonexistent. These factors reduced the obstacles to the slaves' integration into the host population. Masters sometimes married their female slaves, and the prevalence of polygamy gave their practice ample scope; hence, relations based on slavery could overlap with those of kinship. Moreover, the economic and political systems in which slavery was enmeshed were simpler than those in the New World, and the use of slaves was less narrowly focused on economic production. Thus, it can be said that most of the variants of slavery did not exhibit the three elements that were dominant in the New World: slaves as property and commodities, their use exclusively as labor; and their lack of freedom.

### *The Organized Slave Trade*

The global reach of the institution of slavery provided ample incentives to traders to organize trade based not only on commodities but also in human beings. Trading slaves made much more economic sense than trading goods. Historically, there have been five major international slave-trading systems, which operated as nodal agencies balancing the demand and supply of slaves. For more than 1,000 years, as part of the trans-Saharan caravan trade, the northern belt of Africa satisfied most of the demand for slaves. However, Islamic states, where slaves formed a vital part of the military and administrative elite, relied heavily on the peoples of the European-Asiatic steppe. Among the Ottomans, the main source of elite slaves was the Christian population of their European possessions, including Greeks, Armenians, and Albanians. The other important trading route was focused on the Indian Ocean, across which slaves were transported from east Africa to India, China, and other societies of the Far East.

However, without any doubt, the most extensive of all trading systems, both in terms of the number of persons traded and the distances and goods involved, was the Atlantic slave trade. Beginning with the Dutch and Portuguese, followed by the British, French—and to a lesser extent the Danes and the Swedes—the trade formed a triangular route. Ships left Europe with goods that were traded for slaves in Africa. From there slaves were taken to the New World, where they were sold for cash or exchanged for goods, mainly sugar and cotton. The final leg of the triangle involved the sale of these commodities in Europe. Overcrowding is often blamed for the high death rate of slaves in transit, but it now seems that the main determinant was the length of the voyage. The longer the time spent aboard ship, the greater was the incidence of disease from contaminated water and spoiled food.

### *The Abolitionist Movement and the End of the Slave Trade*

Abolition movements were rare in the history of slavery. Although the Stoics and Sophists preached against slavery in ancient Greece, they were more concerned with the spiritual enslavement of persons to material wants than to physical enslavement

itself. There was no movement to abolish slavery in the Middle Ages. Outside the Americas, all systems of slavery not eliminated by the European colonial powers simply petered out during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the supply of slaves dried up or economic changes eliminated demand.

A combination of intellectual, political, and economic factors accounts for the final abolition of slavery. In 1802 the slaves of the French colony of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) became the first slave population to gain freedom, after the only successful slave revolt in world history. France abolished slavery in its remaining colonies in 1848; the British had abolished slavery in the Empire in 1807, and the slave trade in 1833. In continental Spanish America, Chile led the way with emancipation in 1823; Mexico followed in 1829. Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Brazil were among the last New World countries to abolish slavery: Puerto Rico in 1873, Cuba between 1880 and 1886, and Brazil in 1888.

As discussed earlier, the pressure mounted by the abolitionist movement compelled the British to abolish the trade in 1807, the Danes having already done so in 1804. The United States followed Britain in 1808, Sweden in 1813, the **Netherlands** in 1814, and France in 1818. In continental Spanish America, the abolition of the trade was partly the result of low demand, partly a result of local independence movements, and partly a response to British pressure. Venezuela and Mexico abolished the trade in 1810, Chile in 1811, and Argentina in 1812. During the nineteenth century, the trade to Spain's last remaining colonies in the Caribbean, especially Cuba, continued, indeed increased. Even a papal ban and the abolition by Spain in 1871 did not put an end to the traffic. In Brazil, as in Cuba, the expansion of slave-grown crops after 1830—in this case coffee—increased the demand for slaves. In spite of various treaties with the British, the trade continued until 1880, although it was declared a form of piracy in 1850.

### *Slavery in the Twentieth Century*

An important achievement in the history of slavery was the adoption of the International Slavery Convention in 1926 by the League of Nations. This convention called for the suppression and prohibition of the slave trade and the complete abolition of slavery in all forms. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948, reaffirmed the principles embodied in the convention. In 1951 a United Nations committee on slavery reported that the practice of slavery was declining rapidly, and that only a vestige of slavery remained in a few areas of the world. Nevertheless, the committee found that forms of servitude similar to slavery affected a large number of people. These types of servitude included forms of serfdom and peonage, various abuses arising from the adoption of children, and the transfer in marriage of women without their consent. At the recommendation of the committee, a conference representing 51 nations was held in Geneva in 1956. The conference adopted the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery to supplement the convention of 1926. The new convention condemned all forms of servitude similar to slavery and provided for penal sanctions against countries engaged in the slave trade. Any disputes relating to the convention were to be referred to the International Court of Justice.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

### Smith, Adam (1723–1790)

Although best known for his classic work in political economy, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith was also a moral philosopher and social historian. He was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, and taught at the University of Glasgow, later becoming a tutor for a wealthy family. His friends included the greatest philosopher of the Scottish **Enlightenment**, David **Hume**, as well as many other leading members of that movement. He was also a friend of the Anglo-Irish conservative Edmund **Burke**.

Smith's first book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), remains important in the history of ethics. It began with the premise that humans are ruled by their "passions," the natural inclinations with which they were born. Smith sought to answer a problem in moral philosophy created by this theory of human nature: How can benevolence and altruism arise from the selfish motives of private feelings? Smith followed Hume in arguing that one's inner feelings can be communicated to others because we all share the same nature, like musical strings tuned to each other. Hence we have an inborn capacity for sympathy. Smith went further to develop the idea of the "impartial spectator." Each of us, he argued, has a rational capacity to observe others and ourselves impartially, and this gives us the power of moral judgment to augment our natural feelings of sympathy.

Smith also followed Hume in arguing that in addition to inborn passions or inclinations, humans are capable of acquiring second-order passions through socialization. Much of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* is about the historical development of such passions as society has evolved over time. This historical method of tracing social developments also characterized his most famous work, *The Wealth of Nations*. It described the stages of economic and social growth, culminating in modern commercial society. Smith argued that governments ought not to interfere with this process by imposing economic policies such as tariffs on trade. He also believed wages and prices should be determined by the laws of market competition.

Both of Smith's best-known books discussed the idea of the "invisible hand" that regulates individual behaviors. Smith contended that although humans are driven

by their passions, they are also ruled more subtly by institutional rules and procedures. These include the economic laws of market competition, which provide a regulating mechanism so that private selfishness results in the economic betterment of all. Smith justified the economic inequalities of such a system because he thought that the poor would also benefit from it.

Ideologically, Smith provides an important link between the economic conservatism of laissez-faire capitalism and the social conservatism of traditionalists like Hume and Burke. Smith believed capitalism is not just based on the incentives of self-interest but also requires regulating mechanisms. These arise historically as social institutions and include morality, mores, and laws. Although Smith believed in incremental social progress, he favored evolution over revolution. Hence, his ideas are likely to be resisted by those who seek more rapid or radical social change.

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BORIS DEWEIL

### Smith, William (1727–1803)

William Smith was an Aberdeen-born teacher and leading American educator, Anglican/Episcopal clergyman, and author who was suspected of being a Loyalist sympathizer during the **American Revolutionary War** because of his views on the use of the state military and his marriage to Rebecca Moore, the daughter of William Moore. Smith was the first provost (1755–79; 1789–91) of one of the University of Pennsylvania's precursor institutions (Academy and College of Philadelphia), served on the college's board of trustees (secretary, 1764–1790; president, 1790–1791), and founded Washington College in **Maryland**, serving as its president from 1782 to 1789.

Smith graduated from the University of Aberdeen (1747); immigrated to the American colonies in 1751; and, after being ordained by the Church of England (1754), accepted an appointment to teach natural philosophy, logic, and ethics (1754–1791) at the Academy and College of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin **Franklin** (1749). In 1755 the Academy became the College of Philadelphia, and Smith was named provost. Smith and Franklin publicly disagreed (1756) over the content of the college's curriculum and control of **Pennsylvania's** provincial military force. The disagreement over the latter issue was heightened when Smith published his objections to the military policies of the Pennsylvania provincial assembly. This led to charges that Smith was a Loyalist sympathizer, and his imprisonment in 1758. William Moore (1735–1793), later governor of Pennsylvania (1781–82), but then a judge and provincial assemblyman, was imprisoned at the same time for the same reasons. Both Smith and Moore supported measured responses to the **Stamp Act** (1765) and favored increased colonial liberties and autonomy, though Smith discouraged any violent response.

Though Smith publicly supported the colonial position in a sermon delivered in June 1775 to the third battalion of the Pennsylvania Line under the command of Colonel Lambert Cadwallader, his support of the **American Revolution** was deemed too cautious. This cautious support, his earlier political positions, and his being an Anglican clergyman led the revolutionary legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to revoke the college's charter (1779). A new college, the University

of the State of Pennsylvania, with a new provost and a new board of trustees, was created, and the college was diminished in importance. Smith was not appointed to the board or made provost of the new dominant institution.

Smith moved to **Maryland** (1779), becoming the rector of the Anglican parish of Chester and there founded Washington College (chartered by Maryland in June 1782) with the financial support of George **Washington**, who later served on the Washington College Board of Visitors and Governors (1784–1789). Smith participated in the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from its beginning in Pennsylvania (1776) until the onset of the Revolutionary War. The society, originally organized in London in 1701, saw **Britain's** North American colonies as its primary mission field. Smith presided over the May 1783 clergy convention that organized the American Protestant Episcopal Church and created the diocese of Maryland. He was elected bishop of the diocese in June 1783, but the general convention held in 1786 did not recommend him for consecration to the episcopate. In 1785–1786 he helped create a proposed liturgy for the new denomination known as the Proposed Book (the American Book of Prayer), but it was never adopted.

Smith returned as the college's provost when the charter was restored in 1789. The legislature merged the college and the University of the State of Pennsylvania into the University of Pennsylvania on September 13, 1791, with a board of trustees composed of 24 men, 12 from each institution.

Smith received DD degrees from Oxford and Aberdeen in 1759, and from Trinity College Dublin in 1763, and was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1768. Most of Smith's sermons, orations, addresses, poems, and other writings have been published. *See also* Loyalists.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Smith, William (1728–1793)

William Smith was a jurist, historian, and important American Loyalist. Born in New York City, he graduated from Yale in 1745 and was called to the **New York** bar in 1750. With his brother-in-law, William **Livingston**, he coauthored *Laws of New York from the Year 1691 to 1751*, published in 1752. His family alliance with the Livingstons, as well as his own Presbyterian faith, led him to oppose the establishment of King's College (now Columbia University) as an Anglican institution. Although he failed in this endeavor, his publication, together with William Livingston and John Morin Scott, of the *Independent Reflector* from 1753 to 1754 made him a leading Whig advocate in the province. In 1757, he also published *The History of the Province of New York*, a highly partisan attack on what Smith perceived to be an increasingly materialistic society, one that placed consumption above civil virtue. In the 1760s, his continued defense of colonial liberties against British regulation earned him the name of "Patriotic Billy."

Smith's own success as a wealthy lawyer, his concerns over the increasing violence of the **Sons of Liberty**, and his own appointment to the governor's council

in 1767, however, increasingly tempered his views, and before the final imperial crisis in 1774, Smith attempted to find a solution to the impasse over taxation and representation by suggesting a federated empire, one that contained an American parliament. Consulted by the New York provincial convention of 1776 regarding the new state constitution, he, nonetheless, repeatedly refused to take the oath to the new state government. Forced to seek refuge behind British lines in August 1778, Smith worked hard to reconcile his fellow Americans to the cause of empire while remaining himself a critic of actual British policy. He worked to further the aims of the 1778 Carlisle Peace Commission, composed the public address for Benedict Arnold that explained his own defection, and was a member of the delegation sent to General George **Washington** in 1780 in an attempt to save the life of Major John André, a British spy. Appointed chief justice of New York in 1780, he chose to join the **Loyalists** who went into exile aboard the departing British fleet in 1783.

In London Smith was given a second chance for a public career when he was appointed chief justice of Quebec in 1785. For the remainder of his life he attempted to demonstrate the superiority of British political institutions over republican government, and he played a major role in reforming the land and legal systems of Canada. Smith died in Quebec in December 1793. *See also* American Revolution; Constitutions, American State; Livingston, Philip.

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RORY T. CORNISH

### **Société des Amis de la Constitution**

*See* Amis de la Constitution, Société des

### **Society of United Irishmen**

Active in **Ireland** in the late eighteenth century, the Society of United Irishmen was a republic organization that sought Irish independence from **Britain**.

Various factors gave rise to the Society of United Irishmen in the early 1790s. Advanced Protestant reformers, especially in Ulster, were dissatisfied with the failure to achieve parliamentary reform in the 1780s. They were inspired to renew their efforts to achieve political reforms by the outbreak of the **French Revolution** in 1789, which showed that an oppressed people, and a Catholic people at that, could embrace the cause of liberty. The Catholics in Ireland were already campaigning for further relief from the penal laws, and the Protestant reformer Theobald Wolfe **Tone** urged a union of Protestants and Catholics in support of greater political rights in *An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland* in September 1791. He and other Protestant reformers such as William Drennan, Thomas Russell, and Samuel Neilson were also influenced by the publication of Thomas **Paine**'s natural rights arguments in his *Rights of Man* in 1791.

On October 18, 1791, this small group of reformers set up the first Society of United Irishmen in Belfast, and this was soon followed by a society along the same lines in Dublin on November 9. Branches of the United Irishmen soon spread to



other smaller towns, especially in Ulster. The Dublin society was the largest, with about 400 members, although the average attendance was fewer than 100 members. It was dominated by men in the middling ranks of society (professional men such as lawyers and physicians, and businessmen such as booksellers and printers, merchants, and manufacturers, especially in the textile trades), but it did include a few gentlemen. The Belfast United Irishmen were generally of a lower social rank, with more shopkeepers, small farmers, tradesmen, and artisans. The aims of these societies were initially vague: to reduce English influence over Irish affairs, to reform the system of representation, and to include in this reform Irishmen of all religious persuasions. It was not until February 1794 that the United Irishmen in Dublin clarified their reform program: universal manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, annual parliaments, and the payment of MPs. In clarifying their aims, they lost support from some of their more prosperous and less radical members. To achieve their aims the United Irishmen initially employed constitutional tactics: holding debates, publishing addresses and resolutions, corresponding with other reformers, and printing their own propaganda (especially in the *Northern Star* in Belfast).

The growing violence in **France** and the outbreak of war between Britain and France produced a powerful conservative reaction against reform. Although it gave some relief to buy off moderate Catholics, the Irish government sought to suppress the radical activities of the United Irishmen. The Convention Act of 1793 aimed to suppress all societies seeking to alter the establishment in church and state. The discovery of William Jackson, a French agent who was contacting United Irishmen in Dublin in early 1794, led leaders like Wolfe Tone to go into exile and William Drennan to abandon active politics. On May 24, 1794, the government ordered the Dublin society to disband. After some months in disarray, the United Irishmen were reconstituted in 1795 as a secret oath-based and mass-based conspiracy dedicated to achieving its ends by force if necessary. Wolfe Tone arrived in France in 1796 in order to enlist French military support, which led to failed invasion attempts in 1796 and 1798.

Meanwhile, within Ireland, the United Irishmen set up a federation of small societies (in a vain attempt to avoid detection) that were organized in a pyramid structure. Elected delegates attended committees at baronial, county, provincial, and national levels. Alongside this civilian structure was a parallel military structure with elected officers that claimed to have recruited several hundred thousand armed men by early 1798. These vast numbers were probably exaggerated, but not by that much, given the large number of men who eventually took up arms in 1798. The United Irishmen recruited these men by means of propaganda, emissaries, and the infiltration of Masonic lodges and the irregular armed forces. Large numbers of supporters of the United Irishmen's conspiracy were Catholics recruited through an alliance with the Defenders, a sectarian protest movement that had long been seeking to defend Catholics from oppression and to improve their social and economic conditions. To establish an alliance with the Defenders, the United Irishmen needed to broaden their appeal through a campaign for democratic political reforms. They had to show some interest in socioeconomic reforms and the vexed land question and to become even more of a separatist and republican movement. Only by such means could they appeal to the Catholic majority in Ireland and broaden the social base of their support to include the urban and rural poor. While the middle-class leaders of the United Irishmen tried to give a political lead, many of their Defender allies were poorer men much more interested in socioeconomic

reforms and desirous of recovering land previously confiscated from the Catholic majority. Thus, the United Irishmen changed their composition, their objectives, and their methods in the mid-1790s. In seeking to enlist the Defenders in order to become numerically powerful, however, they became prone to divisions along social, economic, and sectarian lines.

In planning insurrection and in seeking French military support, the United Irishmen lost the support of moderate reformers and deeply alienated the governing elite and the militant Protestants in the Orange Order (created in 1795). By seeking mass recruits, the United Irishmen made it impossible to remain a secret underground conspiracy. The government soon had an army of spies and informers watching their every move. The authority of Irish magistrates was increased by the Insurrection Act of 1796, and the army was used to disarm many of the United Irishmen and Defenders in 1796–1798. This drive against the armed United Irishmen led to hundreds of arrests, and many of the leaders planning insurrection were arrested in March and May 1798. When the Irish rebellion broke out, the insurrection was not as well planned or as coordinated as the United Irishmen had hoped it would be. A series of quite large and bloody uprisings took place beginning May 23, 1798, but these were crushed. The United Irishmen strove to give a lead to a political uprising, but many Catholic rebels were motivated by resentment at the harsh repression of the authorities and sought socioeconomic and sectarian objectives. The French arrived in small expeditions, too late and in the wrong locations. Some of the leading United Irishmen died in the uprising, were executed afterward, or were exiled. Some leaders tried to argue that they were political moderates who had been unable to prevent the Catholic Defenders from reacting violently to the harsh repression of the government, the army, and the Orangemen. They were imprisoned in Scotland until 1803. The United Irishmen movement totally collapsed, and it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that they started to become the heroes and martyrs of Irish **republicanism** and **nationalism**.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Solemn League and Covenant (1774)**

The Solemn League and Covenant of 1774 was a pledge by Bostonians not to import British goods following the imposition of the Intolerable Acts, known as the **Coercive Acts** to the British, by **Parliament** in retaliation for the **Boston Tea Party**, which took place on December 13, 1773. The covenant was proposed by Samuel **Adams** and later signed by the Boston Committee of Correspondence on June 5, 1774. The Intolerable

Acts imposed in 1774 revoked the colony's charter and forbade town meetings (**Massachusetts Government Act**; May 20, 1774); closed the port of Boston until reparations for the Tea Party's damage were paid (**Boston Port Act**; March 31, 1774); forbade the trial of British officials in colonial courts (**Administration of Justice Act**; May 20, 1774); and amended the 1765 Mutiny Act with the **Quartering Act** (June 2, 1774), which allowed British soldiers to be quartered not only in commercial and empty buildings but in private occupied dwellings as well. The unrest anticipated by Parliament when they dispatched British general Thomas **Gage** and four regiments to Boston began to develop as word of the Intolerable Acts reached **Massachusetts** in the spring and summer of 1774. Gage arrived in Boston on May 13, 1774, and imposed each of the Intolerable Acts as soon as he had official notification.

Samuel Adams, after receiving the news of the Boston Port Act on May 10, called for a May 13 town meeting to consider the appropriate response. The covenant proposed that all signatories boycott British goods effective on October 1 and stop dealing with any nonsignatory local merchants by the same time. Some merchants rejected the covenant, and others proposed a more comprehensive non-importation agreement involving all 13 colonies. The covenant failed to receive immediate acceptance following its adoption on June 6. Adams and the Committee of Correspondence tried to enlist the support of other communities by circulating the covenant through other **committees of correspondence** in the neighboring towns. Though many of the towns did not support the covenant, some, such as Westford and Concord, did, but only with modifications.

The covenant was passed at a Boston town meeting in late June. Gage publicly renounced the covenant on June 30, 1774, as traitorous and threatened its backers with arrest. The First **Continental Congress** meeting in Philadelphia (September 5–October 26, 1774) effectively overrode the covenant when on October 20, 1774, it enacted the Articles of Association, which united the colonies in boycotting both the importation of British goods and the exportation of American goods to **Britain** unless the Intolerable Acts were not repealed. They were not, and the boycott began in 1775.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

## Sons of Liberty

The Sons of Liberty is the name taken by a wide variety of American patriot groups in the colonies during the years leading up to the **American Revolution**. Originating in New York City and Boston, groups calling themselves Sons of Liberty emerged throughout the colonies from New England to **Georgia**. They counted among their membership such prominent figures as John **Adams**, Samuel **Adams**, and Paul **Revere**. The Sons of Liberty, while gaining the support of many laborers, remained a primarily middle-class, often artisanal, movement.

The Sons of Liberty took their name from a 1765 debate in **Parliament** over the **Stamp Act**, a controversial piece of legislation devised to cover some of the costs

of maintaining a regular British military presence in the colonies, ostensibly to guard against incursions by French forces. Isaac **Barré**, a member of Parliament who supported the American colonists, rose to rebuke proponents of the Stamp Act, referring to the Americans as “these sons of liberty” who would surely oppose the act.

The Stamp Act, in calling for the issuance of tax stamps on a variety of public documents, including newspapers, customs forms, and other legal documents and licenses, was viewed by the printers, lawyers, and shopkeepers who provided the primary membership in the early Sons of Liberty as a direct attack on their livelihood.

In response to the passing of the Stamp Act, the first Sons of Liberty groups issued declarations claiming that they would give their lives to prevent the act from being enforced. They also promised violence if it was needed to defeat the act. In this they were true to their word, as violence did indeed mark the actions of the Sons of Liberty throughout their existence and across the different groups. Actions included the confiscation and burning of official documents and property, vandalism, and the burning in effigy of local tax officials. Symbols of British authority such as the East India Company and the homes of wealthy supporters of the Crown were targeted, forcing some royal governors into hiding. Actual assaults on individuals were also carried out with some frequency. Customs officers, tax collectors, and others who publicly expressed loyalty to Britain were subjected to tarring and feathering, while items of class distinction were often stripped from people in the streets as acts of public humiliation.

Perhaps ironically, the Sons of Liberty openly proclaimed their loyalty to **George III**. In their view the real enemy of the colonists was Parliament. The Sons of Liberty, taking a position that finds echoes in the defense of the **United States Constitution** among some contemporary American conservatives, expressed their allegiance to the English constitution against the intrusions of politicians and government bureaucrats.

With the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, the Sons of Liberty declined as an active movement. However, the social networks that had been established allowed the group to reinvigorate itself quickly to oppose the new regime of duties, covering a variety of goods, introduced under the **Townshend Acts** in 1767. The reestablished Sons of Liberty remained active throughout the period of the American Revolution, only disbanding in 1783.

There has been much debate over the character of the Sons of Liberty; historical assessments range from those that view them as patriots to those that identify them as terrorists, and others that suggest they were both. The success of the movement is less controversial given the quick repeal of the Stamp Act, the popularity of the movement, and the adoption of its tactics by a variety of opponents of Britain.

The Sons of Liberty stand as a potent mythic symbol, especially among conservative groups, in contemporary America. Organizations ranging from libertarian associations, which seek to uphold the original U.S. Constitution against the supposed intrusions of politicians and lawmakers, to motorcycle clubs have taken the Sons of Liberty as their namesake.

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*Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

JEFF SHANTZ

## South Carolina

South Carolina, like many states, was divided between Patriots and **Loyalists** and between rival political and geographical groupings. The split was so deep that both political and military events in South Carolina took the shape of a civil war.

There were some similarities with **North Carolina**, particularly the neglect that South Carolina's western population felt toward the government in the east. However, there were significant differences as well. Eastern South Carolina was dominated by Charleston, which was not just a city but one of the premier ports on the eastern coast. It was a true urban center that created a more significant divide between east and west than existed to the north. Those who lived in the west were subsistence farmers, while those in the east were owners of large farms or wealthy merchants.

In 1761, the wars with the Cherokees were settled and the area was open for settlement. However, whereas there had been problems with Native Americans, there were now problems with bandits, in whose existence the eastern-dominated colonial government took no interest. At the same time, all courts were kept in the east, and none established in the western part of the colony. As a result, South Carolinians in the west formed bands of **Regulators**. Unlike those in North Carolina, their role was to keep order, not to provide an alternative form of government.

Finally, as sentiment against **Parliament** and favoring independence developed, that sentiment was borne mostly by easterners, who were predominantly **Whigs**. Those who lived in the backcountry did not support the movement toward revolution as enthusiastically.

South Carolina sent a representative to the **Stamp Act Congress** in October 1765. Ten years later, as the debate over perceived wrongs inflicted by the British government sharpened, a provisional body was established in June 1774 to run the colony. Later that year delegates were sent to the **First Continental Congress** and voted to establish the **Continental Association**. By January 1775 a full Provincial Congress had come into being; it was succeeded by a second Provincial Congress called in November 1775. This Congress drafted a state constitution that was adopted in March 1776. After 1778, most military action in the **American Revolutionary War** shifted south, and several campaigns were fought in South Carolina. In 1781, Cornwallis's march north to Virginia made the area quieter, but there was continued partisan warfare, especially in the west, until 1783.

South Carolina sent delegates to the **Constitutional Convention**. When the **United States Constitution** was brought to the state for ratification, most Anti-Federalist sentiment came from the west. As had been the case before the war, westerners were defeated. South Carolina ratified the Constitution in May 1788 by a vote of two to one, the eighth state to do so. *See also* American Revolution; Articles of Confederation; Constitutions, American State; Continental Congress, Second; Declaration of Independence; Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth; Pinckney, Thomas; Rutledge, Edward; Rutledge, John.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Spain

At the outset of the age of revolution in the Atlantic world during the latter half of the eighteenth century, Spain had already been a declining power for over a century and a half. From the heights of its imperial glory under the Habsburgs in the sixteenth century, Spain had been overtaken by the rising powers **Britain** and **France** and even its former colony the **Netherlands** and fallen to the status of a second-rate power. Nevertheless, even though Spain had been relegated to a secondary role in Great Power politics on the European continent itself, the Spanish throne—which had passed to the Bourbon line in 1700—still controlled an immense empire in the Americas and was thus still a force to be reckoned with on a global level.

During the height of its imperial majesty, Spain had followed a mostly extractive policy in its American colonies, using them largely as a source of precious metals to enlarge the coffers of the Spanish throne, rather than for raw materials to fuel industrial expansion. Thus, while the Spanish throne grew rich over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it did little to invest this surplus in economic development either at home or in the colonies. Spain's accumulation of metallic wealth—while useful for funding wars and the imperial ambitions of the crown—led to inflation and eventually caused the bankruptcy of the Spanish crown.

In 1759, King Charles III acceded to the Spanish throne, having previously ruled Spanish associated regions in **Italy**. Charles was a reform-minded monarch who was influenced to a great extent by the ideas of the **Enlightenment** popular in France and elsewhere. Charles attempted to promote rationalist ideas and to rule in what he saw as the best interests of his people. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church continued to hold much power and land in Spain at this time, and this led to serious tension between Charles and the clergy.

At the beginning of the age of revolution, Spain remained a largely rural and peasant society. While Britain and France had begun to witness a transformation in economic and social life fuelled by industrialization, Spain remained a largely backward society nostalgic about its prior glory. However, Charles—cognizant of Spain's lagging economy—attempted to improve the nation's agriculture by making the land more productive. Many clergy objected to this, as they thought it would interfere with their extensive land holdings. In 1766, Spain—following the lead of other European countries—expelled the Jesuit order.

Despite the clashes between their king and clergy, most Spaniards continued to revere the church, and the Inquisition remained popular. This religiosity penetrated through most layers of Spanish society—marking a striking difference with other European countries, where the Enlightenment was creating a public sphere in which rationalist and deist philosophies were gaining strength. Still, a small group of enlightened intellectuals did develop in Spain during this period, and

the country did experience some level of economic and cultural revival in the late eighteenth century.

Under Charles's reign, Spain continued to play a part in Europe's Great Power conflicts, even as it took a backseat to the dominant powers of France and Spain. The tenuous situation in Italy—which was divided into several small kingdoms and territories—created constant tensions as Spain sought to defend Bourbon-controlled possessions from Austrian, French, and British encroachment and to expand the influence of their Italian allies.

In the 1760s, Spain participated on the side of its fellow Bourbon kingdom, France, in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) with Britain. However, the result of the war was not favorable for either crown. France lost almost all its American possessions, while Spain lost Florida and was forced to make concessions to Britain elsewhere. It did, however, receive France's former Louisiana territory, bringing the Spanish Empire to its farthest geographic limit. Still, inflation resulting from the war sparked rioting and growing social discontent, forcing Charles to replace several key ministers.

In the 1780s, Charles again sent Spain to war with Britain, this time in support of the **American Revolution**. While Spain's actual military contribution was minimal, it did receive Florida and Minorca at the Peace of Paris in 1783, and its control of the Louisiana territory was reaffirmed. Still, tensions with the newly founded United States over the precise boundaries of Florida and navigation of the Mississippi would continue for several more years.

Charles III died in 1788 and was replaced by his son Charles IV. Charles IV would attempt to rule in continuity with his father's policies of enlightened despotism. However, the outbreak of the **French Revolution** in 1789 would eventually lead to a pan-European war and involve Spain in the horrors of a brutal foreign occupation.

In 1793, Spain joined a coalition of powers opposed to the revolutionary government in France. Charles had particular interest in rescuing his French cousin, **Louis XVI**, whom the French revolutionary government had arrested and put on trial for treason. The execution of Louis particularly angered Charles, who sent a Spanish army to invade southern France. Nevertheless, the French revolutionary armies were able to repel the Spanish invasion and begin their own invasion of Catalonia, Navarre, and the Basque country. While the French armies were able to inflict defeats on the Spanish army, their propaganda calling for an insurrection against Charles IV largely fell on deaf ears. Reeling from the cost of war, Spain sought peace with the moderate **Directory** government in France in 1795.

However, in 1796, the Spanish Bourbon government—fearful of the growing influence of Britain—approached the French about forming an alliance. The two declared war on Britain that same year. The British navy responded by enacting a commercial blockade, obstructing Spanish trade with its American empire, and seizing Trinidad and Minorca. In 1802, a peace was signed, but **Napoleon's** rise to power in France ensured that it would not last long.

In 1803, France and Britain resumed their conflict. While Charles tried to keep Spain neutral, the British grew suspicious of Spain and captured its treasure fleet. Spain responded by declaring war. In 1805, the British navy destroyed a combined Spanish and French fleet in the celebrated Battle of Trafalgar—effectively ending Spain's naval capacity. This defeat provoked panic among Charles's ministers, some of whom wanted to switch sides to avoid the wrath of the British. This led to much intrigue, with

Charles's son Ferdinand leading a faction in favor of maintaining the alliance with Napoleonic France.

In 1807, Napoleon—angered by Portugal's refusal to honor his Continental System by trading with Britain—devised a plan with Spain to invade Portugal. In 1808, a large French army entered Spain—supposedly on its way to invade Portugal—and began to take up positions in fortresses across the country. While many Spanish hoped that Napoleon would help Ferdinand unseat his less-than-popular rival, Godoy—who served as Charles's chief minister—they resented the French army's actions. Napoleon also changed the terms of the alliance and demanded Spain grant France territorial concessions in exchange for Portugal. Godoy responded by putting the country on a war footing and mobilizing the royal guards. Rumors that the royal family intended to flee for America gripped Spain, but Ferdinand—who was more positively inclined toward Napoleon—refused to accompany them. Hostile crowds began to form around the royal palace. Focusing their anger on Godoy, they stormed his quarters, and he was arrested by royal guards. On March 19, Charles abdicated the crown and was replaced by his son Ferdinand, who was the Spanish crowd's favorite.

However, the French commander in Spain—Marshal Murat—refused to recognize Ferdinand as king until Napoleon approved of the change. Napoleon responded to the disorder in his supposed ally by dismissing the Bourbon monarchy altogether and appointing his brother Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain.

While a small circle of Spanish intellectuals and enlightened nobles believed Joseph might help push Spain along the path of reform, Napoleon's actions were largely condemned by the Spanish people. Joseph's rule rested on the presence of large numbers of French troops in the country, and Ferdinand—despite spending most of the period in French custody—became a symbol of Spanish national resistance to the occupation.

Across Spain, local notables organized committees of resistance—known as *juntas*—to fight the French occupiers. Together with the remaining units of the Spanish army, the *juntas* inflicted several defeats on the French, forcing Napoleon himself to intervene in Spain with an army of over 300,000 men. Napoleon's forces quickly defeated the Spanish regular army in a series of battles and seized control of most major cities in the country. Nevertheless, the Spanish populace remained hostile to the French invaders, conducting a guerrilla war against them that began to constrain Napoleon's broader European war strategy. The French responded with much brutality toward the civilian population, turning the conflict into a virtual state of total warfare, a condition captured in the famous frescoes of the celebrated Spanish painter Francisco Goya.

To the extent that he could, King Joseph tried to enact the reforms of the revolutionary age in Spain. He abolished the Inquisition and attacked the **privileges** of the church. However, the Spanish populace rejected these reforms as attacking their faith and traditions. Throughout this period, the Spanish resistance movement took a conservative, even reactionary, tone, with the Spanish seeking to defend the old Catholic order from the godless French. While the Spanish resistance was strongly nationalist in tone, it was not the revolutionary **nationalism** that had been expressed in the French Revolution, but a backward-looking one based primarily on **religion**.

Sensing an opportunity to weaken Napoleon on his southern flank, the British supported the Spanish resistance movement. In 1810, the British invaded Spain from Portugal, while the guerrillas kept up their harassment of the French army.



The British were eventually able to push the French out of Madrid and back toward their own borders.

Under these conditions of occupation and total warfare, the future of the Spanish nation was in doubt. With Ferdinand remaining in French captivity during most of the war, many Spanish called for the reassembly of the Cortes—the old feudal legislative bodies that had been stripped of most of their power by the Habsburg and Bourbon monarchs. In 1812, the Cortes convened in Cadiz. Dominated mostly by enlightened intellectuals, the Cadiz Cortes drafted a constitution, making Spain the second nation in the world—and the first in Europe—with a written constitution. The new constitution embodied many liberal principles such as universal manhood suffrage and formally ended the Inquisition.

However, following Napoleon's defeat in 1814, Ferdinand returned home to assume the throne. Many nobles, as well as much of the populace at large, rejected the reform constitution and convinced Ferdinand to scrap it. Leading liberals were placed under arrest, the Inquisition was revived, and nobles regained many of their feudal privileges.

Nevertheless, the long and brutal war with France had left Spain reeling. Largely bankrupt, Ferdinand could do little to resist the movement toward independence in Spain's American empire. By 1825, most of this empire would be effectively independent from the old mother country. Moreover, at the Congress of **Vienna** in 1814 that reconfigured European borders after the **Napoleonic Wars**, the Great Powers were largely content to ignore Spanish concerns—despite the key role Spanish resistance played in defeating Napoleon.

At the outset of the age of revolution, Spain was already a power on the decline. Nevertheless, geography and empire dictated that the Spanish nation would play an important part in the conflicts that emerged as a result of revolutionary events occurring elsewhere during this period. However, Spain did not emerge from these conflicts in a position of greater strength. In contrast, the revolutionary upheaval of this period—in which Spain reluctantly played a part—only confirmed its status as an historical “also-ran” and precipitated the inevitable loss of its massive overseas empire under the weight of new democratic and representative ideologies. Spain herself would slip back into familiar social, economic, and political patterns—a state from which it would not fully emerge for more than a century. *See also* Latin American Revolutions.

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MICHAEL F. GRETZ

### Spence, Thomas (1750–1814)

Spence was born into a very poor family in Newcastle upon Tyne and received little education. He had two unsuccessful marriages and an unsuccessful career as a teacher. An extreme Presbyterian, he was much influenced by Rev. James Murray,

who wrote radical tracts in support of John **Wilkes** and a defense of the rebellious American colonies. Spence supported Murray in local political disputes and first published the outlines of his famous Land Plan after giving a lecture on the subject to the Philosophical Society in Newcastle on November 8, 1775. This caused great offense, and he was expelled from the society. Increasingly isolated in Newcastle, Spence moved permanently to London sometime in the late 1780s or early 1790s. By 1792 he was known as a radical bookseller in the capital and a member of the **London Corresponding Society** and of more militant radical groups. He wrote a whole series of pamphlets detailing in different ways his famous Land Plan. His pamphlets included *The Real Rights of Man* (1793), *Description of Spensonia* (1795), *The Constitution of a Perfect Commonwealth* (1798), and *The Restorer of Society to Its Natural State* (1801). He also published a periodical, *One Penny Worth of Pig's Meat: Lessons for the Swinish Multitude*, between 1793 and 1795.

Despite his clear and vigorous prose, Spence's Land Plan has often been misunderstood. He did not advocate the nationalization of land by the state. Always opposed to strong central government, Spence wished to place the land and natural resources of each parish under the control of a parish corporation elected by universal suffrage (men and women). Each corporation would rent out its land and resources on an annual basis to the highest bidder. The rent received by the parish corporation would be used for public needs and amenities: a parish hall, school, library, hospital, local militia force, and the like. When all these expenses had been met, the remaining money would be divided equally, every three months, among every man, woman, and child in the parish. There would therefore be no private owners of property and no wealthy men, and no one in dire poverty. At the national level, Spence favored a democratic republic with a legislature elected by universal suffrage and the complete separation of executive, legislative, and judicial powers. The national government would be expected to avoid war and would have no standing army. Spence hoped his Land Plan could be implemented by reasoned argument and public opinion, but he was not against using force if the clear majority of the people wished to see the Land Plan implemented and their desires were resisted.

Spence was arrested at least six times and was twice imprisoned (for seven months without trial in 1794 and for a year in 1801). He was not easily intimidated, however, and he continued to promote his Land Plan. In his last years he gathered together a group of disciples, the Spensonian Philanthropists, who met in local taverns. Spence's last years were spent in obscurity. He died in 1814, but his followers were involved in the Spa Fields riots of December 2, 1816, and the Cato Street conspiracy in February 1820. His Land Plan influenced some of the Chartists in the 1830s.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Staël, Anne-Louise Germaine Necker, Madame de (1766–1817)**

A prominent French-speaking Swiss literary figure, Anne-Louise Germaine Necker was the daughter of Jacques **Necker**, the Swiss banker and the future royal

director general of finance under **Louis XVI**, and Suzanne Curchod. As a child, she demonstrated unusual intellectual prowess and began very early to write. In her twenties, she published various literary works, notably an anonymously printed novel, *Sophie* (1786). She married Baron Erik Magnus Staël von Holstein, an older gentleman of substantial wealth, in 1786, but the marriage proved to be unhappy for both of them, although it produced three children. In 1788, she published *Lettres sur le caractère et les écrits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* under her own name and demonstrated her enthusiasm for Rousseauism. She closely followed events in Paris, where her father struggled to balance French finances and stave off unrest.

During the **French Revolution**, Staël initially lived at Coppet on the north shore of the Lake of Geneva, but in 1793, she traveled to **Britain**, where she mingled with the French émigré community. She supported a liberal constitutional monarchy, publishing a pamphlet entitled *Refléxions sur le procès de la reine* in support of Queen **Marie Antoinette**, and condemning the excesses of the **Reign of Terror** in *De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations*. After the fall of Maximilien **Robespierre**, she returned to Paris and hosted a prominent salon. She published several works, including *Sur la littérature considéré dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800), which connected liberty with human perfectibility. In 1797, she separated from her husband, who died five years later.

During this period, she was introduced to **Napoleon**, who initially captivated her, but their relations quickly became strained. Staël opposed Napoleon's increasingly authoritarian regime and became a renowned hostess of a liberal opposition salon; her lover, Benjamin Constant, was also critical of Napoleon. In 1802, she published the first of her famous novels, *Delphine*, which introduced the *femme incomprise* to French literature but also contained liberal views. On Napoleon's orders, Staël was forced into exile from Paris and was later prevented from entering **France** altogether. At her estate at Coppet she hosted a salon that became known for its political and intellectual discussions. Her writings continued to reflect her opposition to Napoleon. In 1807, she published *Corinne ou l'Italie*, which dealt with the life of an independent female poet. It was followed in 1810 by *De l'Allemagne*, which described her experiences in various German cities and praised German culture. Napoleon resented this book for its attempt to compare German and French culture and had his police destroy the first edition of *De l'Allemagne* printed in Paris; the book was later reprinted in London.

In 1811–1812, Staël traveled through Russia, Finland, and Sweden, showing herself to be a staunch opponent of Napoleon and welcoming the news of his defeat in Russia and subsequent French losses in Germany. In 1814, she supported General Karl Bernadotte for the French throne but later rallied to the Bourbons. She was in Paris when Napoleon escaped from Elba, and she fled to her estate at Coppet. Nevertheless, she supported Benjamin Constant's Additional Act, which liberalized Napoleon's government during the Hundred Days. After Napoleon's defeat at **Waterloo**, Staël returned to France, where she died after suffering a stroke on July 14, 1817. Her memoirs, *Dix années d'exil*, were published posthumously in 1821. A political propagandist at times, Madame de Staël was a woman of letters and one of the first feminist writers. Above all, she remains one of the most colorful personalities of her age. See also Emigrés; Jacobins; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Salons.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

### Stamp Act (1765)

The Stamp Act placed a tax on the American colonies that inspired widespread political resistance and violent protest. The conclusion of the Seven Years' War (1756–63) left the British Empire with the considerable expense of maintaining an army in North America. To help defray the costs, prime minister George Grenville implemented a program of colonial taxation. It was widely assumed in **Britain** that **Parliament** held total legislative power over the American colonies, an outlook that produced the **Sugar Act** and **Currency Act** in 1764, and the controversial Stamp Act in 1765. The colonists, however, claimed that the law's form of direct taxation exceeded Parliament's authority. The crisis that followed the passage of the Stamp Act called into question the nature of British sovereignty over the colonies and is generally considered the initial conflict in a series of events leading to the **American Revolution**.

In February 1765, Grenville asked Parliament to extend a stamp duty, already in place in Britain, to the colonies. The law would require the use of stamped paper for over 50 types of public and legal documents, including newspapers, ships' papers, customs forms, and pamphlets. Each was assigned a specific duty, ranging from one half penny to six pounds. To make the law more palatable to the colonists, the fees would cover fewer goods and be less expensive than those of their British counterparts. The wide range of taxable documents and variable fee structure was designed so that the burden would be shared broadly but would fall most heavily on lawyers, merchants, and printers. One resident from each colony would be appointed stamp distributor to administer the law. The money they collected would help pay for colonial defense.

Grenville first proposed the tax in 1764, but debate over the measure led him instead to notify the colonies of the proposal and request suggestions for changes. Until the passage of the Sugar Act, Britain had collected revenues from the colonies by requesting funds from the colonial legislatures, which in turn taxed the colonists. News of the Sugar Act and the proposed stamp duties resulted in petitions protesting the measures on economic and political grounds. No colony complied with Grenville's request for input, avoiding a de facto concession of Parliament's right to impose a direct tax. When he came before Parliament in February 1765, Grenville argued that the costs of defending America and the doctrine of virtual representation warranted passage of the law. Other advocates claimed a need to assert Britain's imperial authority. Parliament passed the Stamp Act on March 22, 1765, and expected it to be reluctantly accepted by the colonists.

This was the case until May, when the first significant opposition emerged in the **Virginia** House of Burgesses. Patrick **Henry**, who had recently become a member, submitted seven resolutions denouncing the law. Five were passed, including one repudiating virtual representation. Although not as bold as they appeared to be in the colonial press's descriptions, the **Virginia Resolves** initiated a powerful movement against the Stamp Act. By the end of the year, eight other colonies had passed similar resolutions. In the intervening period, the law met with both formal petition and violent dissent.

In June, James Otis, a member of the **Massachusetts** colonial assembly, proposed that delegates from all the colonies meet to draft a petition protesting the Stamp

Act. The **Stamp Act Congress** met in **New York** in October, with 27 delegates from nine colonies in attendance. Although they acknowledged their subordination to the Crown, they passed 14 resolutions objecting to the Stamp Act on constitutional grounds. They claimed that since the colonies had no representation in Parliament, that body could not legitimately levy taxes upon them. Instead, they argued, that right should be reserved for the colonial legislatures. Their final resolution demanded the act's repeal.

Violence erupted in Boston in August 1765. A group of tradesmen and shopkeepers called the Loyal Nine, later renamed the **Sons of Liberty**, led a mob bent on intimidating Andrew Oliver, the stamp distributor for Massachusetts. The mob hanged Oliver in effigy, burned his property, and damaged his house. Oliver pledged to resign the following day. As the news spread, the Sons of Liberty expanded and like-minded mobs forced similar resignations across the colonies. By the time of the official introduction of stamp duties on November 1, there were no longer any distributors in place. Nor could stamped paper be made available for fear of its destruction by the mob. From a practical perspective, the law was neutralized.

After November 1, there was widespread, if not unified, defiance of the law. Many courts, printers, and ports closed for a time, but most returned to normal operations before the Stamp Act's repeal without complying with its requirements. Colonists frequently criticized the stamp duties in economic terms, claiming that the post-war depression and the limited amount of hard currency in America made the Stamp Act unfair. A boycott of British goods proved most effective in motivating the law's repeal. Starting in New York, merchants from various colonies organized non-importation agreements at their homeports. Publicity amplified the threat and began to turn British merchants against the act.

During the summer of 1765, the Charles Watson-Wentworth, Marquess of **Rockingham**, succeeded Grenville as prime minister. As news of violent resistance and boycott threats filtered back to Britain, it became clear that either the law would have to be upheld by force or some form of appeasement would have to be made. The difficulty of a military solution and opposition to the law in Parliament, led by William **Pitt**, made repeal more pragmatic. But it was feared that simply annulling the act might be viewed as acquiescing to the mob. Ultimately, Rockingham's ministry favored a solution that nullified the law on economic grounds but also reaffirmed, through a **Declaratory Act**, Parliament's complete legislative prerogative. The Stamp Act was officially repealed on March 18, 1766. *See also* Newspapers (American).

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ROBERT LEE

### **Stamp Act Congress (1765)**

The Stamp Act Congress, organized to petition for the repeal of the **Stamp Act** (1765), constituted the first joint effort to oppose a British imperial policy in the American colonies. The Stamp Act required the use of stamped paper for a range

of public documents, levying a direct tax on the American colonies. This departed from **Parliament's** customary method of requisition, in which the colonial legislatures were asked to collect and remit funds to **Britain**. The law inspired a powerful backlash among the colonists. One of the most important means of protest was the formation of the Stamp Act Congress, which issued resolutions laying out the colonial view of the appropriate relationship between the American colonies and the British Empire.

In June 1765, the **Massachusetts** colonial legislature was in the process of petitioning the Crown for relief from the Stamp Act. One of its members, James Otis, suggested that they instead organize an intercolonial meeting to formulate a unified petition of protest. Circular letters went out, and the Stamp Act Congress was scheduled to meet in **New York**. Not every colony responded favorably to the idea. The governors of **Georgia**, **North Carolina**, and **Virginia** refused to send delegates; **New Hampshire** did not send any either but later endorsed the resolutions. In all, 27 delegates from nine colonies came together to discuss the Stamp Act for two weeks in October 1765.

The most important issue facing the assembly was the constitutionality of a direct tax. The actual costs of stamp duties were small, but it was feared that they would set a precedent for internal taxation of the colonies, an authority traditionally afforded to the colonial legislatures. A central debate among the delegates was over the question of whether to reject internal taxation of the colonies while acknowledging Parliament's right to regulate external trade. Although few denied the latter, the Congress opted not to explicitly admit that right in their petition—leaving open the possibility of protesting Parliament's indirect methods of raising revenues, like the **Sugar Act**, if they became too onerous.

On October 19, the Congress agreed upon the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, an assessment of colonists' rights and their relationship to the Crown. Penned chiefly by John **Dickinson** of Pennsylvania, the 14-point petition adhered to the doctrine of no taxation without representation made prominent the previous May by the **Virginia Resolves**. The Declaration of Rights also argued against the stamp duties on economic grounds, claiming that limited specie in the colonies made the tax impractical, and an existing tax burden inherent in the purchase of British manufactures rendered it unfair. The final point both called for the repeal of the Stamp Act and reiterated colonial fealty for the Crown.

The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, the result of a combination of several forms of violent and nonviolent protest, in which the Stamp Act Congress played a central role. The Congress also provided the American colonists with organizational experience, serving as an exercise in coordinating colonial opposition to Parliament's policies.

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ROBERT LEE

### Stockton, Richard (1730–1781)

Richard Stockton was a **New Jersey** lawyer and political leader who signed the **Declaration of Independence** and, while a member of the **Continental Congress**,

was captured and mistreated by the British. He was born on October 1, 1730, near Princeton, New Jersey. He graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1748 and studied law in Newark under David Ogden before being admitted to the bar in 1754. He shunned politics and practiced law until traveling to England, Scotland, and **Ireland** in 1766–1776.

While in Scotland, Stockton, a trustee at the College of New Jersey, and Benjamin **Rush**, an American student studying at Edinburgh, convinced the Reverend John Witherspoon to assume the presidency of the college. Rush later married Stockton's daughter Julia and joined Stockton in signing the Declaration of Independence.

Stockton became a member of the executive council of the province of New Jersey after returning to America in 1768 and sought to reconcile the growing conflict between **Britain** and her American colonies. He was appointed to the Supreme Court of New Jersey in 1774 and in December 1774 proposed colonial self-government to Lord Dartmouth, then the British secretary of state for the colonies. Stockton became more active in his opposition to British rule and on June 21, 1776, was appointed a member of the Second **Continental Congress** by the New Jersey Provincial Congress. He was defeated in his bid to become the governor of the new state of New Jersey in August 1776. He then declined an appointment as the state's chief justice, desiring to remain in the Continental Congress, to which he was elected in September 1776.

The British began advancing on his home in September 1776 while he was inspecting troops of the **Continental Army**. He fled with his family to Monmouth, New Jersey, but was captured by the British on November 30, 1776. His home was ransacked; his estate, Morven, was laid to waste; his library was burned; and his treatment during his imprisonment in New York was so severe that the Congress directed George **Washington** to negotiate an exchange.

Stockton's imprisonment left him an invalid and he never recovered physically or financially. He died on February 28, 1781. Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, named in his honor, was founded in 1971 as part of the New Jersey State College System.

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RICHARD M. EDWARDS

### Suffolk Resolves (1774)

The Suffolk Resolves were written by Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston (a leader of the Whigs in **Massachusetts's** General Court) and adopted by the Suffolk County Convention on September 9, 1774. After **Parliament** imposed the **Coercive Acts** and the governor-general, Thomas **Gage**, rescinded his writs that would have called the General Court into session that September, each of Massachusetts's counties held a convention. Warren, writing for a committee of the Suffolk County Convention, drafted 19 resolutions that articulated the county's grievances regarding these events. Like virtually all other provincial resolutions until **George III** rejected the **Olive Branch Petition**, the Suffolk Resolves reiterated the county's continued allegiance to the

Crown. This affirmation was particularly important in Massachusetts because its residents believed their 1691 charter formed a compact directly between them and the Crown, to which Parliament was not a party.

The Suffolk Resolves declared that the Coercive Acts violated Massachusetts provincials' natural rights, as well as those protected by the British constitution and Massachusetts's 1691 charter. The Suffolk Resolves also declared unconstitutional those provisions of the Coercive Acts that usurped powers accorded to Massachusetts's provincial government by the 1691 charter, called for a boycott of all British imports, and urged all Massachusetts towns to immediately elect new militia officers who supported the revolutionary movement and to begin weekly militia drills so that they could be prepared should British troops (then in Boston) initiate a conflict. The Suffolk County Convention engaged Paul **Revere** as a messenger to deliver a copy of the Suffolk Resolves to the Continental Congress, which was then meeting in Philadelphia.

The Suffolk Resolves engendered debate and division within the Congress. Ultimately, members of the Continental Congress concurred with the concerns expressed in the Suffolk Resolves, endorsed them as an official statement of the Congress, and urged all the colonies to form non-consumption committees as part of the **Continental Association**. *See also* Continental Congress, Second.

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CHRISTINE LAHUE

## Suffrage (American)

Patterns of suffrage in the American colonies reflected contemporary restrictions inherent in English law, and following independence, the United States continued to limit voting through a variety of measures. Only in the twentieth century was the franchise extended to minority groups and women.

### *Restrictions and Voting Rights*

In 1430, an English law restricted the right to vote for members of **Parliament** to property owners who had land worth 40 shillings per year in rental value, or the equivalent land value. Each of the American colonies adopted property restrictions as they formed legislatures and other elected bodies. Most colonies required possession of land valued at least £50 in order for one to be eligible to vote. In addition, voting was restricted to free white males over the age of 21. Indentured servants were not allowed to vote. Some colonies also required religious tests as a prerequisite for voting.

These requirements were initially retained after the **American Revolutionary War**. However, over time, the franchise was gradually extended. Article 1, Section 4, of the **United States Constitution** (1789) allowed the states to determine voter eligibility and to establish rules for conducting elections (**Congress** was given the authority to enact legislation that would supersede state regulations). The majority of states adopted restrictive electoral codes. Ten continued to hold property requirements: **Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina, New York, Massachusetts, and South Carolina**. Although it maintained



its property requirements, New Jersey broadened its franchise beyond white males. In 1790, the state granted the right to vote to all citizens (including women) with property or wealth equivalent to £50 (in 1807, New Jersey rescinded its relatively liberal electoral policies and excluded everyone but white males from voting). In 1791, Vermont enacted legislation that extended suffrage to all white males, regardless of property or wealth. Furthermore, all states discarded religious tests as a qualification for voting. Voting was conducted in the open without the secret ballot. Voters were publicly sworn in and announced their vote before the registrars. This practice continued after the founding of the United States (the secret ballot was not adopted until the late nineteenth century).

Property requirements were opposed by the newly founded Democratic-Republican Party led by Thomas **Jefferson**. As the party gained posts in local and state governments, it worked to overturn voting constraints. As the nineteenth century progressed, successive states repealed their property statutes. By 1830, all the states had removed their property restrictions, and all white male citizens could vote. In addition, most states allowed noncitizens to vote if they were property owners. The influx of immigrants, especially Irish immigrants, in the nineteenth century resulted in xenophobia and restrictions on voting by noncitizens. Nonetheless, between 1850 and 1890, Congress allowed white male noncitizens in territories such as the Dakotas, Kansas, Washington, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Wyoming to vote (in 1875, 22 states and territories granted suffrage to noncitizens).

### *The Electoral College*

Many of the Framers of the Constitution feared the rise of demagogues and were apprehensive of the ability of ordinary Americans to make educated choices about candidates. The campaigns of the period, in which alcohol and other inducements were frequently used to secure votes, undermined confidence. In addition, there were continued concerns about voter fraud. To ensure some degree of control over the outcome of elections, the Constitution established the Electoral College under Article 2, Section 1.

The Electoral College was comprised of electors who met every four years to cast votes for the president and vice president. Each state was allowed to choose the manner of selection of electors. Each state chose a number of electors equal to the number of its congressional representation. The Framers of the Constitution believed that the electors would serve as a stop-gap measure to prevent ill-suited candidates from becoming president. The electors were chosen or approved by the legislature. The electors originally voted for two candidates. After the votes were tallied, the candidate with the highest vote total became president and the second-place finisher became vice president. The Twelfth Amendment (1804) altered the system so that electors chose a slate of both a presidential and vice presidential candidate. The Constitution also gave the legislatures the authority to elect U.S. senators (in 1913, the Seventeenth Amendment allowed for the direct election of senators).

### *Minority Groups and Women*

Throughout the early period of American history, most minority groups either were not allowed to vote or had restrictions placed on their franchise. Following independence, the southern states continued restrictions against African Americans and Native Americans voting. Many northern states also limited the suffrage for

minorities. For instance, in 1821, New York ratified a new state constitution that dropped property requirements for white males. However, African Americans still had to have property or wealth of at least \$250 for a minimum of one year prior to the election in order to be able to vote. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) forbade discrimination in voting based on race, although states continued to limit voting by minority groups until the 1960s.

Although women were briefly granted suffrage in New Jersey, by the early nineteenth century, all states forbade women from voting. There were petitions and other efforts to grant women the franchise, but the modern women's suffrage movement was not launched until 1848 at the Seneca Falls Convention. Women did not gain the right to vote in the United States until the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. *See also* Women (American).

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TOM LANSFORD

## Suffrage (French)

Like many aspects of the **French Revolution**, the suffrage was both complex and variable, but from first to last, election to office was a key feature of the new regime. It is reckoned that almost a million posts were up for grabs in the administrative, judicial, and even ecclesiastical domains, in addition to the election of parliamentary deputies. There were frequent renewals of personnel, not least in the municipalities, for every town and village was endowed with a mayor and council. It is true that various electoral systems had operated at the local level under the **ancien régime**, and this diverse practice eventually culminated in kingdom-wide elections to the **Estates-General** of 1789. Indeed, the tradition of voting in assemblies rather than on an individual basis would be retained in the 1790s and beyond. What the Revolution instituted was a uniform system that applied across the country on a regular basis. The franchise was, however, a matter for intense debate and development.

At the outset, in 1789, it was decided that the vote would be limited to so-called active citizens, a category devised by the abbé **Sieyès**. These were males at least 25 years old who paid the equivalent of three days' local wages in direct taxation. Some four million Frenchmen, or roughly 60 percent of adult males, were given the vote, an extremely generous provision by contemporary standards. In order to accede to the second-tier departmental assemblies, where the more important posts would be filled, it was necessary to pay 10 days' wages in direct tax. Yet over three million citizens were still able to cross this higher threshold, though the cost of attending such assemblies at the departmental level would prove prohibitive for many of them. When these issues were decided in the newly formed **National Assembly**, relatively few objections were raised, though Maximilien **Robespierre**, one of the few dissenters, pointed out that such restrictions infringed upon the recently enacted **Declaration of the Rights**

of **Man and of the Citizen**, which stated that all men were equal in rights. Only as radicalism gathered momentum in 1791 would more pressure be exerted for an extension of the suffrage to “passive citizens” (a term little employed in practice), females as well as poorer adult males. In 1789, dispute focused instead on the silver mark qualification that was to be demanded of national deputies, a sum of 50 livres a year in tax, together with ownership of property. This qualification was likely to affect members of the parliamentary class, and, as one critic put it, such a provision would have excluded the immortal Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**.

In the event this stipulation was never applied and the limited suffrage enshrined in the Constitution of 1791 would soon be swept away, along with the monarchy it prescribed. The female franchise articulated by activists like Olympe de Gouges found few advocates among established politicians; radicals were especially resistant to the presence of women in the public sphere. Less well-off males, however, fared rather better, as the suffrage was extended to all those over 21 years old who enjoyed an “independent existence.” Contrary to received wisdom, the removal of fiscal requirements from the suffrage in the summer of 1792 did not usher in male democracy, for servants and those dependent on welfare were still not allowed to vote. The notion of a degree of independence necessary to exercise the franchise, which had justified the earlier fiscal threshold, like the exclusion of women and children, still survived to a residual degree. There were also registration formalities to be fulfilled, and in theory at least, only those who had fulfilled other requirements of citizenship, such as serving in the **National Guard**, were entitled to vote. Only in the Constitution of 1793 was the franchise extended to all adult males regardless of circumstances (along with a provision for direct elections to parlement), but this document was never put into effect, despite overwhelming approval in a referendum.

The intervention of emergency government during the **Reign of Terror** brought a temporary halt to elections for much of 1793 and 1794. When the electoral process resumed, it did so according to the Constitution of 1795, in which the suffrage was once more restricted. The hurdle was low at the primary level of voting, where all male citizens who paid some sort of direct taxation were able to participate (perhaps five million adult males, a larger number than in 1790). However, the reintroduction of a two-tier procedure for elections above the local level was accompanied by a much more swinging set of property qualifications for second-degree electors, which meant that little more than a million male citizens could be elected for more than municipal office. Ironically, the constitution itself was approved in a referendum in which the enlarged electorate of 1792 had participated, though turnout was rather modest, and it would remain so at elections held during the latter part of the decade.

One novelty in 1795 was a literacy requirement for voters, but its inception was delayed for 10 years, by which time the constitution had been superseded. Bonaparte subsequently maintained a broad franchise in an electoral system of sorts that borrowed heavily from the Revolution, after he came to power in 1799 and established the **Consulate**. The early 1790s, by contrast, had seen a somewhat limited franchise but a great deal of electoral activity for those eligible to vote. It can be argued that many of the poor initially excluded from the franchise were not in a position to take part, even had they been given the chance to do so. The assembly mechanism involved several rounds of voting, often spread over a few days, and required a substantial commitment of time and endeavor. Few of those newly enfranchised in 1792, for example, appeared at the polls. What was significant was not only the fact that a

relatively elevated proportion of adult males were able to participate from the start of the Revolution, at least at the primary level, but that they had so many opportunities to do so (at Toulon between 1790 and 1792 there were no less than nine elections of various sorts), and in such an intensive fashion. Even though it was short lived and Frenchmen had to wait until 1848 to be presented with another comparable opportunity, the broad suffrage adopted after 1789 did permit a significant education in **citizenship**. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Women (French).

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MALCOLM CROOK

### Sugar Act (1764)

The British **parliament's** American Duties Act of 1764, usually referred to as the Sugar Act, replaced the Molasses Act of 1733. The Molasses Act had taxed American colonial imports of sugar, molasses, and rum from outside the British Empire to protect British Caribbean sugar from competition with cheap French colonial sugar. The act had been easily circumvented, however, by widespread smuggling in every American port with a distillery for making rum out of molasses. The new act, passed overwhelmingly in Parliament, lowered the duty on French Caribbean molasses but heavily taxed coffee, wine, and other luxury goods in order to support the British Army in America. It also contained several measures to improve the honesty and efficiency of the customs service. Customs officers were now protected from suits brought by merchants or shippers protesting illegal seizures. The act also established a new vice-admiralty court with jurisdiction over the British colonies in America as a whole and placed it in the garrison town of Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the judges would be safe from mob intimidation.

The act aroused great resentment among the colonists, particularly in the urban centers of trade. It was denounced in James Otis's pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, which enunciated the principle of no taxation without representation. The **New York** Assembly also asserted that the colonies had the right to consent to their own taxation in its petition to Parliament against the act, although **Massachusetts**, the only other colony to petition, was more moderate, complaining against its alleged bad effects on trade rather than its violation of colonial rights. *See also* American Revolution.

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WILLIAM E. BURNS

### Supreme Court (United States)

The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest judicial branch of the U.S. federal government. Article 2, Section 1, of the **United States Constitution** vests the

judicial power of the United States “in one supreme Court.” The court consists of the chief justice and eight associate justices, who are all nominated by the president and confirmed by the **Senate**. They are appointed to serve “during a term of good behavior,” which until recently meant for life, and leave office only upon retirement, resignation, impeachment, or death.

The U.S. Constitution provided for the creation of a Supreme Court and a federal judiciary system but contained no specific details, which were instead set in the Judiciary Act of 1789. The act created 13 district courts in major cities, with one judge in each of them, and three circuit courts to cover the other areas of the eastern, middle, and southern United States. The Supreme Court, with a chief justice and five associate justices, was established as the only court of appeal. President George **Washington** picked John **Jay**, a **New York**–born statesman and diplomat, as the first chief justice. Among the first associate justices were John Blair of **Virginia**, William Cushing of Massachusetts, James Iredell of **North Carolina**, John **Rutledge** of **South Carolina**, and James **Wilson** of **Pennsylvania**, who played an active role in the drafting of the U.S. Constitution.

The first few years proved disappointing, as appeals from lower courts came slowly. The Judiciary Act required justices to journey twice a year to distant regions of the country and preside over circuit courts, a duty many of the first justices detested and complained about. The first major case, *Chisholm v. Georgia*, came about in 1793, and the Court’s decision sent shockwaves through the country. In 1792 Alexander Chisholm, the executor of the estate of Robert Farquhar in South Carolina, attempted to sue the state of **Georgia** in the Supreme Court over payments due for goods that Farquhar had supplied Georgia during the **American Revolutionary War**. The state of Georgia refused to appear before the court, claiming that it did not have to appear in court to hear a suit against it to which it did not consent. The Court considered the case anyway and gave its 4–1 decision in favor of the South Carolinians. The decision naturally caused much controversy, and other states supported the state of Georgia on the issue of states’ rights and concerns over potential financial losses if they were ever forced to cover wartime obligations. In 1795, the Eleventh Amendment, which forbade any federal court to try a lawsuit against another state by citizens of another state, was ratified.

In another important precedent, the Supreme Court declined President Washington’s request to clarify some questions of international law and treaties, arguing that under the Constitution they could not share executive powers and duties or issue advisory opinions. In *Glass v. Sloop Betsey* (1794), the Supreme Court defended neutral rights and the national dignity of the United States.

In 1795, Chief Justice Jay was sent on a mission to London to negotiate between the young United States and **Britain**. In the resulting Jay Treaty, the British agreed to vacate the posts they occupied in the **Northwest** Territory of the United States and to compensate American ship owners. In return, the Americans pledged to grant a most favored nation trading status to the British and acquiesced to Britain’s anti-French maritime policies. The United States also guaranteed the payment of private prewar debts owed by Americans to British merchants. A strong opponent of slavery, John Jay dropped the issue of compensation for slaves, which angered Southern slave owners. The treaty also failed to end the impressment of American sailors into the Royal Navy.

Upon returning home, Jay was elected governor of New York and resigned from the Supreme Court, where he was replaced by his fellow justice John Rutledge of South Carolina. However, before **Congress** confirmed him, Rutledge made a grave political error when on July 16, 1795, he criticized the treaty that President Washington and John Jay negotiated with Britain. Although Washington continued to support his candidacy, Rutledge failed to procure the Senate's approval in December 1795.

In 1796, Oliver Ellsworth of **Connecticut** was confirmed as chief justice. One of the first cases the Ellsworth Court considered dealt with the Jay Treaty, which galvanized American society. In *Ware v. Hylton*, the Court considered British claims against Americans based on contracts made before the Revolution and according to which the Jay Treaty required payments. A **Virginia** statute absolved its citizens of responsibility if they paid such debts into the state treasury. The Court nullified this statute and argued that a treaty of the United States must override the law of any state.

In 1800–1801, the Supreme Court moved with the rest of the federal government to a new site on the Potomac River. Simultaneously, amid the bitter election campaign that pitted Federalists against Republicans, Chief Justice Ellsworth, already ailing, resigned. The newly elected President John **Adams** nominated his secretary of state, John Marshall, to the Supreme Court, opening a great era in the history of the American judiciary.

The longest-serving chief justice in Supreme Court history, Marshall led the Court for over three decades and played a crucial role in the development of the American legal system. Marshall served through six presidential administrations (John Adams, Thomas **Jefferson**, James **Madison**, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson) and remained a stalwart advocate of Federalism, opposing the Jeffersonian philosophy of government. He greatly contributed to turning the judiciary into an independent and influential branch of government. Under his guidance, the Supreme Court developed a new procedure of announcing its decisions. Previously, each justice would author a separate opinion, which Marshall supplemented with a single opinion of the Court. Marshall wrote this opinion in almost all cases, which made him the Court's sole and most important mouthpiece. In the first major case, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), the Marshall Court established the Court's right to exercise judicial review, the power to strike down laws that violate the Constitution. The Court made several important decisions relating to Federalism, shaping the balance of power between the federal government and the states during the early years of the republic. It repeatedly confirmed the supremacy of federal law over state law and supported an expansive reading of the enumerated powers. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), the Court ruled that states could not tax federal institutions and upheld congressional authority to create the Second Bank of the United States, even though the authority to do this was not expressly stated in the Constitution. In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821), the Court declared that the federal judiciary could hear appeals from decisions of state courts in criminal and civil cases.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## Suspects, Law of

See Law of Suspects

## Symbols (American Revolutionary)

Eighteenth-century mass media was primitive but still managed to propagate symbols to convey the ideas that formed the substance of revolutionary thought. Paul **Revere**'s 1770 engraving of the **Boston Massacre** with British troops firing on innocent civilians portrayed the dangers of British tyranny. It was not, however, the first use of symbols to convey a political idea in America.

In 1754 the benefits of the **Albany Plan of Union** were portrayed by the use of a rattlesnake showing New England as the head, followed by **New York** and so on until all the colonies were accounted for. Complemented by the slogan "Join or Die," it was revived 20 years later in this form and as a rattlesnake coiled to strike. This snake also appeared on flags by itself or accompanied by other symbols (in at least one case **Rhode Island**'s anchor). Similarly, liberty trees or, in some cases, liberty poles came to be gathering places where the **Sons of Liberty** would gather to meet or take oaths.

Individuals also became symbols. Charles Wilson Peale's painting of George **Washington** was painted several times, and a copy was presented to **Louis XVI**. Thus, Washington's image conveyed a determined and skillful America with which the French should ally themselves. Images of Benjamin **Franklin** reflecting his carefully cultivated image as the "natural man" were common during Franklin's stay in Paris. Franklin was represented with plain clothing, fur hat, or unpowdered hair by statues, in engravings, and even on the bottom of chamber pots.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Symbols (French Revolutionary)

In attempting to create society anew, legislators and artists in the **French Revolution** drew on a diverse range of visual sources to express and spread the often-abstract concepts of **liberty, equality, and fraternity**. Increasingly, allegory was the preferred form of expression, as it was particularly suited to the distillation of complex ideas and could be used in a variety of immediately recognizable forms, such as on letterheads and money. In addition, allegory avoided reference to contemporary events, which often had contentious associations. Antique sources were very popular, as they were thought to be universal. The fasces used by Roman lectors represented unity and discipline and were often augmented by an ax symbolizing

military force, and topped with a *bonnet rouge*, the ritual headwear of the Parisian *sans-culottes*, which was derived from the Phrygian bonnet worn by freed Roman slaves. Triangles, floating eyes of surveillance, snakes biting their own tails, clasped hands, and carpenters' levels were drawn directly from Masonic symbolism, whilst oak leaves signified fidelity, and Gallic cockerels meant vigilance.

Some symbols, such as the tricolor flag, were wholly new inventions, while some, such as the female figure of Liberty, were partly adapted from Christian iconography, and others, such as the cornucopia or anchor, were well-known symbols of plenty and hope, respectively. These symbols were supplemented by a range of symbolic figures, from William Tell to Brutus, Cornelia to Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**, and symbolic places such as the **Bastille**, the images of which could be incorporated into this new symbolic language. Attempting to replace the powerful symbolic order of absolute monarchy inherited by the counterrevolution, with its white flag and fleur-de-lis, French revolutionary symbols allowed the ideas of the Revolution to be spread to a wide audience, although it is difficult to determine how clearly their message was interpreted.

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RICHARD TAWS



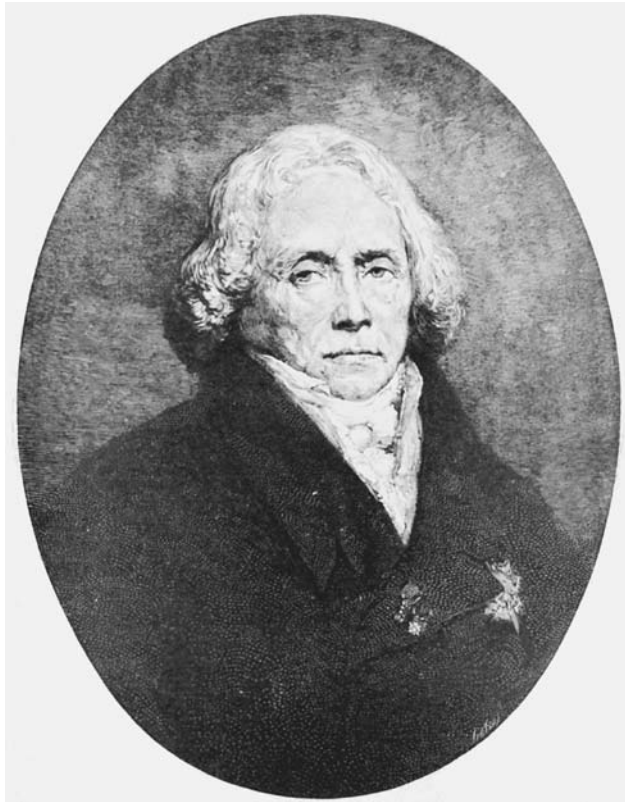
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## Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1745–1838)

A French statesman whose career in diplomacy is the most storied of modern history, Talleyrand was born into the **nobility** but entered the clergy because a childhood injury made him unfit for military service. He was made bishop of Autun in 1788 but almost immediately became active in politics. He was elected by the clergy of Autun to the **First Estate** and was thereafter active as a liberal deputy in the **National Assembly**. Talleyrand rallied early to the **French Revolution** and even supported its anti-clerical policy of confiscating church property, a decision for which he was ultimately excommunicated by Rome. Talleyrand nonetheless said the mass for the Fête de la Fédération in July 1790.

In 1792, he was dispatched to the Court of St. James, where he was unsuccessful in the attempt to avoid war with **Britain**. Absence from **France** was possibly critical to Talleyrand's longevity, because he managed to spend most of the **Reign of Terror** in exile either in England or the United States. He objected to the latter's Jay Treaty of 1794 with Britain and was so contemptuous of early American peace initiatives toward France that he seriously compromised his country's relations with the **Adams** administration in the XYZ Affair. He reemerged at the center of political life as foreign minister for the **Directory** in 1797, a position he retained until 1807. Talleyrand is well known for his advice to diplomats—"Do not allow yourself to become excited about your work"—but his personal guiding principle was to avoid the attachment of loyalties. With the comte de Sieyès, he helped to plot the coup that toppled the Directory and brought **Napoleon** to power as **First Consul**. In Napoleon's service he then helped to arrange the 1801 **Concordat** with Rome, negotiated the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and played an important part in creating the Confederation of the Rhine.

Even after dismissing him in 1807, Napoleon sought Talleyrand's advice regularly. Although he participated in the Erfurt Conference of 1808, Talleyrand concluded that Napoleonic ambition was taking France toward disaster and waited for an opportunity to assist the Allies. This came in 1814 when Paris fell and Talleyrand negotiated with Tsar **Alexander I**; secured the Treaty of Ghent, which brought peace with



Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince de Bénévent. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

the United States; and made the formal announcement of Napoleon's deposition. At the Congress of **Vienna**, Talleyrand played a weak diplomatic hand brilliantly in securing Allied recognition of defeated France as a Great Power restored to its borders of 1792. After 1815, Talleyrand went into semiretirement but in 1830 took a prominent role in bringing Louis Philippe to the throne of the July Monarchy. In 1830–1834, he again served as French ambassador to Britain. Talleyrand managed to reconcile with the church and insisted on his deathbed on receiving his last rites as a bishop.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### **Tallien, Jean Lambert (1767–1820)**

Jean Lambert Tallien was nicknamed “Man of the Nine” in reference to his role on 9 Thermidor (July 27) in ending Maximilien **Robespierre's** influence and the **Reign of Terror**.

In 1791, he created a *journal-affiche*, *L'Ami des Citoyens*, *journal fraternel*, sponsored by the **Jacobins**. After **Louis XVI**'s flight to **Varennes**, Tallien no longer believed in the future of the monarchy. In August 1792, he was named secretary of the Paris Commune. In September, he became the youngest deputy of the **National Convention** and voted for the king's execution. He then put down a royalist insurrection in the west. Back in Paris, he contributed to the **Girondins**' downfall, which resulted in a rebellion against the Montagnard government in the southwest provinces. Sent to Bordeaux as proconsul to end this revolt, he resolved it without resorting to armed conflict. There he met his future wife, the Spaniard Thérésia Cabarrus Fontenay, one of the most fashionable women of her time.

Suspected of "moderatism," Tallien returned to Paris in March 1794 and because of his revolutionary zeal was elected president of the Convention, where he strongly opposed Robespierre. After the **Law of 22 Prairial**, Tallien rallied more support against the triumvirate of Robespierre, **Saint-Just**, **Couthon**, and on 9 Thermidor, backed by the majority of deputies, he had Robespierre and his close supporters arrested and guillotined the following day. Elected to the **Committee of Public Safety**, Tallien reorganized the **revolutionary tribunals**. In July 1795, he was instrumental in defeating an army of **émigrés** at Quiberon.

In spite of his election to the **Council of Five Hundred**, Tallien's political role was over. In July 1798, he embarked for Egypt with **Napoleon**. Disillusioned, Napoleon returned to France in 1801 and divorced his wife, **Josephine** de Beauharnais, because of her extramarital affairs. In 1804, Tallien was named consul at Alicante but, stricken by yellow fever, returned to France in 1805. He died in poverty in November 1820. *See also* The Mountain; Thermidorian Reaction.

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GUY-DAVID TOUBIANA

## Tea Act (1773)

**Parliament** enacted the Tea Act in May 1773 as a means to aid the British East India Company to avoid bankruptcy. Between 1770 and 1773 provincial Americans' purchase of the company's tea had declined 70 percent. This was a consequence of the coordinated efforts of non-consumption committees, which had encouraged provincials not to buy English tea as a protest against the Townshend tax that remained on tea (all other Townshend duties were repealed in 1770). The 1773 Tea Act waived the Townshend duty that remained on tea and permitted the East India Company to avoid paying another duty by selling its tea directly to the American colonies without first being transported to **Britain**. These provisions lowered the costs to the East India Company and enabled it to sell its tea for even less than the cost at which colonial merchants could purchase it from Dutch smugglers.

Although Parliament believed the colonists would welcome the opportunity to buy tea less expensively, the colonists believed their purchases had greater implications. They regarded the agreement between Parliament and the East India Company as a monopoly that granted an unfair advantage to the company. The act also provided that the company would appoint a limited number of colonial merchants as its consignees. This excluded and put most provincial merchants at an economic

disadvantage. Politically, provincials believed their purchase would signal their implicit acceptance of Parliament's sovereignty to tax the colonies. While the colonies did acknowledge Parliament's supremacy to regulate trade throughout the British Empire, they denied its right to directly tax them.

When the Tea Act was implemented, the East India Company's ships were turned away at Philadelphia and New York City before they reached Boston. There, royal governor Thomas **Hutchinson** welcomed the ships into Boston Harbor and, despite provincials' protests, refused to permit the ships to depart until their tea was first unloaded. Hutchinson was one of the three owners of the mercantile house selected by the East India Company to be the sole distributor of tea in Boston. After Hutchinson refused to hear provincials' protests on December 16, 1773, Samuel **Adams** immediately convened a meeting at the Old South Meeting House. From there, a group of about 150 men dressed as Mohawk Indians journeyed to Griffin's Wharf, where several thousand onlookers silently observed them board the ships *Dartmouth*, the *Beaver*, and the *Eleanor* and for three hours dump the cargo of 342 chests of tea (valued at 18,000 pounds sterling) into Boston Harbor—an act that came to be known as the **Boston Tea Party**.

Since there was an unusually low tide, mountains of tea rose above the surface of the water. Colonists had deemed it imperative to take action that night because the *Dartmouth* had arrived on November 28, and the Tea Act stipulated that the tax must be collected within 20 days—making December 17 the deadline. Parliament responded to the destruction of East India Company property with the **Boston Port Act**, which closed the harbor to all commerce.

Provincial Americans had also objected to Parliament's attempt to tax them via the 1765 **Stamp Act** and the 1768 **Townshend Acts**. During the latter, provincial Americans formed local non-consumption associations that pledged not to purchase imported British manufactures. The success of these associations, though, depended in large measure upon the willingness of women not to purchase British imports—including tea. The consumption of tea, as well as its accoutrements and ceremony, had grown enormously popular throughout the American colonies by the 1760s. Following the imposition of the **Coercive Acts**, the Continental Congress in September 1774 encouraged each colony to renew its non-consumption associations. Many provincial women supported these associations and signed non-consumption agreements, which temporarily drew them from their domestic sphere into the traditionally male public sphere. *See also* Continental Congress, Second; Gage, Thomas.

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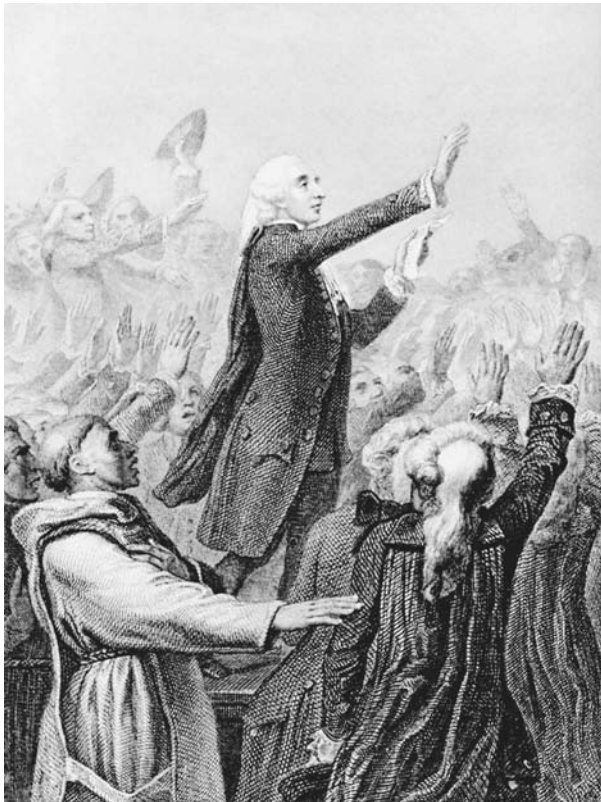
CHRISTINE LAHUE

### Tennis Court Oath (1789)

A formal act of defiance of the **Third Estate** toward the monarchy, and one of the key moments in the early state of the **French Revolution**, the Tennis Court Oath is known in French as the *serment du jeu de paume*. After the **Estates-General** was

summoned in May 1789, the Third Estate found itself locked in a stalemate with the crown, supported by the First and Second Estates, over an important issue of voting. On June 17, the Third Estate made the bold move of declaring itself the **National Assembly**. Three days later, when the deputies of the Third Estate gathered for a regular meeting, they found the doors of their assigned meeting hall closed and guarded by royal troops, supposedly to prepare the room for a special royal session planned for June 22. The deputies, however, understood that the appearance of troops was a sign of King **Louis XVI**'s resolution to use force to dissolve the seditious estate.

On the motion of Joseph-Ignace **Guillotín**, the members of the Third Estate moved to a nearby empty hall, which was often used to play tennis and was known as a *jeu de paume* (tennis court). At the gathering there, some deputies initially called for moving the Third Estate to Paris, where the population would defend them from any actions on the part of the crown. However, Jean Joseph **Mounier** defeated this motion and instead proposed staying at Versailles and swearing an oath not to separate until the constitution of the kingdom was accepted. The first to take the



The Tennis Court Oath of June 20, 1789. Finding themselves locked out of their usual meeting hall, the deputies of the Third Estate adjourned to a nearby tennis court at Versailles where, claiming authority for France, they swore not to dissolve until they had adopted a national constitution. *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

oath was Jean Sylvain Bailly, who then administered it to other deputies. Overall, 576 deputies swore and signed the oath; only one refused to sign the document because it had not been approved by the king.

The Tennis Court Oath was a major episode in the early stages of the **French Revolution**. While the Estates-General had only been summoned to address the financial woes of **France**, the Third Estates' declaration of the National Assembly and pledge of the Tennis Court Oath marked the transition of politics to a revolutionary phase. By their actions, the Third Estate asserted the power attributed to the people of France on the basis of popular sovereignty—a direct challenge to the royal authority. The oath also helped establish a union of the deputies of the Third Estate, who now had a common goal of reforming the kingdom not only financially, but also politically, for they committed themselves to adopting a written constitution for France. Had the king responded in a more forceful manner and used troops to dissolve the Third Estate following the Tennis Court Oath, the course of French, and indeed European, history would have been dramatically altered. In the event, Louis XVI chose a less confrontational course, and a week after the Tennis Court Oath, he ordered the three estates to meet together for the purpose of writing a constitution, so signaling an early victory for the Third Estate. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; First Estate; Second Estate.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

## The Terror

*See* Reign of Terror

## Thermidorian Reaction (1794)

The Thermidorian Reaction, the conservative revolt against Maximilien **Robespierre** and the **Reign of Terror**, was launched on 9 Thermidor in the revolutionary calendar (July 27, 1794); it ushered in a period of reaction that saw a return to power in **France** of many members of the old bourgeoisie along with the entrenchment of the new middle classes. The institution of economic policies that benefited the bourgeoisie, the restriction of democratic practices and centralization of government authority, and the violent suppression of the poor finally stifled the radical aims of the **French Revolution**.

Fearing that the Terror was about to claim their own lives, a conspiracy of several **Jacobins** and their allies, including leading figures such as Jean Lambert **Tallien**, launched something of a preemptive strike, arresting Robespierre and his close associates, including members of the **Committee of Public Safety**, on the floor of the **National Convention**.

The **Thermidorians'** concerns about the Terror immediately proved to be entirely opportunistic—more about self-preservation than any principled opposition to political violence or a commitment to justice. Over the course of its first two days, the Reaction guillotined Robespierre and over 100 others, including most of the Paris

Commune. This marked the beginning of the **White Terror** against the Revolution's radicals. In the provinces, especially in the south, openly royalist groups carried out acts of reprisal against revolutionaries, ranging from individual acts of vigilantism to wholesale massacres. The Thermidorian Reaction was also marked by substantial economic crises instigated or worsened by the free-trade policies preferred by the Thermidorians. Economic regulation was lessened; price controls, implemented in Year II, were lifted; and inflation became rampant. Financial speculation became the order of the day.

While many among the old bourgeoisie and the new professional classes became even wealthier through speculation and the effects of inflation, the social impact of economic policies such as the lifting of price controls was devastating for the poor and working classes and the peasantry. By 1795, the fear of famine became real for many poor people as the cities experienced shortages in essentials like grain, flour, and meat. Dairy products and fuel became too expensive for the poor to purchase.

On April 1 and May 20, 1795, the *sans-culottes* mobilized behind the dual banners of bread and the Constitution of 1793 in an effort to stop the government's conservative policies and address their ruinous impact on the lives of poor people. In early 1795 the last popular uprising of the Revolution saw a group of *sans-culottes* take over the Convention before being violently suppressed on the orders of the government. This marked a significant turning point in the history of the Revolution. By refusing to address even minimally the demands of the poor, and responding only by force, the government signaled as victorious the conservative return to power and, crucially, irreparably weakened the power of the poor to influence the course of politics.

Despite the demands of the poor, the Constitution of 1793 was replaced by a conservative constitution in 1795. The Constitution of Year III included among its features the payment of taxes as the basis for franchise, thus limiting the right to vote to the wealthiest male citizens. It also established a five-man executive **Directory** to be chosen by the legislature, which would now be housed in two assemblies, the Council of Ancients, and the **Council of Five Hundred**. The Thermidorians consolidated their power in the central government by imposing limits on democracy and by reserving the power to restrict freedom of the press and freedom of association.

The final four years of the Thermidorian Reaction were marked by a series of coups from both the Left and the Right. In May 1796, the revolutionary communists, led by **Babeuf**, were arrested before their insurrection was mounted. An attempted coup in September 1796 also ended in failure, with Babeuf condemned to death. In September 1797, an attempted royalist coup was also defeated. This left the Directory firmly entrenched in power until November 9, 1799 (18 Brumaire, Year VIII), when Napoleon launched his successful coup and established the **Consulate**. *See also* Brumaire, Coup d'Etat de; Calendar, French Revolutionary; Constitutions, French Revolutionary.

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## Thermidorians

Although the name “Thermidorians” is applied to two distinct groups, the groups had some members in common. In the most immediate sense, Thermidorians were those individuals who attacked Maximilien **Robespierre** and his allies on the ninth day of the month of Thermidor (July 27, 1794, often called the **Thermidorian Reaction**) in the second year of the **French Revolution**. While they might be called moderates in the very loosest sense, almost all these individuals had taken part in the **Reign of Terror**. Many of their conditions and assumptions of what was appropriate had changed, as Robespierre’s policies now frightened and alienated many of them. The term is also used to identify the politicians of **France** who ruled the country up until the adoption of the Constitution of 1795.

The first group of Thermidorians were, in essence, plotters who launched a coup with very concrete objectives centering on self-preservation. Robespierre had always advocated violence as a means of eliminating those he identified as enemies of the Revolution. His views hardened even more after two assassination attempts in the spring of 1794. The most recent laws, particularly the **Law of 22 Prairial**, created a situation in which any opinion that did not accord completely with Robespierre’s views could be labeled treasonous. Under this law, which Robespierre and another member of the **Committee of Public Safety** had drafted, anyone tried for this “crime” could expect one of only two results: acquittal or conviction and execution. Because the number of trials and executions was increasing dramatically, Robespierre’s removal and the destruction of his faction had now become a matter of survival. For the main figures in the Thermidor plot, all had been marked to a greater or lesser extent as Robespierre’s enemies—a list that seemed to be steadily growing.

These men included two of Robespierre’s colleagues from the Committee of Public Safety, Jean Marie **Collot d’Herbois** and Jacques Nicolas **Billaud-Varenne**. In addition, there were two highly powerful members of the rival Committee of General Security: Jean-Pierre Amar and Marc-Alexis Vadier. Finally, the two real leaders of this group were members of the **National Convention** who had been quite prominent both as **representatives on mission** and on the floor of the Convention, Jean Lambert **Tallien** and Joseph **Fouché**. In the summer of 1794 all were in danger and saw that if something were not done soon, they would become victims of the Terror.

As members of the Committee of Public Safety, Collot d’Herbois and Billaud-Varenne themselves had participated in the Terror, approving and carrying out the policies of the committee both in Paris and on mission to cities outside the capital. Ironically, although they were instrumental in bringing the Terror to an end, they were later tried, convicted, and deported to the Caribbean as punishment for terrorism. Two members of the Committee of General Security, which often contended with the Committee of Public Safety for power, were also involved in the plot, and neither had ever backed away from extreme punishment for perceived enemies of the state. These men, Amar and Vadier, both had supported policies of the **Jacobins** against the **Girondins**.

One of the leaders of this group was Joseph Fouché, a former professor of physics who would skillfully survive many twists and turns in the political landscape. An outspoken egalitarian and opponent of **religion**, he would become a duke before he died. He was not averse to using executions to eliminate traitors but actually showed



a greater sense of restraint than was considered to be acceptable. After a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Georges **Couthon**, departed Lyon in 1793, Fouché and Collot d'Herbois were ordered there to continue the trials and executions. Their perceived lack of zeal angered Robespierre. Fouché added to Robespierre's enmity by publicly ridiculing the Feast of Reason. His comments led to an argument between the two of them, and Robespierre's response may have convinced Fouché that he had to act soon. The other leader was Jean Lambert Tallien, who was well known in the Convention and had even been elected president at one time. He was no friend of Robespierre and, like many of his colleagues, was able to foresee that his life could soon be forfeit.

Tension had been building, and on the evening of 8 Thermidor, Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varenne entered the Jacobin Club. There they confronted Robespierre and his two closest collaborators, Couthon and Louis **Saint-Just**. The conflict continued the next day when Robespierre was attacked by members of the Convention. Robespierre was prevented from responding because Collot d'Herbois was serving as president of the Convention and would not recognize him, thus banning him speaking. Discredited and placed under arrest that day (9 Thermidor), Robespierre and his colleagues were executed the following day.

Many changes occurred following the coup. These included the marginalization of the Committee of Public Safety, the Committee of General Security, and the **revolutionary tribunals**. The center of radical activity, the Jacobin Club, was closed, and the Girondins, who had been suppressed, now returned to power. Several government officials deeply involved in the Terror were tried and punished. At the same time that the Jacobins were being suppressed, the counterrevolutionaries who had hoped to bring back the Old Regime were effectively fought to a standstill. Tallien, the chief conspirator, was instrumental in defeating a combined British and émigré force at Quiberon Bay in 1795. That same year, this group, which in the larger sense one may label Thermidorians, drafted the Constitution of 1795, the document that brought the **Directory** into existence.

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ROBERT N. STACY

## Third Estate

In **ancien régime France**, all who were not classified as clergy or nobles were de facto members of the Third Estate, which represented roughly 96 percent of the population. As the abbé **Sieyès** memorably put it in responding to the rhetorical question posed by the title of his pamphlet of January 1789, *What Is the Third Estate?*, it was “everything” yet hitherto had been “nothing.” He went on to suggest that if the privileged orders were removed, the country would be better off, since the *Tiers état* contained all that was required to constitute a complete nation yet was restrained

from rendering France more flourishing by the constraints imposed upon it. Sieyès went on to demonstrate how the Third Estate could become “something” by composing a script for the events that would take place at Versailles in June 1789 as the **Estates-General** was transformed into a **National Assembly**.

The overwhelming majority of the Third Estate comprised peasants, who worked the land in a France that remained predominantly rural and preindustrial. That is not to say that all peasants were similar, since conditions varied immensely from one part of this vast country to another. One common factor was their subordination to some form of seigneurial system that affected most peasants in terms of dues, services, and deference owed to the local and usually noble lord. This constituted a source of friction that would erupt in 1789, though it was mainly a product of rising expectations rather than increasing misery for most rural dwellers. Indeed, a minority of peasants owned or rented sufficient land to produce a surplus, and they were prospering in a century during which agricultural prices were gradually inflated, largely as a result of growing population, which historians now think had reached some 28 million by 1789. The preponderance of France in Europe had a strong demographic basis and its backbone was the bulk of self-sufficient cultivators who produced enough in a good year to survive. However, they were susceptible to fluctuations in the harvest, which grew more pronounced from the 1770s onward and might tip them into dependence on relief or plunge them into debt. Especially tenuous was the situation of the rising number of landless peasants, who relied on working for others, seasonal migration, or domestic industry and were forced to leave their homes in search of employment in times of crisis like the late 1780s.

Much of the manufacturing that did take place in pre-revolutionary France was based in the countryside, in the form of weaving and forging. The countryside was also the home of numerous rural artisans who serviced agriculture as farriers or carpenters. Factories were few and far between, so the mass of urban workers were for the most part artisans who learned their trade then plied their profession as tailors or bakers, often selling the wares they made. Beneath them was a growing number of unskilled laborers, who drifted in from the surrounding countryside in search of employment, creating a volatile mass in the growing cities, not least in Paris, where the population had passed the half-million mark by the outbreak of the Revolution. The towns, which housed perhaps a fifth of the French people by that time, were heavily dependent on external food supplies, and the price of bread was the barometer of public order, as well as the compass by which producers set their fortunes. High prices meant a sharp fall in the demand for manufactured items, and in such circumstances, the urban population could unite in demanding a steady supply at a reasonable cost.

Many nobles lived in towns and resided there for at least part of the year; it is inaccurate to suppose they were all quartered at Versailles. Yet the urban leaders par excellence were the bourgeoisie, to borrow a troublesome term from the unfashionable Marxist lexicon. Perhaps middle classes is a more satisfactory label for the generally prosperous but diverse commercial and professional groups who profited from the century-long rise in trade, home and overseas, to increase their business activities or provide customers with their services as doctors and lawyers. The great seaport cities of Nantes, Bordeaux, and Marseille were certainly flourishing, though so were the inland administrative centers that expanded to meet the rising demand for goods and services from the countryside. Self-assurance was fostered by their

role as city fathers, presiding over the enlightened cultural atmosphere and the architectural achievements that characterized the cities, above all Paris, in the years after 1750.

Yet it would be wrong to regard the bourgeoisie as a discontent revolutionary group, since most of them continued to look to the **nobility** for a role model and they had good cause to fear the mass of the population who threatened disorder when times were hard. Even Sieyès was unwilling to countenance a political role for the lower classes, his rhetoric about the nation notwithstanding. What mobilized latent social tensions in the late 1780s was the collapse of the bankrupt monarchy in a context of economic crisis. The convocation of the Estates-General not only polarized nobles and bourgeois in an unexpected fashion but brought ordinary people into politics to an unprecedented degree via elections and the drafting of cahiers, which occurred in the spring of 1789. In the process, the diverse *Tiers état* acquired an identity that it had never possessed before, together with a common enemy in the shape of the privileged orders. This unity would prove short lived: once the opposition of nobles and clergy had been overcome, the Third Estate would fragment and radicals like Jean-Paul **Marat** would be left to lament the fact that an aristocracy of birth had merely given way to an aristocracy of wealth. *See also* First Estate; Second Estate.

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MALCOLM CROOK

## Tocqueville, Alexis de (1805–1859)

Alexis de Tocqueville was a French social philosopher, political theorist, and historian. His early works, completed with a friend and colleague, made Tocqueville famous while still in his twenties. He is best known for describing America at a time when the country was still in its infancy and characterizing the American character as something to be seen as unique and intriguing. In addition to writing, he had a career as a French politician.

Tocqueville was born and raised near Paris. Before he was born, his aristocratic parents were jailed during the **Reign of Terror** and were traumatized during their imprisonment. After their release, they had three sons, all of whom were provided with emotional and intellectual stimulation. The young Tocqueville was stricken with many physical maladies as a youth, including migraine headaches and digestive problems. He was a very bright child and an avid reader of the many books in his father's library. A devout Catholic tutor educated him and his brothers. Tocqueville went on to attend school and later law school in Metz and worked for a short time as a lawyer and substitute judge. The year after the Revolution of 1830, he and friend Gustavo de Beaumont were commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior to travel to the United States for the purpose of studying the American penal system. The two young men's desire to undertake this mission was probably also due in part to a wish to leave the precarious social climate of **France** and possibly a spirit of adventure.

The two traveled in the United States for nine months and, in addition to observing the penitence-based prisons at Sing Sing and Auburn in New York and the Quaker-based Eastern State Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, interviewed a number of key American political and legal luminaries, including President Andrew Jackson, former president John Quincy Adams, and **Supreme Court** justice Joseph Story. Tocqueville unfortunately missed an opportunity for an interview with key political scholar James **Madison**, one of the authors of the **Federalist Papers**. He and Beaumont traversed the North, South, Midwest, and New England and also ventured into **Canada**, paying close attention to the cultural aspects of the various regions through which they traveled. They also noted the similarities and differences between France and North America.

Tocqueville was intrigued by what he saw as an equalitarian society in America, and he questioned how far a society could go in achieving equality and still remain a free society. In his observation of the American way of life, he was impressed by the decorum and stability of the country. He believed that the American political system was formed by unique circumstances and that these factors created the distinct social structure of America; this distinct structure he called the national character. These traits, and their geographic and historical factors, formed the democratic and egalitarian social system that he and his colleague, Beaumont, found so fascinating. Tocqueville, however, observed that not all groups were treated equally, noting the ill-treatment of African Americans and American Indians by white society.

The two travelers also recognized the characteristic of American individuality—a tendency for Americans to withdraw socially from others and develop relationships with family and close friends. Excessive individualism leads to other problems, according to Tocqueville, including materialism, spiritual problems, and a tendency to be easily swayed by public opinion.

When he returned to France, Tocqueville resigned his post as magistrate and, relying on Beaumont for the majority of the work, completed a volume on the U.S. penal system entitled *On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France*, which was published in 1833. In this work, in addition to describing American prisons, the authors advocated a similar system in France and recommended more humane conditions in penal settings. Though Beaumont wrote most of the work on penology, Tocqueville devoted much of his time to writing about his observations of American society. These observations culminated in his two-volume magnum opus *Democracy in America* (published in 1835 and 1840, respectively). The book was extremely popular in both Europe and America and detailed the American political system as well as aspects of American culture.

Also in 1835, the now-famous 30-year-old author married Mary Motley, a woman considered by his family to be beneath them in status. Tocqueville entered French politics and continued to publish thought-provoking works on political and social issues. It was, however, very difficult living up to the early success he had when *Democracy in America* was published.

Tocqueville wanted to understand the reason behind the demise of the aristocracy, probably in part due to his own upbringing and that of his parents. He was also concerned with social reform, as evidenced by his work on prisons. He was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies and served in that capacity from 1839 to 1848. He also served as minister of foreign affairs for a few months in 1849. Tocqueville's

resistance to the government of the Second Republic landed him in jail for a few days and ended his days as a politician. He would later comment that he was disappointed in his political career.

In 1856, Tocqueville published his last work, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, considered by some to be a continuation of the question of freedom and democracy developed in *Democracy in America*. This three-volume work carried a somewhat more pessimistic tone than its predecessor.

Tocqueville was suffering from tuberculosis in 1858 when he and his wife moved to Cannes with the hope of his recuperation. However, the following year, he succumbed to the condition. His work and political thought have been evaluated and reevaluated by scores of historians, political scientists, philosophers, sociologists, and reformers ever since

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LEONARD A. STEVERSON

### **Tone, Theobald Wolfe (1763–1798)**

Theobald Wolfe Tone, usually known simply as Wolfe Tone, was a leading figure in the Irish independence movement of the late eighteenth century. Born the eldest son of a coach builder in Dublin, Tone was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and at the Middle Temple in London. Rash and impetuous, but intelligent, lively, and sociable, he eloped with a 16-year-old, Matilda Witherington, before he had established himself in a career. It proved a happy marriage. Trained as a lawyer, he won fame as a political propagandist and activist. Initially a supporter of the moderate reform program of the Irish **Whigs** (or Patriots), he soon became committed to radical reform. He wanted parliamentary reform, the end of sectarian divisions within **Ireland**, and an end to British influence over Irish affairs. In 1791, he produced his most famous pamphlet, *An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*. Addressed to reform-minded Protestants, it urged Irishmen of all religious persuasions to unite in support of radical reform. With his close friend Thomas Russell, he drew up the resolutions of the **Society of United Irishmen** formed by the Ulster Presbyterian radicals in Belfast in October 1791. He and Russell set up a similar society in Dublin in November. Catholic radicals, who had reformed the formerly conservative Catholic Committee to press for Catholic relief, appointed the Protestant Tone as their agent and secretary. He helped to organize elections to a Catholic Convention to petition the king for relief, and he accompanied the delegation to London to meet the king.

The subsequent Catholic Relief Act of 1793 granted the franchise that Protestants had to Irish Catholics but did not allow Catholics to sit in the Irish parliament. War with **France** in 1793 led the government to suppress the activities of the United Irishmen. Tone's written radical views were given to a French agent, William Jackson, who was then arrested in April 1794. The Irish government preferred to get rid of Tone rather than prosecute him. He was persuaded to go into exile in the United States with his young family, though he did not leave until June 1795. By

then the United Irishmen had been suppressed as a constitutional reform society but were reconstituting themselves as a secret, mass-based revolutionary movement. Unhappy in America and anxious to promote the radical cause in Ireland, Tone recrossed the Atlantic and arrived in Paris in February 1796. He urged the French **Directory** to send a military force to Ireland, became an officer in the French army, and won the support of General Hoche. Tone accompanied the French invasion force, led by Hoche, that reached Bantry Bay in December 1796. The French found no Irish support there, and battered by storms, the fleet limped home with heavy losses. The French soon had other military priorities, Hoche died in September 1797, and Tone's influence was weakened by the petty intrigues in France of James Napper Tandy and other United Irishmen.

In June 1798 Tone learned that the United Irishmen had rebelled in Ireland. The French hastily tried to send military support, but it was too little and too late. Tone felt duty bound to accompany the small force led by General Hardy. This force was intercepted at sea off the northern coast of Ireland and Tone was captured. He was tried by court martial for treason. Although an officer in the French army, he was sentenced to die by hanging rather than by firing squad. To avoid this fate, he cut his throat and died a few days later, on November 10, 1798. Tone had kept a journal for many years and had more recently begun his autobiography. These were published in the United States by his son in 1826. It would be many years, however, before Tone became the most important inspiration for modern Irish **nationalism** and **republicanism**. His grave at Bodenstown has long been a place of pilgrimage.

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H. T. DICKINSON

## Tories

Derived from the Irish word *tōraidhe*, meaning “brigand,” the term “Tory” was originally applied to footloose gentry who in the 1660s preyed on Irish peasants and petty traders. It then found its way into the English political vernacular as a pejorative term for the supporters of the Duke of York, subsequently James II, during the Exclusion Crisis of 1681. Opponents of the succession of a Catholic heir to Charles II referred to Tories as “Popish thieves” of the Crown. It was increasingly used to divide the English political world into Tories and **Whigs** in place of Cavaliers and Roundheads and gained broad acceptance as a term for those whose political loyalties belonged to the church and the king. During the **American Revolution**, the term was applied generally to any colonial royalist, otherwise known as **Loyalists**.

On his accession to the throne, **George III** pronounced an end to the exclusion of Tories from high office, whereupon the Rockinghamite Whigs considered any enthusiast of either the monarch or his policies to be a Tory. British reaction to the **French Revolution** and its excesses helped to redeem Tory values, so that William **Pitt** the Younger, Wellington, and Peel were commonly deemed Tories in

the sense of heroic resistance to violent radicalism. Under Peel's leadership in the 1830s, Tories dropped their old designation in favor of the name "Conservative," to denote a party advocating continuous reform through traditional institutions and the adaptation of the monarchy, aristocracy, and established authority to a changing society.

Disraeli was the first Conservative leader to use the label "Tory" in a positive spirit and can be considered the inventor of Tory Democracy. This refers to a political style designed to convince working-class voters that their interests, soberly contemplated, lay in the reinforcement and piecemeal reform of the institutions of British government along with the preservation of the traditions of British society. To this Tory democracy added the notion that Conservatives governed not in the aristocratic interest but rather in the interest of the whole nation according to the aristocratic principle. In domestic affairs this meant that Tories could aspire to an alliance between the aristocracy and the urban working class against the "selfish" designs of middle-class capitalists. In foreign policy its patriotic component held that Tory democracy was essentially and uniquely English, upholding the liberties of a free-born people and their Empire against the alien political theories of continental ideologues and despots. *See also* Britain.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

### Toussaint l'Ouverture (1743–1803)

Toussaint l'Ouverture was a former slave in the French colony of Saint-Domingue who became a key figure in the **Haitian Revolution** and a national hero.

Known as Toussaint Bréda most of his life, Toussaint l'Ouverture was born on the Bréda plantation owned by the comte de Noé. He was the first of the Christian slave Gaou Guinou's eight children. As a teenager, Toussaint was promoted to the position of coachman, one of the more prestigious jobs a slave could obtain, and was ultimately freed in 1777. He soon married and had two sons.

Toussaint's role in the Haitian Revolution came late. In 1790, he did not support Vincent Ogé when the latter tried to convince *gens de couleur* to join his uprising. Toussaint also did not immediately join the slave uprising of August 1791 led by Boukman. Yet his participation in the Haitian Revolution would ultimately be a decisive one. In 1793 Toussaint joined the Spanish forces in Santo Domingo (the eastern portion of the island of **Hispaniola**, Saint-Domingue being to the west) and soon proved to be a capable leader, attracting thousands of troops, including one Jean-Jacques Dessalines. With his followers, Toussaint won many battles against French royalists in the north and earned the respect of his Spanish allies. Toussaint unsuccessfully tried to convince the Spanish to grant freedom to all slaves, a move that he thought would facilitate their advance into Saint-Domingue. Upon hearing of the **National Convention's** 1794 decree abolishing slavery in all French colonies, Toussaint and about 4,000 followers abandoned the Spanish cause and joined French republican troops. This move had the effect of driving the Spanish armies back across the border into their colony of Santo Domingo, and in 1795

**Spain** signed a treaty with **France** ceding Santo Domingo. **Britain**, meanwhile, became preoccupied with its own slave rebellion in **Jamaica** and pulled out of Saint-Domingue in 1798.

With foreign enemies now expelled from the colony, Toussaint's next task was to set about rebuilding the infrastructure of Saint-Domingue, which involved returning former slaves to their plantations despite their service to his cause. By 1800 Toussaint was the unofficial ruler of the colony, having either removed French officials or forced their cooperation. Now that he effectively ruled Saint-Domingue, Toussaint turned his attention to Santo Domingo despite the objections of the **First Consul, Napoleon**. Once this was achieved, Toussaint became the island's self-appointed governor-general for life and drew up a constitution. Yet by this point, Napoleon had had enough of Toussaint's pretensions and made plans to invade the island, remove Toussaint from power, and return Saint-Domingue to its former position as a profitable French colony. French forces invaded the island in 1802 under General Leclerc, captured Toussaint, and sent him back to France to be imprisoned at Fort-de-Joux. Rather than publicly execute the leader, Napoleon instead chose to let him die in prison of cold and starvation. Toussaint died on April 7, 1803. *See also* French Revolution; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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MARGARET COOK ANDERSEN

### Townshend, Charles (1725–1767)

The British statesman Charles Townshend was born on August 29, 1725. After receiving an education in Leiden and Oxford, he entered the House of Commons as the member from Great Yarmouth in 1747. Although a man of ability and a brilliant orator, he lacked foresight in colonial affairs, which would have disastrous consequences. Beginning his career in government as a member of the Board of Trade, he held a succession of important posts, including first lord of the admiralty (1754), secretary at war during part of the Seven Years' War (1761–1762), president of the Board of Trade, (1763–1765) and chancellor of the exchequer (1766–1767).

Townshend's policy of imposing heavy taxes to be applied for the defense of the American colonies and for the salaries of royal officials provoked a furious reaction from colonists. Resentment already existed due to Townshend's efforts to suspend the **New York** legislature and to post resident commissioners of customs. The series of measures known as **Townshend Acts** (1767) imposed a whole series of import duties on tea, paper, glass, and paint. Townshend was of the view that the colonists would not object to such taxes, which would be levied at the ports. He was badly mistaken, and the merchants of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia all retaliated with a boycott of British goods. Townshend's policies played an important part in the growing atmosphere of discontent among the American colonists in the decade prior to the **American Revolution**. Townshend, himself, however, would not live to witness the colonists' full reaction to his policies, for he died suddenly on September 4, 1767. *See also* Coercive Acts.



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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Townshend Acts (1767)

The Townshend Acts were a series of measures that provoked widespread opposition in the American colonies and contributed to the campaign for autonomy that culminated in the **American Revolution**. The acts imposed taxes on everyday imported goods such as paper, glass, and tea and instituted changes in the colonial administration. The measures were named after the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles **Townshend**.

Townshend developed the acts as a means to accomplish several objectives and overcome problems with the contemporary system of colonial administration. British officials in the Americas were paid by the colonial legislatures, and those assemblies had withheld salaries on occasion as a means of protesting unpopular measures. Under the Townshend Acts, colonial officials were to be paid directly by the revenues generated from the taxes. It was believed that this would make the governors and other officers independent of the colonial legislatures and therefore better able to enforce unpopular laws and taxes. The new revenues were also seen as a way to offset the cost of British garrisons stationed in the colonies. During debates on the acts, many in **Parliament** endorsed the concept that the colonies should pay for their own defense. Finally, the acts aimed to improve the collection of customs dues, tariffs, and other taxes throughout the colonies. To do so, a new board of customs was created in Boston to oversee customs collections and three admiralty courts were established to prosecute suspected smugglers. These courts operated without juries. In addition, blank search warrants, known as writs of assistance, were authorized. These allowed the search and seizure of colonial property and ships without a magistrate's warrant.

The acts created a public furor and helped unite the disparate interests within the colonies. Merchants, business owners, and farmers opposed the new taxes, while the political elite perceived the acts as an attack on the legitimate rights of the colonists. A range of means were used to protest. Colonial legislatures and other groups drafted petitions to Parliament and the king, and an economic boycott was undertaken throughout the colonies. Smuggling, already widely practiced, became a common and accepted method to evading the acts. There were also riots and attacks on individual tax collectors. A growing number of colonists rejected the authority of Parliament to tax the colonies, unless the 13 colonies were granted representation in the British legislature.

The economic boycott significantly affected British commercial firms, who subsequently joined the colonists in opposition to the measures. Faced with opposition at home and in the colonies, Parliament repealed most of the taxes on March 5, 1770. The tax on tea was left in place since it provided the most revenue and served as a signal that Parliament maintained the right to tax the colonies. The continuing tea tax remained relatively uncontroversial until 1773, when the import duty on British tea was removed in an attempt to entice the colonists to purchase tea from

the East India Company. This measure backfired and led to renew anti-British sentiment. *See also* Boston Port Act; Boston Tea Party; Committee of Secret Correspondence; Stamp Act; Stamp Act Congress.

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TOM LANSFORD

### **Trumbull, Jonathan (1710–1785)**

Born in eastern **Connecticut** (which served as the base of his political support), Jonathan Trumbull went to Harvard to become a minister, though by his early twenties he had entered the family business. Entering colonial politics at the same time, he was elected to the Connecticut Assembly in 1733. For the next 50 years, Trumbull served the colony and later the state as legislator, militia officer, judge, and governor.

Trumbull became the assistant governor (1766) and three years later succeeded as governor of Connecticut, a position he held throughout the **American Revolutionary War** and after (until 1784). Trumbull was thus the last colonial governor of Connecticut, and its first state governor. He was a member of the Connecticut **Sons of Liberty** in the years leading up to the Revolution.

Constitutionally, Trumbull's governorship was interesting. As was the case in many new states, the executive branch was kept deliberately weak by the terms of the new state constitution. In Trumbull's case, however, this limitation was partly balanced by a special set of powers granted to manage the war effort. This power was significant not only to the state but to the American war effort as a whole. With the exception of defending itself against British raids in 1777, 1779, and 1781, Connecticut's role was primarily that of supplier to the **Continental Army**. Connecticut probably provided more than half the supplies, especially of food, that reached George **Washington's** army.

Trumbull was not a political theorist. His major contribution was as an organizer and manager who provided logistical support for the war effort. He retired from office in 1784, having become increasingly unpopular as the war drew to a close. There were some accusations that he was personally profiting from the war effort and, despite his support of the Revolution, was more conservative politically than many in his constituency. He died the following year. *See also* American Revolution; Constitutions, American State.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### **Tryon, William (1729–1788)**

A career soldier, William Tryon was appointed **North Carolina's** lieutenant governor in 1764 and became governor the following year. Tryon governed a colony

divided not only by its reaction to Crown policy but also by geographical, social, and economic factors. North Carolina's western population was isolated and lacked political power compared with that of the east. It also resented government corruption, specifically the collection by local sheriffs of taxes that never went to the government. This opposition crystallized in the late 1760s in the form of the Regulator movement, which Tryon smashed in 1771 at the Battle of Alamance Creek.

Immediately after this battle, Tryon moved to **New York**, where he had been named royal governor. In New York, he stood not only for the Crown's prerogatives but for New York's claims to the Hampshire grants, a region later to become Vermont. On his return to New York City in 1776, Tryon discovered that his authority was undermined by Howe's imposition of martial law upon his taking control of that city. As a major general, Tryon led raids into **Connecticut** in 1777 and 1779. Returning to **Britain** in 1780, he was later promoted to lieutenant general and died in 1788.

Tryon was not a philosopher of government, but a practitioner, and was bound to maintaining the established order. Despite a reputation established during the Regulator uprising in western North Carolina and his Connecticut raids, he was fair minded with a sense of justice, as shown by his attempts to resolve some Regulator grievances even as he was putting down their rebellion. *See also* American Revolution; American Revolutionary War.

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ROBERT N. STACY

### **Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques, Baron de L'Aulne (1727–1781)**

The mantra of the eighteenth century was the improvement of the political and social order through a new vision; the French economist Turgot was a notable figure in this movement, known as the **Enlightenment**. Turgot was born in Paris on May 10, 1727, to aristocratic parents, Michel-Etienne Turgot and Madeleine Françoise Martineauand. Having shown a flair for writing during his days at the Sorbonne, Turgot authored numerous treatises on political economy, and his contributions to the *Encyclopédie* were praised by various **philosophes**. Turgot became a government administrator in 1752.

An advocate of the principle of *laissez faire, laissez passer* (live and let live), Turgot subscribed to the thought of the **Physiocrats**, led by François Quesnay (1694–1774). This free-market school criticized the prevailing doctrine of mercantilism by which the state controlled the nation's trade.

As the finance minister (1774–1776), Turgot set an agenda of economic reform through his six edicts, which called for the abolition of monopolies, the free movement of grain, the slashing of governmental expenditure, improvements to the taxation system, and other reforms. He was, however, bitterly opposed by vested interests and resigned in disgust. Turgot devoted the rest of his life to scholarly pursuits. He died on March 20, 1781, his prophesy that **France** would experience radical revolution rather than gradual and peaceful reform proving entirely correct. *See also* Ancien Régime; Louis XVI.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## **22 Prairial, Law of**

*See* Law of 22 Prairial

# U

## Ultramontanism

Ultramontanism was the name bestowed upon nineteenth-century supporters of a centralized monarchical **papacy** in the Roman Catholic Church. The name “ultramontane” (*ultra montes*) is somewhat xenophobic in origin, in that the French and the Germans both used it in a derogatory way to refer to the Roman pontiff as a foreign “ruler beyond the mountains.”

Revolutionary-era ultramontanism originated in the writings of Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854), who sought to replace the discredited movements of **Gallicanism** (those French Catholics who sided with the anti-Christian revolutionary leadership) and their liberal counterparts, the Jansenists (who opposed the Jesuits and sought state sovereignty over the church).

Repulsed by the **anti-clericalism** of eighteenth-century revolutionaries (embodied in the **nationalism** of France’s **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** and the confiscation of church property), Europe’s Catholic faithful initially believed that **Napoleon’s** rise to power in 1799 and his **Concordat** of 1801 signaled an end to the scourge of revolution. Their optimism was not long lived however, as his authoritarian regime retained state control of the church and its servants. Such subversion and defiance of papal authority made the clergy Gallican by law and ultramontane in spirit.

The unifying impetus of the ultramontane movement came with **Pius VII’s** arrest by Napoleon in 1808. Pius’s open defiance of the emperor inspired conservative Catholics throughout Europe to rally around his anti-state cause. Their enthusiasm for the pope deepened upon his release from imprisonment in 1814, when he revived the long-banned defenders of the papacy, the Jesuits. Pius’s ordeal solidified ultramontanist convictions in the validity of separating the spheres of church and state. The ultramontanes believed that the state had authority in temporal matters alone, and the papacy infallible authority in ecclesiastic matters.

Though in time Lamennais fell out with the church, his movement continued, spreading throughout Europe during the course of the nineteenth century. In **Britain** ultramontane Catholics became increasingly evangelical, while in Germany, Catholic faithful openly resisted the antireligious statism of Bismarck’s Kulturkampf. Ultramontanism’s greatest triumphs occurred in the second half of the nineteenth

century with Pius IX's 1864 encyclical, "The Syllabus of Errors," and the 1870 declaration by the First Vatican Council of papal infallibility.

Ultimately, ultramontanism did not restore Christianity to its pre-revolutionary level of influence in the affairs of state, nor did it enable the church to maintain its influence over the masses. While the ultramontanes continue to reenergize many of the faithful who looked upon the dead clergy of the French Revolution as martyrs of Enlightenment terror, the church's position in Europe remains greatly diminished. *See also* Abolition of the Catholic Cult; Anti-Clericalism; Religion.

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PETER R. MCGUIRE

## Ultras

The ultras, or ultraroyalists, were aristocratic reactionaries opposed to the ideologies of the **French Revolution**. Following the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in **France** after the fall of **Napoleon** in 1814, and again in 1815 following his return from Elba, an extremist faction of royalists desired the elimination of revolutionary-era reforms and the purge of Bonapartists. Some of the ultras were **émigrés**, but most were members of the rural aristocracy. Among the ultras were members of the Chevaliers de la Foi, a secret society instrumental in bringing about the Restoration and the **White Terror**. Ultras were often militant and inflexible, believing any compromise with the ideals of the French Revolution betrayed their principles and those of their class. During the reign of **Louis XVIII**, they turned to the comte d'**Artois** (later Charles X) as a symbol of hope.

After 1815, the ultras swept the national elections to dominate the Chamber of Deputies, creating a tensioned relationship among the king, his moderate royalist ministers, and the ultra-dominated Chamber. The ultras supported universal manhood suffrage under the assumption that the common man was more loyal to the aristocracy and tradition, while the wealthier bourgeoisie had become corrupted by un-French ideas. In 1816, Louis dissolved the Chamber, paving the way for more moderates in the legislature. Following the assassination in 1820 of the duc de Berry, the son of the comte d'**Artois**, the ultras dominated the French government for much of the decade, falling from power after the July Revolution of 1830.

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ERIC MARTONE

## United Irishmen

*See* Society of United Irishmen

## United Kingdom of the Netherlands

*See* Netherlands, United Kingdom of the

## United States Congress

*See* Congress (United States)

## United States Constitution

The United States Constitution (drafted in 1787 and ratified in 1789) is the oldest written constitution still in use in the contemporary world. The 1787 Constitution was the American revolutionaries' second try at establishing a workable scheme of government among the 13 colonies after their war of independence with **Britain**. Although the text of the Constitution has undergone significant revision and amendment in the three intervening centuries since its adoption, its main concepts endure. Debates surrounding the strengths and weaknesses of the United States Constitution have occasioned some of the greatest political theorizing in the Anglo-American tradition.

Originally motivated by the shortcomings of the **Articles of Confederation** of 1777, which had united 13 independent colonies into a loose and unwieldy confederation, representatives from five states met in Annapolis, **Maryland**, in September of 1786 to discuss ways of strengthening the Articles. Realizing that what was called for was not amendment so much as a major overhaul, the representatives made the decision to invite delegates from each of the 13 states to convene in May 1787 in Philadelphia to discuss revisions to the Articles. Seventy-four delegates were chosen by the legislatures of 12 states (**Rhode Island** declined to participate), but only fifty-five of these delegates actually bothered to attend the Philadelphia Convention. Among the participants were such luminaries of the American revolutionary era as Benjamin **Franklin** and George **Washington**, whose presence served to give an air of authority to the proceedings. Among those who did the most to shape the document and influence the debates were James **Madison**, Edmund **Randolph**, and George **Mason** from **Virginia**; **Pennsylvania**'s Gouverneur **Morris** and James **Wilson**; Alexander **Hamilton** from **New York**; Elbridge Gerry and Rufus **King** from **Massachusetts**; William **Paterson** from **New Jersey**; and Charles **Pinckney** from **Connecticut**. Noteworthy nonparticipants included John **Hancock**, Samuel **Adams**, and Patrick **Henry**, who famously complained after the fact that he had "smelled a rat." More than any other single figure, James Madison is acknowledged as the driving force behind the design and ultimate ratification of the Constitution, even if the Constitution as it evolved through the debates did not conform perfectly to his ideal.

The original charge of the Philadelphia Convention was to revise the Articles of Confederation, but the decision was quickly made to scrap the flawed Articles and draft an entirely new constitution. The architecture of this new constitution was debated vigorously and exhaustively through the hot Philadelphia summer of 1787. The final version was reported to the public on September 17, 1787, and submitted to the states for ratification. After fierce debate in the states, it was approved by the requisite 9 of 13 states on June 21, 1788, and took effect on March 4, 1789. The Philadelphia Convention operated in secrecy, and no official tally of votes or record of the

debates was kept. Virtually all of what is known about the controversies and debates that shaped the Constitution is drawn from copious notes taken unofficially by James Madison and recorded each evening after the day's debates had ended. These were first published posthumously in 1840 as *Notes of the Debates in the Federal Convention*.

Debate among the delegates centered on the following issues. First was the question of how power was to be balanced between large and small states. Delegates from small states argued that a scheme of proportional representation based on population would dilute their influence. Conversely, large states worried that they would be disadvantaged vis-à-vis the small states if each state had equal representation regardless of its size or population. The Great Compromise was to allocate seats proportionally in the lower **House of Representatives** based on the population of the state in question, with every state, regardless of its size, being guaranteed at least one representative. The upper legislature or **Senate** was to be composed of two senators from each state regardless of its size. The so-called Connecticut Compromise between the New Jersey Plan and the Virginia Plan was crucial to reaching an equitable balance of power between small and large states. Without this compromise, the Convention would have concluded quickly and in failure.

The second and more daunting controversy was the constitutional status of slavery in the new union. Southern states insisted on guarantees that northern states would not move to outlaw slavery or the slave trade once the Constitution was approved, resulting in the 1808 sunset clause inserted in Section 9 of Article 1. Further, the original compromise document tacitly condoned the existence of slavery by providing that each person held in bondage would count for three-fifths of a white citizen for purposes of determining each state's population and calculating representation in the House of Representatives; that slaves from one state could not be relieved of their servitude by the acts of any other state; and that individuals held in bondage who escaped to another state must be returned to their rightful owners. These tacit sanctions of slavery were enough to reassure southerners that their interests would not be sacrificed to the North, but they proved galvanizing in the nineteenth century. Apologists for slavery pointed to these provisions in support of a constitutional right to own slaves and the denial of **citizenship** to blacks, whereas critics like Abraham Lincoln lamented the practical political necessities that made the original Constitution a morally flawed document.

The third significant controversy was over the relative balance of power between the 13 original state governments and the new, more powerful federal government. Many delegates were wary of concentrating such extensive powers in the hands of a centralized government. They (and later Anti-Federalist opponents of the Constitution's ratification) argued that the new federal government effectively robbed states and local governments of their most significant prerogatives and liberties. Other Federalist defenders of the Constitution such as Alexander Hamilton and James Madison argued that the failings of the Articles of Confederation demonstrated clearly that the new nation would never be secure, powerful, and affluent without a strong centralized government and a vigorous executive power.

More fundamentally, the United States Constitution bears the imprint of disparate historical precursors and intellectual traditions. As a blueprint of American government, the Constitution upholds the traditional doctrine of the separation of powers and checks and balances implicit in the British system and defended in the writings of William **Blackstone**, **Montesquieu**, and other commentators.



This shapes the division of the federal government into executive, legislative, and judicial branches, each endowed with some unique powers and checks on the other branches: for example, the presidential power to veto laws passed by **Congress**, the senatorial prerogative of presiding over impeachment proceedings against the president, and the **Supreme Court's** ability to declare laws unconstitutional. Following in the tradition of classical liberal thinkers like John **Locke** and David **Hume**, these checks and balances by separate powers or branches are calculated to secure the fundamental rights of individuals. Likewise, concerns with vigilance and wariness about centralizing power in any one area bear the imprimatur of classical **republicanism**, the determination to prevent corruption and maintain public spiritedness. The Constitution's justification of executive power seems to owe something to the Machiavellian ideal of a vigorous executive, even as the office of the American presidency itself was conceived along the lines of the executive power in some of the extant state constitutions, particularly that of New York. More generally, the Framers of the Constitution drew upon the collective wisdom not only of the British tradition of limited government and the idea of the rights of British subjects but the uniquely American experience of constitution writing, both successful and unsuccessful, in the colonies and states.

Vigorous debates over the ratification of the proposed constitution took place throughout the states after it was unveiled in September 1787. Exchanges between Federalist supporters of the Constitution and their Anti-Federalist opponents continued in earnest through the winter and into the following spring of 1788. The Federalists argued persuasively for a solid and durable union between the states, which they contended was impossible under the Articles of Confederation, or indeed any other kind of confederation. Notable Anti-Federalists like Richard Henry **Lee**, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and Melancton Smith objected to the new constitution on a variety of grounds. They feared that this new centralized government could easily become tyrannical. They doubted the appropriateness of a single uniform legislation for parts of the United States as different as Puritan New England and the slave-owning South. They appealed to the tradition of classical republicanism premised on small, face-to-face, self-governing communities and doubted that republican government could ever successfully be extended to an orbit as large as an entire continent. They further complained that many of the Constitution's provisions had an aristocratic or antidemocratic bias. Perhaps the most definitive explication of the Constitution's rationale responding to these and other criticisms was put forward by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John **Jay** in their 85 papers authored under the pseudonym "Publius" and published in New York newspapers throughout the fall and winter of 1787–1788. These were subsequently collected and published in book form in 1788 as *The Federalist* in two volumes. The work became an instant classic and is still widely regarded as the single most authoritative interpretation of the Constitution's original intent and workings.

The Constitution of 1787 is remarkably unceremonious and concise. While the preamble speaks broadly of aspirations "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity," it is conspicuously devoid of reference to abstract principles or ideals. As originally drafted and unamended, the United States Constitution consists of seven separate articles, or sections.

The first article describes the legislative branch, which consists of a bicameral legislature or Congress. This Congress is divided between an upper house, or Senate, composed of two representatives from each of the states, who serve six-year terms, and a lower House of Representatives, the members of which serve two-year terms and are elected popularly from districts within each of the states based on population. The article specifies the requisite age and qualifications for representatives to be elected to the House and Senate, respectively, as well as the specific powers delegated to each of the two legislative bodies. These include the power to initiate bills of revenue in the House, and the power to try impeachments in the Senate. Among those powers shared by both houses of Congress are the power to borrow money, regulate commerce, declare war, and make all laws “necessary and proper” for the execution of their appointed tasks.

The second article pertains to the executive power of the president. The powers of the president consist of the power to serve as commander and chief of the armed forces, to issue pardons, and to make treaties and appoint ambassadors and judges with the concurrence of the Senate. The president is entrusted with the executive authority to uphold and defend the Constitution. Perhaps the most significant power outlined is that of vetoing laws passed by Congress, a veto that can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of both the House and the Senate.

The third article outlines a federal judiciary branch appointed by the president with the concurrence of the Senate, and entrusted with the power to review laws passed by the legislative branch. Justices of the Supreme Court hold their positions for life, subject to good behavior. The article further specifies the kinds of cases over which federal courts have jurisdiction: namely, those in which the United States is a party, those between the United States and other nations, those between different states, or those between citizens of different states. The crime of treason is also defined, and it is stipulated that no person can be convicted of treason without the testimony of two corroborating witnesses or a confession in an open court.

The fourth article describes relations between the states. It provides for “full faith and credit” between the official acts of the states and establishes that citizens of one state are entitled to equal protection by the laws of other states. It also establishes provisions by which new states can be admitted into the Union and provides for the federal government’s rule over unincorporated territories. The fifth article details the process by which the Constitution might be amended in the future. Amendments may be passed with a two-thirds majority in both of the houses of Congress and must be approved by three-fourths of the states in order to take effect. The sixth article guarantees that the new federal government will assume the debts previously incurred by the states and under the Articles of Confederation. The seventh article briefly outlines the process according to which the Constitution itself must be ratified.

The remainder of the text of the Constitution consists of a series of amendments appended to the original text of the document. The first 10 amendments are known collectively as the **Bill of Rights**. Initially drafted by James Madison in 1789, the Bill of Rights was part of a compromise worked out between Federalist supporters and Anti-Federalist opponents of the Constitution. The condition that these amendments would be passed immediately was a key point in overcoming opposition to the Constitution’s ratification, particularly in divided states like Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York, which included such conditional language in their ratification instruments. The American Bill of Rights incorporated ideas from George Mason’s 1776 Virginia

Declaration of Rights, the 1689 English Bill of Rights, and the Magna Carta. Many of the Constitution's defenders, including Alexander Hamilton, argued not only that a bill of rights was unnecessary given the strictly delimited powers outlined in the Constitution's main articles, but that a bill of rights might at some point in the future be interpreted to mean that these and only these liberties (and not some others heretofore unspecified) were secured to the people or the states. Others suspicious of the new and more extensive powers given to the federal government were only inclined to support the Constitution with the understanding that a bill of rights would be immediately appended to it. These first 10 amendments provide for most of the securities and civil liberties that citizens of the United States have come to think of as basic rights and privileges. They were ratified by the requisite three-fourths of the states and incorporated into the original Constitution on December 15, 1791.

The First Amendment provides for religious liberty and freedom of expression, prohibiting the establishment of an official **religion** and guaranteeing free speech, petition, and assembly, and freedom of the press. The Second Amendment provides for state militias and a right to keep and bear arms. The Third Amendment prohibits the government from compelling individuals to quarter soldiers in their private homes. The Fourth Amendment secures their homes and property from unreasonable search, seizure, or inspection without probable cause or a legal warrant. The Fifth Amendment provides legal rights of due process, including grand juries, and prohibits double jeopardy, forced confessions, or takings. The Sixth Amendment guarantees defendants a speedy public trial, the right to be confronted by witnesses, and legal counsel. The Seventh Amendment provides for trial by jury. The Eighth Amendment secures a right of bail and forbids cruel and unusual punishments. The Ninth Amendment stipulates clearly that the enumeration of these specific rights does not imply that there are no other significant rights retained by the people. The Tenth Amendment specifies that those powers not specifically delegated to the new federal government are to be retained by the states or the people at large.

Of the subsequent amendments, the following are of the most enduring significance. The so-called Civil War Amendments (1865–1870) were originally proposed to resolve the uncertain constitutional status of freed African American slaves after the conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) once and for all unambiguously abolished slavery, which had been tacitly sanctioned in the original 1787 Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) guaranteed citizenship to the newly freed slaves, reversing the Supreme Court decision of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), which had ruled that freed blacks could never become United States citizens. This amendment also contained several other provisions whose significance would grow in light of subsequent legal decisions. Most notably, it formally established the principle of birthright citizenship (*jus soli*) and made the constitutional liberties enumerated in the Bill of Rights enforceable for the first time against encroachment by the states. As it has been subsequently interpreted by the Supreme Court, this provision more than any other has been credited with once and for all tipping the balance of the United States toward a strong centralized government and stripping states and localities of many of the regulatory powers they previously enjoyed. The Fourteenth Amendment's provisions of due process and equal protection became important reference points for civil rights in twentieth-century jurisprudence. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) stipulated that freed slaves should be guaranteed the right to vote.

Other major democratizing amendments followed in the twentieth century. The Sixteenth Amendment (1913) provided for a graduated federal income tax. The Seventeenth Amendment (1913) transferred the power of electing senators from the state legislatures to the people of the states at large. The Eighteenth Amendment (1919) prohibited the production, sale, and importation of alcohol (later repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933). The Nineteenth Amendment finally and only belatedly secured the right to vote for women in 1920. In 1951 the Twenty-second Amendment limited the president to two terms in office of four years each. The Twenty-sixth Amendment secured the right to vote for all citizens age 18 and older. All told, 27 amendments have been made to the Constitution over the course of its history. *See also* Constitutional Convention; Constitutions, American State; The Federalist Papers; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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RICHARD BOYD

## **United States Supreme Court**

*See* Supreme Court (United States)

# V

## Valmy, Battle of (1792)

Fought approximately 100 miles from Paris on September 20, 1792, the Battle of Valmy ranks low in importance in a strict military sense—for it constituted little more than a cannonade between the opposing sides—yet had decisive political repercussions for Europe. As the engagement involved, on one hand, a French revolutionary force consisting of volunteers and recruits called up by the nation rather than the king and, on the other, the professional forces of an absolutist regime, Valmy represents a crossroads in military history between the formal style of warfare practiced by eighteenth-century armies and the more innovative form adopted by the new armies of revolution.

In September 1792, the French Army of the Center under General François Kellermann linked up with the Army of the North under General Charles Dumouriez, bringing their combined strength to 36,000 men and 40 guns, opposed by 34,000 Prussians and 36 guns under the Duke of Brunswick, who sought to capture Paris and thus end the Revolution and restore the Bourbon dynasty in France.

After several hours' exchange of artillery fire and a hesitant Prussian advance, Brunswick chose to withdraw east, thus providing the **French Revolution** with a new lease on life. As the Allies did not enter Paris for another 22 years—and in the interim the armies of revolutionary, and later Napoleonic, France would conquer much of Europe, including the Low Countries, all of Germany, the whole of mainland **Italy**, and Switzerland—the decisive quality ascribed to Valmy is well justified. *See also* French Revolutionary Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

### Varennes, Flight to (1791)

On June 21, 1791, **Louis XVI** and his family, disguised as bourgeois travelers, were stopped in the French border town of Varennes while fleeing Paris. The king's failed attempt at escape from **France** would eventually exert a powerful destabilizing influence on French revolutionary politics.

Louis's decision to flee resulted from his distaste for the Revolution combined with mounting threats to his family, such as the popular march on Versailles during the **October Days**. Louis intended to flee to France's northeast border and rendezvous with a sympathetic general. In the end, the plan failed due to repeated delays as well as the king's ineptness at subterfuge. Indeed, Louis was recognized in Sainte-Menehould by a postmaster who rode ahead of the king's procession and organized his detention in Varennes. Soon after, Louis was forced to return to Paris.

News of Louis's flight stunned most Frenchmen and unleashed a wave of anti-monarchical, pro-republican sentiment. Portraits of the king disappeared from Parisian homes and businesses and were replaced by caricatures of "Louis the Pig." Popular Parisian societies like the **Cordeliers Club** called for Louis to be put on trial. The **National Assembly**, however, had nearly finished penning a monarchical constitution, and consequently most deputies were anxious to keep Louis in power. Claiming that Louis had been kidnapped, they absolved him from blame, and when Parisian radicals demonstrated against Louis on the Champs de Mars on July 17, **National Guard** troops opened fire to disperse the radical mob.

Although popular radicalism was temporarily checked, the king's reputation never recovered. Following a series of military defeats in 1792, Louis was forcibly deposed by a popular insurrection on August 10 and was executed five months later. In addition, the flight to Varennes exacerbated the mounting climate of paranoia and distrust that fueled the fratricidal violence of the **Reign of Terror**. *See also* Abolition of the Monarchy; Emigrés; French Revolution; Marie Antoinette.

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BENJAMIN REILLY

### Vendéan Rebellion (1793–1796)

The Vendéan rebellion was a series of episodic revolts from 1793 to 1796 in the Vendée region in western **France** against the French revolutionary government. The poorly trained Vendéan peasants, led predominantly by aristocrats, scored victories over the **National Guard**, yet the regular army slaughtered the rebels, who reverted to guerilla tactics. Such methods invoked atrocities on the part of the republican army, in turn prompting the rebels to inflict cruelties on government soldiers.

The western French peasantry's hostility emanated from resistance to the clergy's secularization, taxation, and military conscription. The oath of November 1790 forcing clergy to swear allegiance to the government compelled those opposed to the policy to oppose the Revolution. The church was the uniting force for scattered rural communities, serving as a social center and symbol of identity. The refusal to accept

the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy** was extreme in insurrectionary regions. A high proportion of the western clergy originated from the countryside. The constitutional clergy and government-appointed officials were regarded as intruders. Dechristianizing efforts in 1793 and 1794 threatened rural cultural continuity. Thus, a cultural dichotomy developed in western France between anti-clerical, radical urban society and the more conservative countryside.

Revolutionary reforms did not satisfy peasant grievances and exacerbated the peasants' preexisting hostility to the bourgeoisie in the Vendée. Peasants desired an amelioration of their poverty, reforms to the seigneurial system and the tithe, more equitable taxation, and the abolition of military service. Seigneurial dues were light in western France; the pressing matter was the tithe. While suppressed in April 1790, a December decree allowed its addition to rents, causing tenants to be worse off than they were under the **ancien régime**. Western France had a history of resistance to conscription, and government efforts to raise 300,000 troops in February 1793 formed the immediate cause of the rebellion, while efforts to supply the army with rural provisions exacerbated the situation.

Local Vendéan anti-revolutionary parties united with outside aristocrats to form a counterrevolutionary rebellion. Most rebels from the **nobility** were not fervent royalists, but moderates dissatisfied with the Revolution. Popular royalism was extremely different from the form espoused by the **émigrés**. Indeed, some émigrés who joined the peasant rebels were contemptuous of their newly found allies; likewise, many peasants developed contempt for their new aristocratic supporters.

Following the bicentennial of the **French Revolution**, debate centered on whether or not the Vendéan rebellion was truly counterrevolutionary. It has been suggested that the rebellion might be better classified as anti-revolutionary, implying an interpretation of the rebellion, and the counterrevolution as a whole as a regressive rather than a progressive phenomenon if one argues that the rebellion was directed against the Revolution and its demands rather than for the restoration of the **ancien régime**. *See also* La Chouannerie; Chouans; French Revolutionary Wars; La Roche-Jaquelein, Henri Du Vergier, Comte de.

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ERIC MARTONE

## Vendémiaire, Rising of (1795)

A royalist uprising on 13 Vendémiaire, Year IV (October 5, 1795) was suppressed by the Convention, with General **Napoleon** Bonaparte distinguishing himself in the uprising by his energy and skill in using artillery. The uprising was caused by the heavy-handed policies of the **National Convention**, which decreed on August 22 and 30 that two-thirds of the new legislature, for which an election would be soon held, must be current members of the Convention. Although the law was intended to ensure the transition between the old and new legislative bodies, it also was an explicit attempt on the part of the **Thermidorians** to remain in power and to suppress rising quasi-royalist sentiment and activity.



The quelling of the royalist rising of thirteenth Vendémiaire, Year IV (October 5, 1795). *Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.*

Ensuuing weeks saw growing agitation in the capital as the lower classes suffered from the high price of bread. Some members of the Paris **National Guard** began joining the ranks of the opposition, and there were signs of wavering loyalty among senior officers as well. In early October, General Jacques-François Menou made an unsuccessful attempt to arrest leading agitators, which only exacerbated the situation. As tensions mounted, the Convention chose Paul **Barras** to handle the situation. Barras released some **Jacobins** from prison to help him stem the royalist tide and appointed a young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, whom he knew and respected from Toulon, to command the troops.

Bonaparte's role proved to be of great consequence. As the royalist sympathizers prepared to march on the Tuileries Palace, the seat of the Convention, Bonaparte brought up artillery during the night of October 4–5 and posted troops around the palace. The vast crowds advanced on the Tuileries on October 5 but were decimated by the grapeshot and musket fire of Bonaparte's troops, who quickly dispersed them. This was the first time since the start of the Revolution that a military force was successfully employed to repress the Parisian crowds. The uprising secured the power of the Convention, which was soon after transformed into the **Directory**. Napoleon won recognition and eventual promotion to command the army of **Italy**, which served as a starting point for his remarkable career. *See also* French Revolution; Thermidorian Reaction.

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ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE



## Vergennes, Gravier, Charles, Comte de (1719–1787)

The comte de Vergennes served as France's foreign minister from 1774 until his death in 1787. His support for the rebellion of **Britain's** 13 North American colonies was crucial for American success. Starting in 1781, Vergennes played a significant role in the domestic affairs of **France** in the position of first minister to King **Louis XVI**.

Vergennes was born in the city of Dijon on December 29, 1719. He followed numerous ancestors in obtaining an education in law. In 1739, he began his diplomatic career as an assistant to the French ambassador to Portugal. His prospects of rising to the top of his profession seemed limited, since top diplomatic posts normally went to members of the country's ancient aristocratic families.

Nonetheless, Vergennes emerged as a talented, famously hardworking, and well-trained diplomat. Years of experience in Germany gave him a solid grounding in the world of international affairs, and in 1755, he received the crucial position of envoy to the court of the Ottoman Empire at Constantinople. His long tenure there appeared to end on a note of failure when he was discharged from his post in 1768. He had clashed with the aristocratic foreign minister, the duc de Choiseul, over French policy. Choiseul had also objected to Vergennes's marriage to a French woman of modest social status. His career seemed at an end.

But, in 1771, Vergennes received a new assignment as France's envoy to Stockholm. In 1774, Louis XVI, the newly crowned young king, brought him home to serve as foreign minister. The ensuing collaboration of monarch and foreign minister has led scholars to question which of the two dominated decision making. At the least, Vergennes set the range of policy choices for the king and strongly influenced the policies adopted.

The outbreak of the **American Revolution** provided Vergennes with an opportunity to strike at Britain. He wanted Paris, not London, to be the center of the European diplomatic community. He likewise considered a new war with Britain inevitable. Nonetheless, Vergennes followed a cautious policy, providing the Americans only covert military and financial assistance for more than two years. Vergennes believed that France would be best served by a long war between Britain and the rebellious American colonists, since a quick victory would encourage the victor to strike at France's empire. France formally recognized American independence and joined the war early in 1778.

Vergennes pursued his ambitious foreign policy in the face of criticism that the French government could not stand the resulting financial burden. In 1781, he assumed the informal role of first minister to the monarch. This gave him a clearer understanding of the perilous state of French finances. Acting as a moderate reformer, he tried unsuccessfully to limit expenditures by curbing the powers of individual government ministers. Vergennes died in Paris on February 13, 1787. *See also* American Revolutionary War; Franco-American Alliance.

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**Vergniaud, Pierre-Victurnien (1753–1793)**

One of the greatest orators of the **French Revolution**, Pierre-Victurnien Vergniaud, the son of a purveyor to the Limoges garrison who was ruined by exorbitant grain prices, was born in Limoges. Initially educated at home by a Jesuit, the abbé Roby, he received a scholarship from **Turgot**, a family friend, to attend the Collège de Plessis-Sorbonne in Paris to study philosophy. This was followed up with theological studies at the Sorbonne, which he gave up for the law. After studying law in Bordeaux, Vergniaud was received at the bar in 1781, the same year as Maximilien **Robespierre**. His legal career, during which he pleaded cases eloquently and dramatically, was successful. He became one of the leading lawyers of the Bordeaux Parlement.

Vergniaud's interest in literature—he wrote light verse—was shared by his future colleague Gensonné. Vergniaud, Gensonné, and other future Girondin deputies were members of a Bordeaux literary society, the Musée, which Vergniaud described as a sort of academy. Although the Musée had as its motto *Liberté et Égalité*, there was nothing revolutionary about this very respectable Old Regime Club of letters. Its members were drawn from the elite of this prosperous city: they included wealthy businessmen, barristers, and judicial officers. It was typical of the growing number of **Enlightenment**-style groups throughout **France**, and in the spirit of Enlightened toleration, both Jews and Protestants were admitted.



Pierre-Victurnien Vergniaud. Courtesy of Alexander Mikaberidze.

Vergniaud greeted the Revolution with enthusiasm. He was a captain of the local **National Guard** regiment, and in 1790, Vergniaud became president of the electoral assembly of the district of Bordeaux and was later elected to the general council of the department. He assisted in the foundation of the Bordeaux Jacobin Club with Marguerite **Guadet** and Gensonné in 1790.

Vergniaud made an eloquent speech on the death of the comte de **Mirabeau** at the Jacobins Club of Bordeaux. Before **Varennes**, he drafted several circular letters sent to municipalities throughout France. After Varennes, on July 9, 1791, he sent a letter to the **Constituent Assembly** advocating the trial of **Louis XVI** before the high court in Paris.

Vergniaud was elected to the **Legislative Assembly** on August 31, 1791, the fourth deputy out of 12, with Guadet, Gensonné, and Grangeneuve. He sat on the left. He delivered his first speech on October 25 on the subject of the **émigrés**. It was a rhetorical masterpiece. French historian Aulard has distinguished two periods in the eloquence of Vergniaud: before and after August 10. Before August 10, he spoke against the intrigues of the court, while after August 10, he railed against popular excesses. Vergniaud advocated vigorous measures against the refractory priests. He supported Jean-Pierre **Brissot**'s demand for war against **Austria**. He was elected president of the Assembly on October 30.

The themes of Vergniaud's state of the nation speech at the Assembly on July 3, 1791—the king's continual attempt to undermine the legislature's authority and Vergniaud's suspicion of Louis' connections with the counterrevolutionaries—were repeated by other Jacobin members. Reflecting the serious nature of the threats against the safety of the nation, he concluded his speech with the expression "The fatherland is in danger" (*La patrie en danger*), and he demanded the Assembly officially proclaim it. This was one of the greatest speeches of his career.

Opposed to the preparations for the insurrection of August 10, Vergniaud became involved in the negotiations with the king, drafting letters to Boze, a court painter who acted as an intermediary between the Bordeaux deputies and Louis XVI. The second letter addressed to the king by the Bordeaux deputies was written by Vergniaud and dated July 29. In it, he warned Louis of the coming insurrection. Vergniaud advised the king that in light of the present circumstances, the only way to keep his throne would be to popularize the ministry. He suggested that the king could appoint to his council four members of the Constituent Assembly.

During the insurrection of August 10, he sat in the president's chair—Merlet, the president, was absent—when Louis XVI and **Marie Antoinette** sought refuge in the Assembly. Vergniaud proposed the suspension of the king and the summoning of a **National Convention** in the midst of the insurrection.

After the **September Massacres**, he was openly opposed to the Paris Commune of August 10. The members of this Paris Commune included many future Paris deputies and future enemies of Vergniaud.

Elected to the National Convention from the department of the Gironde, Vergniaud sat on the right. He was a leading figure in the Convention until June 2, 1792, when he was proscribed. Until March 10, when there was an attempted coup against the Convention, he was one of the more conciliatory deputies, attempting to bring the two warring factions, the **Girondins** and the **Mountain**, together. He was president of the Convention on January 10–24, 1793, when deputies were voting on the fate of Louis XVI. During the king's trial, Vergniaud voted for the referendum, but for the

death sentence without reprieve. This contrasts with the position taken by many of his Girondin colleagues. He was absent for the vote on Jean-Paul **Marat's** impeachment on April 14. Once again, Vergniaud was out of step with his Girondin colleagues. Marguerite Guadet had introduced the motion to impeach Marat.

Vergniaud was proscribed on June 2, 1793, during the popular uprising that purged the Convention of a number of deputies. He was placed under house arrest along with 28 other Girondin leaders. Again, unlike many of his colleagues, Vergniaud made no attempt to flee Paris. On July 26, he was sent to La Force prison in Paris. Tried and condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, Vergniaud was executed on October 31, 1793. *See also* Jacobins; Parlements; Reign of Terror.

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LEIGH WHALEY

### Vienna, Congress of (1814–1815)

A major international conference held in the Habsburg capital from September 1814 to June 1815, the Congress of Vienna convened to consider the multifarious problems connected with the end of the **Napoleonic Wars**, particularly the political reconstruction of Europe. The principal delegates included Count **Metternich** from **Austria**; Tsar **Alexander I** of Russia and several advisors; Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington for **Britain**; King Frederick William III and Count Hardenberg for Prussia; and **Talleyrand** for **France**. Most of the important decisions were reached by the four major victorious powers, though Talleyrand managed to have France included in much of the process, not least by playing one side against the other and sowing the seeds of suspicion between states with rival claims. Naturally, practically every European state, large and small, sent a representative to plead its case respecting its borders, political claims, and commercial rights.

In the settlement reached on June 9, 1815, the Congress declared the creation of two new countries: the Kingdom of the **Netherlands**, to include Holland, **Belgium**, and Luxembourg, and a German Confederation, to comprise 39 states with tenuous links to one another and no central governing body. It also created the kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, to be ruled by the Austrian emperor. Poland was restored, though in a reduced form of its eighteenth-century self, and would be ruled by Russia. The old dynasties of a number of states were restored: **Spain**, **Naples**, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Modena. The Swiss Confederation was reestablished, and its permanent neutrality guaranteed. Austria's domains increased as a result of the annexation of Lombardy-Venetia, Dalmatia, Carniola, Salzburg, and Galicia. Prussia annexed Posen, Danzig, much of the former Kingdom of Saxony, large parts of former Westphalia, and Sweden's possessions in Pomerania. Sweden received Norway. Britain retained Malta, occupied since 1800; the island of Heligoland in the North Sea; Cape Colony in southern Africa; Ceylon; Tobago; St. Lucia; and Mauritius. The Ionian Islands were granted to Britain as a protectorate, which

remained in effect for nearly 50 years. The Congress also guaranteed the free navigation of the Rhine and the Meuse; condemned the slave trade; extended the civil rights of Jews, particularly in Germany; and established the precedent of international conferences as a diplomatic device in seeking redress and settling disputes between nations.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

## Virginia

Virginia was the leading state during the **American Revolution** and provided much of the military and political leadership for both the independence movement and the formation of the new nation. George **Washington** led the Patriot forces during the **American Revolutionary War**, while Thomas **Jefferson** was the main author of the **Declaration of Independence** (1776), and James **Madison** was principally responsible for the **United States Constitution** (1789). All three Virginians also served two terms as president of the United States. In what came to be known as the Virginia Dynasty, four of the first five American presidents were from Virginia.

### *Early History*

In the 1580s, a failed attempt was made to create an English colony on the mid-Atlantic seaboard. The territory was named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth I (popularly known as the Virgin Queen). In 1607, the first permanent English colony was established at Jamestown, Virginia, on Chesapeake Bay, by a joint-stock group, the Virginia Company. The original settlers sought gold and silver but instead found other resources, including tobacco and cotton. By 1619, Virginia exported more than 50,000 pounds of tobacco per year. The rise of tobacco and cotton led to the development of a slave economy; in the 1620s, about 1,000 slaves were imported annually. By the 1680s, slavery was common and the colony's economy was based on slavery and indentured servitude. Through the seventeenth century, more than three-quarters of the colonists in Virginia either were currently or had been in some form of servitude. The increasing reliance on slave labor during the eighteenth century led to a dramatic rise in the nonwhite population. By the 1770s, approximately 40 percent of Virginians were black. Nonetheless, like other colonies, Virginia offered a degree of social mobility unmatched in Europe.

In 1619, the colonists created a legislature, the House of Burgesses. Although the franchise remained limited throughout the colonial period, there emerged a strong tradition of democracy and representative government in the colony. Virginia remained loyal to the monarchy during the English Civil War and was granted dominion status by Charles II (1630–1685). Virginia was subsequently known as

the Old Dominion. In 1698, the capital of Virginia was moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg.

The colony grew rich on tobacco, and a planter elite emerged. The wealthy had close ties to the mother country and many maintained summer homes in London and educated their children in **Britain**. The colony became the largest and wealthiest of the 13 British colonies in North America. Although the elites maintained a strong affinity for Britain, the colonial wars of the mid-eighteenth century undermined confidence in London's administration. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), British officers ignored advice from, and looked down on, the colonial militias. This undermined confidence in the British and their ability to protect the colony. Following the war, London initiated a series of measures designed to increase revenues to pay off the debt accumulated during the war.

### *Virginia and the Prelude to Revolution*

In 1765, **Parliament** passed the **Stamp Act** in an attempt to generate new revenues by requiring all legal documents and contracts and other printed documents such as newspapers and even playing cards to bear a stamp indicating that a fee had been paid. The measure was bitterly opposed by all classes in Virginia. There were boycotts of the stamps and even attacks on tax collectors. Nevertheless, Virginia did not send a delegation to the **Stamp Act Congress** called by **Massachusetts** in 1765. Instead, the Burgesses created a committee to draft a response directly from Virginia to Parliament. The committee included political conservatives such as Peyton **Randolph**, who chaired the group, and radicals such as Patrick **Henry**. The committee drafted a compromise series of resolutions, the **Virginia Resolves**, which helped unite the disparate classes.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was followed by the imposition of the **Townshend Acts** (1767). The new import duties and enforcement measures were also met by opposition. Colonial resistance to the Townshend Acts led to the dissolution of the legislature in 1769. Tensions within the colony were briefly reduced following the appointment of John **Murray**, Earl of Dunmore, in 1770. Dunmore led the Virginia militia in a series of campaigns against Native Americans, which culminated in Lord Dunmore's War (1774). The frontier of Virginia moved westward, and Dunmore expanded Virginia's claims in the Ohio Valley.

During the war, relations between Dunmore and the legislature deteriorated quickly. Many accused him of initiating the 1774 conflict as a means of depleting the militia because of his fears of an armed rebellion. Virginia sent a delegation to the First **Continental Congress** in 1774. Because of Virginia's size and economic power, those in the other colonies who favored independence sought to bind the Old Dominion into the growing anti-British coalition. Randolph was elected president of the Congress (he resigned after a month to return to Virginia to serve as Speaker of the Burgesses). After the confrontations at **Lexington and Concord** in 1775, the Second **Continental Congress** was convened. Randolph was again elected president but died after a month in office.

The new Congress included such luminaries as Virginians Jefferson and Richard Henry **Lee**. Washington was chosen to be the military commander of the newly formed **Continental Army**. Meanwhile, Lee offered a resolution on independence. Congress adopted Lee's measure and charged Jefferson to draft a declaration of independence. The resultant Declaration of Independence (1776) declared the

13 colonies an independent nation, presented a list of grievances against the Crown, and stated the political principles of the new country.

### *The Revolutionary War*

Dunmore fled Williamsburg in 1775 to his personal estate. He attempted to quell the growing rebellion, but he only increased anti-British sentiment when he issued a proclamation in November 1775 that granted freedom to slaves if they joined the British Army. Several thousand slaves in Virginia joined the British forces. Dunmore's tactic was later used by the British throughout the colonies. Dunmore's forces were defeated at the Battle of Great Bridge on December 9, 1775. The following year he fled Virginia, which was governed throughout the remainder of the war by an elected governor and legislature. In 1776, the legislature declared its independence from Britain and proclaimed itself the Commonwealth of Virginia. The Congress debated a government for the new country and in 1781 approved the **Articles of Confederation**. The Articles created a weak central government in which the states retained a high degree of sovereignty and the majority of political power.

Virginia emerged as the leader of the southern bloc of delegates in the Congress. The northern and southern delegations differed over a range of issues, including strategy, command of the army, and the structure of the government. Patrick Henry served as the first governor of Virginia from 1776 to 1779. On June 12, 1776, the legislature unanimously approved the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which contained 16 articles designed to protect individual freedom and liberty (including freedom of **religion** and the press, and the right to a jury trial). The declaration also endorsed the separation of powers as the basis for government. The document was written by George **Mason**. The Virginia declaration served as the model for the U.S. Bill of Rights and the French **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen**.

Jefferson succeeded Henry as governor. In 1779, Jefferson crafted the Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom. The document rejected the practice of state-sponsored religion (including the use of taxes to support the state religion). It also established the principles of freedom of religious practice. The bill was not adopted until 1786, but it was the inspiration for the religious freedom components of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

In 1780, the capital of Virginia was moved to Richmond because of Williamsburg's perceived vulnerability to British attack. The British launched an offensive in the South under Lord Cornwallis and invaded Virginia in 1781. The British forces became encircled on the peninsula at **Yorktown** and Cornwallis surrendered to Washington on October 19, 1781. The siege of Yorktown was the last major land action during the Revolutionary War.

### *Virginia and the New Nation*

Following the peace treaty with Britain in 1783, disagreements over the scope and structure of the national government dominated American and Virginian politics. In an effort to keep the national government solvent, Virginia and other frontier states surrendered western territories and claims to the Congress so that the land could be sold. Lingering territorial disputes created tensions and almost led to conflict between several states. In June 1784, Virginia and **Maryland** appointed a joint body, the Mount Vernon Commission, to settle jurisdiction on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. The two states were able to settle their

differences and the Virginia government urged the creation of a stronger central government that could resolve boundary differences and other disputes among the states.

Continuing financial difficulties and the inability of the government to forge consensus in other matters led Virginia to join four other states (Delaware, **New Jersey**, **New York**, and **Pennsylvania**) at the Annapolis Convention in 1786. The delegations met to discuss reforms to the national government but concluded that more states needed to participate. They called for a follow-up conference the next year. The **Constitutional Convention** in 1787 included all the states except **Rhode Island**, and there was agreement on the need to create a new constitution.

There were sharp differences among the delegates over whether states should have equal power in a national legislature or if power should be based on population size (thereby giving larger states more influence). A compromise was proposed by the Virginians (known as the Virginia Plan). The Virginia Plan, crafted by Madison and presented by Edmund **Randolph**, called for a bicameral legislature in which the lower house would be based on population and the upper house would consist of equal representation among the states. Madison's vision also called for a separation of powers and the creation of three branches of government. The Virginia Plan formed the basis for a series of compromises that resulted in the Great Compromise and the U.S. Constitution.

Adoption of the Constitution required ratification by three-quarters, or nine, of the states. In Virginia, a faction led by Jefferson opposed the Constitution because they believed it would grant too much authority to the central government. However, leading figures such as Washington and Madison supported the Constitution. Washington's endorsement swayed many, and Virginia ratified the Constitution on June 26, 1788, on the condition that a bill of rights be added to the basic law in order to protect individual and states' rights.

In accordance with the new Constitution, Washington was elected the first president of the United States. He appointed Jefferson secretary of state. Washington left office after two terms (1789–1797) and was succeeded by John **Adams** of Massachusetts. In the election of 1800, Jefferson was elected and appointed Madison as secretary of state. Madison succeeded Jefferson in 1809 and appointed Monroe secretary of state. Monroe also followed Madison as president but was the last chief executive in the Virginia Dynasty. *See also* Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms; Declaratory Act; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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TOM LANSFORD



## Virginia Resolves (1765)

The **Virginia Resolves** were a series of five resolutions passed by the Virginia House of Burgesses (the colony's elected legislative body) on May 29, 1765. The resolutions were passed by the colonial legislature in response to the **Stamp Act**, legislation by **Parliament** that imposed a direct tax on the American colonies for the first time.

Parliament had passed the Stamp Act, which required a government stamp to be purchased from government agents for all official and many unofficial papers, including legal documents, newspapers, and playing cards, in March of 1765. The initial reaction among American colonial elites, despite previous protestations against direct taxation from London, was muted. However, in Williamsburg, Virginia, Patrick **Henry**, a 29-year-old lawyer and radical freshman legislator, wrote and introduced a set of resolutions at the end of the legislative session, when most of the older, more conservative Burgesses had gone home. The first four resolutions were not particularly controversial, as they were based on long-standing arguments of colonial politicians. They declared that the original colonial settlers, and their descendants, possessed all the rights of Englishmen; that the royal charters of the colony confirmed that; that the people of Virginia, as Englishmen, were entitled to be governed by their own legislature; and that the Virginia legislature had never forfeited their right to impose taxes on themselves.

The fifth resolution was far more controversial; it stated that only the colony's Assembly had the right to impose taxes on its own people, and that any attempt by any other body (i.e., Parliament) to do so was "illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust." After fierce debate, the resolutions passed. The next day, Patrick Henry went home, and the day after that, the conservatives forced through a vote to reconsider the final resolution.

There, the matter appeared to end. The local newspaper did not even see fit to publish an account of the resolutions, but a paper in **Rhode Island** did. In addition, the Rhode Island paper printed two additional resolves, which had not been passed by the Virginians and may not even have been debated: that the inhabitants of the colony were not bound to obey the tax law, and that anyone who supported it "shall be deemed an enemy of this his majesty's colony."

The resolves, with the additions, were then reprinted throughout the colonies and provoked reactions, not among the political elites, but among what would now be called the middle and working classes. In Boston, mobs were organized to force the agent responsible for selling the stamps to resign; his office was destroyed, his house was pillaged, and he was threatened with worse. Similar mobs forced the resignation of most of the stamp distributors throughout the colonies. By the end of 1765, the Stamp Act was effectively dead, because British authorities could not find anyone willing to sell the stamps.

The Virginia Resolves had three effects. First, they provided a cogent legal and philosophical basis for resistance to taxes imposed from London. This foundation was soon shortened to what would be called in modern parlance a bumper-sticker slogan: "No taxation without representation." Second, the first protests—or at least what appeared to be the first protests—against the Stamp Act began in the largest and richest of the North American colonies, Virginia. The Stamp Act riots, and subsequent protests against later parliamentary laws, were not just the actions of a few radicals in **Massachusetts** but represented (arguably) all the colonies.

Finally, and perhaps most important, the Virginia Resolves and the subsequent actions of the urban mobs set the pattern for the coming decade. The elites in all of the colonies became increasingly radicalized against the British government. This radicalization lent substance to the hitherto isolated radicals of Massachusetts.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

### Voltaire, François Marie (1694–1778)

Voltaire was the pseudonym of François Marie Arouet, French writer, playwright, poet, essayist, skeptic, and philosopher, and one of the leaders of the **Enlightenment**. Voltaire was also called the Dictator of Letters and used other less well-recognized pen names: Rabbi Akib; Pastor Bourn; Lord Bolingbroke; M. Mamaki, “interpreter of Oriental languages to the king of England”; Clocpitre; Cubstorf; and Jean Plokof. Voltaire was born in Paris and educated at the Jesuit College Louis-le-Grand.

Voltaire was an eighteenth-century French Enlightenment philosophe (from the Old French for philosopher). The **philosophes** generally accepted deism, emphasized toleration, and believed human reason could and would discover truth through reason, logic, knowledge, and education. Social injustice and religious authority were based in ignorance, fanaticism, and superstition. The philosophes thus believed that humanity was capable of discovering, knowing, classifying, understanding, and applying natural or empirically based truths to the betterment of humanity. For the philosophes, the time for vain speculations had ended and the time for applying the ideas of philosophical inquiry and the emerging sciences to social issues had arrived. Voltaire’s age was a time of transition from enlightenment to the application of enlightened ideas, but it was still an age ruled—or at least strongly influenced by—ignorance, superstition, and powerful entities that tolerated only narrow deviations from the established religious and political beliefs and social structures. Because open criticism of the state and church power structures in **France** was illegal, many of the philosophes, Voltaire in particular, communicated their ideas sub-rosa (under the table) through plays, novels, histories, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other types of literature. The impact of the philosophes was felt throughout French and wider European society, affecting not only the church (**Gallicanism** and Conciliarism) and rulers such as **Frederick II** of Prussia, **Catherine II** of Russia, and Maria Theresa and **Joseph II** of **Austria**, but cultural and political movements, most notably the **French Revolution**.

Voltaire advocated material prosperity for all, and though he became wealthy from his own investments and speculations, guided in part by Joseph Pâris Duverney, he was noted for his generosity. Voltaire advocated an enlightened monarchy advised by philosophes and rejected democracy in general—a French democracy in particular because he believed the masses to be ignorant and guided by superstition, and the aristocracy to be corrupt parasites who added little to nothing to the wealth and power of France. He advocated the abolition of torture and inappropriate punishments, free speech and the open exchange of ideas, and respect for human rights and freedoms, asserting that the personal liberties enjoyed by the British led to their leadership in the scientific revolution, a growing economy, and their military dominance over Louis XIV.

Although Voltaire endorsed a simple deism in his first philosophical work, entitled *For and Against* (1722), the more atheistic philosophes such as Denis **Diderot** (1713–1784), Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771), and Baron d'**Holbach** (1723–1789) openly criticized him for his temerity in rejecting the theistic God. However, he was convinced that the organized religious establishment, the French church, and Christianity served the positive purpose of being a counterbalance to the monarchy and providing some solace for the ignorant masses. Though he viewed Christianity and the God it professed as inconsistent with the moral and natural evil pervasive in the world and the French church as more interested in the maintenance of its power and wealth derived from the religious tax (tithe), his abhorrence of the church, what he called *l'infâme* (infamous thing), was based primarily on the church's intolerance—views different from the accepted dogmas. Gallicanism's rejection of papal infallibility and advocacy of the authority of the civil government over the temporal affairs of the church gave him hope.

Voltaire's tendency to mock the French aristocracy, specifically the French regent Louis Philippe, the duc d'**Orléans**, led to his imprisonment in the **Bastille** for eleven months (1717). His first play, the tragedy *Cedipe*, produced in Paris when he was only 24, was completed during that time, and it was then as well that he began his poem on Henry IV of France. This defense of religious toleration was later printed anonymously in Geneva under the title *Poem of the League* (1723). He was imprisoned again (1726) in the Bastille when he quarreled with a prominent French nobleman, the Chevalier de Rohan, but was released when he promised to leave France. Voltaire journeyed to England and remained there for more than two years, producing an enlarged *Poem of the League* published as *The Henriad* in France (1728), and writing an epic poem and a history of France's civil wars. Here he also met John **Locke**, “wisest of human beings,” and became enamored with the simplicity and tolerance of Quakerism.

Voltaire returned to Paris in 1729 and in 1731 published an historical narrative on the Swedish soldier-king Charles XII entitled *The History of Charles XII*, which compared the desolation wrought by Charles's warring to the rise of Russian civilization under Peter the Great and concluded that the warring of great men may actually further the development of civilization. This idea was present as well in his effusive *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733, in English), published in French as *Lettres philosophiques* (*Philosophical Letters*, 1734), wherein he extolled the virtues of English personal liberty, especially religious tolerance, empirical philosophy and psychology, and natural laws derived by Newtonian science in contrast with René Descartes' a priori speculations and Blaise Pascal's future heavenly fulfillment of humanity's potential. Voltaire left Paris when the *English Letters* were rightly perceived as criticizing the French political, intellectual, and ecclesiastical establishment; its publisher was imprisoned in the Bastille; the book was denounced, burned, and banned; and a warrant was issued for his arrest.

Voltaire fled to the independent duchy of Lorraine and there resided with Gabrielle Emilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, Marquise du Châtelet, in her Château de Cirey. The intense intimate and intellectual relationship that ensued provided an environment conducive to Voltaire's writing of plays, novels, tales, satires, light verses, and his *The Elements of Newton's Philosophies* (1736), which introduced at least in part Newtonian physics to France and the Continent. Voltaire slowly ingratiated himself to Versailles by traveling to Berlin in 1742–1743 and convincing the king

of Prussia to continue his alliance with the French during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and by developing friendships and investment partnerships with members and ministers of Louis XV's (1710–1774) court, as well as his mistress Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Madame de Pompadour.

Though Voltaire's play *Mahomet* was not allowed to be produced (1742) because it portrayed Islam's founder, Mohammed, as an imposter and was thereby considered blasphemous, his tragedy of the mythical Greek queen Mérope was publicly acclaimed (1743). That same year Voltaire sought membership in the French Academy on the death of Cardinal Fleury, but he was denied this position, held by a clergyman, in part due to his vilification of the French church, the Vatican, and Christianity in general. At 50 years of age Voltaire seemed more interested in position and his legacy than his earlier condemnation of the *l'infâme*, which he then sought to mollify. He slavishly complimented the cardinals and received permission to dedicate the banned *Mahomet* to Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758). After the publication of his poem (*Poème de Fontenoy*, 1745) positively describing the French victory over the British at Fontenoy during the War of the Austrian Succession, Voltaire was appointed the king's historiographer, gentleman of the king's chamber, and academician. In 1746, with the support of Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour, and Benedict XIV, Voltaire added membership in the French Academy to his membership in Britain's Royal Society and Prussia's Hall of Fame.

Voltaire accepted a standing invitation from Frederick II of Prussia to become a member of his court at Potsdam after the death of Madame du Châtelet (1749). While in residence there he wrote the *Epitome of the Age of Louis XIV*, a historical study of the period of Louis XIV (1638–1715), but the king soon tired of Voltaire's wit, satire, disputations, and interference in matters of the court. Voltaire left Prussia (1753) and moved to a Swiss château known as Les Délices just outside Geneva and acquired a house near Lausanne as well.

Voltaire's sojourn in Geneva was stormy at best. Fellow exiled Frenchman and political and social philosopher Jean-Jacques **Rousseau** resided three miles away, and though they agreed on much of what they perceived to be wrong in politics, society, and the church, they did not develop a friendship. Voltaire hosted frequent private theatrical performances at Les Délices, much to the consternation of Calvinist Genevese authorities. Rousseau allied himself with the clergy of Geneva against Voltaire, who responded by beginning a long public and private disputation with Rousseau. Voltaire further enraged Genevese Calvinist clergy when he encouraged Jean d'**Alembert** (1717–1783) to write an article ("Genève") falsely stating that the Genevese clergy had abandoned organized **religion** for d'Alembert and Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751–1765).

When an earthquake destroyed Lisbon on November 1, 1755, and killed 30,000 people, most of whom died while celebrating All Saints Day in the cathedrals and churches, Voltaire was moved to publicly speculate on the "problem of evil": how an all-powerful, all-knowing, and all-loving God could allow such natural evil to exist. He asserted that the response of the pope and the Calvinist clergy was the simple acceptance of the tragedy, the purpose of which could be known only by God, and that humanity should accept that reality. He soon published a poem entitled *The Disaster of Lisbon* (1756) and another entitled *Natural Law*, the latter seeking and failing to comprehend some all-encompassing divine and eternal plan.

He then published an *Essay on General History and on the Customs and the Character of Nations* (1756) that he had begun in 1740. This work studied the customs and morals of the history of the entire world, East and West, from the end of the Roman Empire until his own age and, using some of the same themes developed in his *The History of Charles XII*, was intended to establish that humanity was moving from barbarism to civilization. Voltaire asserted in this work a belief in a simple deistic God and railed against supernaturalism, superstition, fanaticism, and organized religion as impediments to the growth and freedom of humanity. Voltaire's deism asserted that the order of the universe indicated a designer, but the power, knowledge, and morality or immorality of the designer could not be deduced. Voltaire never asserted that humanity would or even could achieve perfection; rather he asserted that humanity would not be as bad as it was if humanity embraced knowledge, freedom, and rational thought and correlatively rejected supernaturalism, superstition, fanaticism, and organized religion. Voltaire also asserted that just as there are discoverable natural laws, such as Newton's law of gravity, that govern the universe, true ethics and justice are also governed by discoverable natural laws.

Voltaire acquired his estate, Ferney, in France, in 1758. The proximity of the estate to Geneva gave him easy access to both Switzerland and France, allowing him to flee from one country to the other depending on which authorities he had least offended at that point in time. He remained at his château in Ferney for the last 20 years of his life and was locally known as the patriarch of Ferney because of his management of his estate and the kind treatment of his tenants and employees. He imported silkworms and manufactured silk, farmed, and developed a large watch factory as well as other industries. He paid his employees well and provided refuge for those who were persecuted for political or religious reasons. He welcomed many visitors, maintained a voluminous and varied correspondence, campaigned against religious and political persecution, and sought an end to all torture. Specifically, he protested the execution of a Toulouse Huguenot named Jean Calas who was accused of murdering his eldest son in order to prevent his conversion to the Roman Catholic Church. Although Calas repeatedly affirmed his innocence, he was convicted on the basis of a confession obtained under torture on the wheel (March 10, 1762). Though it was too late for Voltaire to stop the execution, he was able to establish Calas's innocence. He was unable, however, to vindicate the 19-year-old Chevalier de La Barre after her beheading for insulting a religious procession and damaging a crucifix (July 1, 1766).

Voltaire continued to write while at Ferney. He contributed articles to d'Alembert and Diderot's *Encyclopédie* and penned perhaps his most studied work, the satirical and philosophical fantasy *Candide* (1759). *Candide* is the story of a youth burdened with the moral and natural evil that abounds in the world, evil created and allowed both by a supposedly good, loving, and all-powerful God and the church that supposedly represented that God. *Candide* is a satirical renunciation of the philosophical optimism of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), for Candide is the youthful disciple of the fictional Doctor Pangloss, who is himself a follower of Leibniz. Voltaire mocks the resolution of the "problem of evil" offered by the Catholic Church in particular and Christianity in general. Specifically, he has Doctor Pangloss parrot the words Voltaire had, on an earlier occasion, satirically attributed to Pope Benedict XIV, his French Academy benefactor, on the destruction of Lisbon, asserting that this is "the best of all possible worlds."

Voltaire published his *Philosophical Dictionary* in 1764 and enlarged it after 1770 with *Questions on the Encyclopedia*. He asserted in this work that the ideal religion is one that emphasizes morality over dogma. Though the articles contained in his *Dictionary* mainly address issues concerning the Bible and the Roman Catholic Church, he attacks some of his personal enemies and France's political establishment and institutions as well.

Voltaire also generated a number of historical works while at Ferney: *History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great* (vol. 1, 1759; vol. 2, 1763), *The Philosophy of History* (1765), and *Epitome of the Age of Louis XV* (1768).

Voltaire triumphantly returned to Paris (1778) to attend the first performance of his tragedy *Irène* after many years in the safety of Ferney. The play was well received, but he died in Paris a short time later. Voltaire had desired a Christian burial and, seeking to obtain permission from the church for such, had signed a partial retraction on those of his writings deemed derogatory of the Catholic Church, the Pope, and Catholic beliefs. The church determined that the renunciation was inadequate, and Voltaire refused to sign a broader retraction. He was therefore secretly buried without church permission at an abbey in Champagne. His remains were brought back to Paris in 1791 and buried in the Panthéon opposite Rousseau's remains. The tombs of both Voltaire and Rousseau were broken open in 1814 by a group of **ultras** (right-wing religious zealots) after the Bourbon restoration. Voltaire's remains were dumped into a garbage pit outside the city and covered with quicklime, which reduced the body to ash. It was 50 years before the loss of the remains was discovered, however; his heart and brain had been removed from his body prior to the theft. His brain was lost, but his heart remains in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

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# W

## Washington, George (1732–1799)

Commander of the **Continental Army** that helped achieve independence for the United States from **Britain**, first president of the United States of America, staunch republican, and father of the country, George Washington was born on February 22, 1732, at Pope's Creek Plantation, Westmoreland County, near present-day Colonial Beach, **Virginia**. His father, Augustine Washington, was a wealthy slaveholder and landowner who had two surviving children, Lawrence and Augustine, from his first marriage to Jane Butler. Washington's mother, with whom Augustine had five children, George being the eldest son, was Mary Ball Washington of Lancaster, Virginia. Four years after the senior Washington's death on April 23, 1743, George moved to Mount Vernon to live with his half-brother Lawrence, who became a surrogate father. This was due to the acrimonious relationship he had with his mother. He thrived at Mount Vernon; this move provided an opportunity to enter into Virginia society.

Unlike his half-brothers, George received an inexact and unfocused education. He had been tutored by a convict-slave in reading, writing, and mathematics until his father died. However, he was determined to educate himself further and learned the necessary social graces for acceptance into Virginian society by repeatedly writing out the Jesuits' *110 Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation*. He excelled at mathematics and in 1748 trained as a surveyor. Washington surveyed northern Virginia for Lawrence's father-in-law, Lord Fairfax, who owned lands in the Shenandoah Valley. Washington also helped survey and plan the town of present-day Alexandria, Virginia, and in 1749 was appointed surveyor for Culpeper County. He saved his wages, which allowed him to buy land in western Virginia.

Lawrence and Washington traveled to Barbados, hoping to cure the former's tuberculosis. Washington contracted smallpox while there. Lawrence died in 1752 shortly after returning to Virginia. Washington administered Mount Vernon as a lessee until Lawrence's wife died in 1761, when he inherited the estate. Managing the estate became his forte; he became a remarkable administrator.

The growing enmity between the French and the British was exacerbated by the issue of who controlled the Ohio Valley, which the British claimed. This conflict



General George Washington on horseback during the battle of Princeton, New Jersey, in 1777. *Library of Congress.*

eventually evolved into the French and Indian War, which initiated the more global Seven Years' War of 1756–1763.

Washington became involved in politics and in military affairs when he was made an adjutant. In April 1752, Washington was ordered to establish a military post at the forks of the Ohio River (present-day Pittsburgh) but soon realized the French were already established in the vicinity. Washington entrenched himself at a quickly constructed but inadequate fortification at Great Meadows that he named Fort Necessity. During a preemptive strike on May 28, 1754, he ambushed the French, most of whom were still sleeping. Their commander, Joseph Coulon de Villiers, sieur de Jumonville, was killed together with 10 French soldiers. Washington left the bodies to nature, allowing animals to devour the corpses.

On July 3, 1753, the French retaliated and forced Washington's surrender. His surrender paper indicated that he had assassinated Jumonville. In October 1753 Washington was sent to warn the French commander at Fort le Boeuf about ceasing their penetration of British claimed territory. His handling of the task earned him great respect.

Washington resigned at the end of 1754, not only due to his defeat by the French, but also because of his belief that the British discriminated against colonial officers at various levels. He was ambitious and wished to become a British officer but was repeatedly refused a commission by British Army officials. Not wishing to serve with a reduced rank, which was the condition imposed on him by the British, Washington served with distinction as an aide-de-camp to General Edward Braddock. At the Battle of the Monongahela on July 9, 1755, the 1,500 British and colonial American troops were ambushed and defeated by 30 French soldiers and 450 Indians. Washington demonstrated his courage when several horses were shot from under him,



his numerous layers of clothing saved him from four bullets, and he saved soldiers while Braddock and many of his British troops were killed. Washington resigned once again, in 1758, and devoted his time to Mount Vernon and his business ventures.

He married the wealthy widow of Colonel Daniel Parke Custis, 28-year-old Martha Dandridge Custis, on January 6, 1759. She already had two children, John Parke Custis and Martha Parke Custis, whom he raised as his own. The couple was happy despite the fact that Washington did not sire children of his own. Washington administered the Custis estate on behalf of the children. He also claimed land in West Virginia as bounty for his service in the French and Indian War. Mount Vernon by this time had grown to 6,500 acres with 100 slaves.

Washington believed British colonial policies were oppressive; this became evident during his service in the Virginia House of Burgesses in Williamsburg from 1759 to 1775. Washington strongly resented the **Proclamation of 1763** because it restricted western expansion and controlled Native American relations with colonials. He was enraged by the **Townshend Acts** passed by **Parliament**. Washington was instrumental in leading the boycott of British goods in 1764 as a result of the **Sugar Act**. Even though the Townshend Acts were repealed in 1770, tea was taxed, resulting in the **Boston Tea Party** in 1773. In retaliation the British passed punitive legislation. The **Coercive Acts** (known in America as the Intolerable Acts) further enraged the Americans. Washington and his fellow plantation owners also strongly disliked their continual indebtedness to London-based agents.

On August 5, 1774, Washington was elected by the Virginia Convention to attend the First **Continental Congress** in Philadelphia. On March 25, 1775, he was elected to represent Virginia at the Second **Continental Congress**, where he served on three committees. Ambitious and hoping for a military command, Washington wore his red-and-white uniform. He was voted commander-in-chief of the continental forces in a unanimous decision in June 1775.

However, being a good administrator does not equate to being an effective military leader. Washington faced numerous difficulties: his lack of military leadership experience, the shortage of adequately trained men, and the paucity of adequate supplies proved problematic. The one-year enlistment period meant many men returned home, leaving Washington with a smaller army than he required. The inability of the Continental Congress to meet his frequent financial requests also frustrated his ability to be an effective leader.

When the **American Revolution** broke out, Washington only had 14,000 troops. Fighting between British and rebel troops broke out in **Massachusetts** when in July 1775 Washington's troops surrounded the British in Boston. He occupied Dorchester Heights for eight months and forced the British to evacuate on March 17, 1776.

The **Declaration of Independence** on July 4, 1776, stirred great loyalty within the new country. Washington firmly believed in its republican tenets and illustrated by his personal involvement in the war that the Patriot cause was a worthy endeavor. He firmly believed Parliament was tyrannical, acting against the interests of the colonial population.

After his victory in Boston, Washington immediately decided to defend New York City against General Sir William Howe's superior land and sea forces. However, Washington's inexperience became evident when he occupied an untenable position and lost the Battle of Long Island on August 27, 1776, and had to retreat

into **Pennsylvania**. By the end of the year, the troops' enlistment period was nearly over and he was in desperate straits.

Washington was not a particularly brilliant military leader. He rarely formulated battle plans, he was overly cautious, and he often failed to use valuable military opportunities to defeat the enemy. He generally only fought when he knew his enemy was at a disadvantage and he knew he could win. Nevertheless, Washington crossed the frozen Delaware River and staged a strategically brilliant attack against the Hessians and captured Trenton, **New Jersey**, on December 25, 1776. He also defeated the British at Princeton, New Jersey, on January 23 of the following year. Although he had won three major battles, on September 9, 1777, Washington lost the Battle of Brandywine and on October 2 he was defeated at the Battle of Germantown—though this loss can be attributed more to bad luck than to faulty military strategy.

Washington's poorly equipped, badly fed, and inadequately dressed troops spent a long cold winter at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania. His 12,000 men built shelters that barely protected them from the cold, while unhygienic conditions caused rampant disease, by which Washington lost 2,500 men to typhus, dysentery, and pneumonia. For its part, the Continental Congress was unable to offer financial relief. But the months at Valley Forge would become a time of transformation with the arrival of a Prussian military instructor, Baron Friedrich von Steuben. He trained the troops and taught them to march in unison, to lock muskets, and to execute a bayonet charge. The Continental Army paraded on May 6, 1778, and proved that it was now a reliable fighting machine. Other foreigner adventurers joined Washington's staff, including Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Pole serving as an adjutant, and the Marquis de **Lafayette**, an officer in the French army. Financial and military support from France eventually turned the tide of the conflict in favor of the Americans.

In the course of the Conway Cabal, some members of the Continental Congress intrigued against Washington's military leadership and handling of the war by calling him a weak general, and seeking his replacement. However, the plan lacked adequate support, while Washington had countless supporters. Moreover, he was liked by his troops for his strong character and his integrity. The charges were reviewed and dismissed by the Congress on January 19, 1778.

The war reached a stalemate from 1778 until 1781 when French aid arrived. Washington spent his time planning strategy with the comte de Rochambeau about the direction of the war and coordinating allied operations in a new theater of operations: the South. A brilliantly coordinated sea and land operation against Lord Cornwallis led to the British surrender at **Yorktown** on October 19, 1781, leaving Howe penned up in **New York** with the last substantial British force left in the American colonies. Washington and his troops eventually marched into New York City on November 28, 1783, after the British evacuated the place. America had won its war of independence. The news sent shockwaves around the world, and by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

Washington returned to Mount Vernon after the war. He restored the badly neglected estate by adding new buildings and adopting various new agricultural practices and welcomed hundreds of visitors. He traveled to the Ohio Valley in 1784 along with his family, visited friends and relatives, and became involved in commercial projects and western development.

Washington had promoted a confederation of states for a number of years. The **Constitutional Convention** was held in Philadelphia in 1787 and the **United States Constitution** was drafted. Washington was unanimously elected as president. He accepted the position with some reluctance, as he had planned to stay retired at Mount Vernon. His inauguration took place on April 30, 1789, in New York City.

Washington declined the presidential salary of \$25,000. His belief that a practical executive structure would best serve the presidency consumed his time. He toured the states to gauge opinion about major issues to try to prevent divisive issues from developing. Washington effectively used his estimable administrative skills to create a smooth-running presidency.

During Washington's first term as president he was also occupied with the serious ideological conflict between the secretary of state, Thomas **Jefferson**, who advocated the right of individual states, and the secretary of the treasury, Alexander **Hamilton**, who preferred a strong central government. Never a member of any political party, Washington attempted to mediate between the two, though he himself appeared to favor Hamilton's Federalist ideas. He agreed with Hamilton that the federal government should assume the debts of the states and that a national bank should be established, and he agreed with the introduction of an excise tax. Washington also advocated a neutral foreign policy, an approach also opposed by Jefferson, whose Democratic-Republican supporters often attacked his policies.

Washington also faced problems during his second term, which began in 1792. American neutrality was a huge issue during the **French Revolutionary Wars**. The issue upset the pro-French Jeffersonians. Washington could not excuse the cruelty of the **French Revolution** and was upset with the cunning tactics of the French minister Edmond-Charles Genet, who interfered with American politics.

Washington wanted peace with Britain. He accepted the Jay Treaty in 1794, which resolved lingering differences between the two countries. Trade relations were normalized and the political boundaries were adjusted. Some pre-revolutionary debts were settled, and the British opened American trade to the West Indies. As a result, the United States and Britain remained at peace for another 10 years.

Washington had agreed with Hamilton to impose an excise tax on distilled beverages and liquor. This led to a popular uprising in 1794 known as the Whiskey Rebellion. Washington made the uprising a test for federal authority, invoked the Militia Act of 1792, and summoned 12,000 men under his personal command. The uprising was easily suppressed. The Jefferson Democratic-Republicans were especially vituperative against Washington's handling of the uprising.

Washington left office in March 1797 after refusing a third term as president. He had accomplished a number of major achievements: he had placed the office of the president on a sound republican footing; American finances were firmly established; Thomas Pinckney's Treaty, or the Treaty of San Lorenzo, with **Spain** (October 27, 1795) had expanded U.S. territory; the Indian threat had been eliminated; and the two political parties had reached agreement on the functions and powers of the federal government. Washington's Farewell Address, which cautioned against partisanship and foreign wars, has become renowned in American history. John **Adams**, his Federalist vice president, succeeded him.

In 1798 when war with France loomed on the horizon, Washington agreed to accept what amounted to honorary command of the United States Army, but war

with France never materialized. Adams awarded him the rank of lieutenant general, the highest military rank at the time.

Washington was happy in retirement at Mount Vernon. He caught a serious cold that developed into acute laryngitis and pneumonia. His medical treatment likely caused his rapid decline, and he died at Mount Vernon on December 14, 1799. Washington was buried at the family cemetery on his estate.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

## Waterloo, Battle of (1815)

Fought on June 18, 1815, between the Anglo-Allied army under Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington and elements of a Prussian army under Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher, and a French army under **Napoleon**, Waterloo was the last and most decisive battle of the **Napoleonic Wars**.

Following his departure from exile on Elba in February 1815, Napoleon landed on the south coast of France, gathering supporters as he marched triumphantly on Paris, from which the recently restored Bourbon monarchy under **Louis XVIII** fled. The Allied powers, still meeting at the Congress of **Vienna**, where they were seeking to redraw the map of Europe after the turmoil of over two decades of war, immediately declared the French emperor an outlaw and mobilized their armies against him.

The only forces close at hand were those in **Belgium** under Wellington and Blücher, who were confronted separately but simultaneously by the French on June 16 at Quatre Bras and Ligny, respectively. Despite taking a severe mauling, the Prussians withdrew east, Blücher promising the Duke his assistance at the next engagement. This came two days later, 12 miles south of Brussels on the Charleroi road, around a ridge called Mont St. Jean. There, Wellington, with 68,000 troops, established a defensive position after his retreat from Quatre Bras and was confronted on the eighteenth by Napoleon, who with his army of 72,000 men intended to push through to Brussels and seize Antwerp, thus cutting off Wellington's line of communications and supply with **Britain**.

As heavy rain from the previous night had softened the ground, Napoleon waited until approximately 11:30 A.M. to allow the surface to harden before opening his attack with a massive artillery bombardment. Moving aggressively against the château of Hougoumont, a fortified farmhouse and enclosure that protected the Anglo-Allied

right, a French corps under Reille advanced as a feint to draw off Wellington's reserves while the main French effort was to be concentrated against the enemy center with d'Erlon's corps. In the event, however, the assault on Hougomont unintentionally grew in intensity, attracting increasing numbers of French troops to this sector of the battlefield until the assault developed from a diversionary operation to a battle within a battle.

Around 1:30 P.M., d'Erlon launched his attack, only to be repulsed around 2:00 by British cavalry, which, ploughing through his ranks in a frenzied charge, suffered severe casualties of its own when it failed to maintain its discipline and galloped deep into enemy lines. At about the same time, elements of the Prussian army, detached from Wavre about 12 miles to the east, began arriving on the battlefield to bolster the Anglo-Allied left and confront the French right flank. The Prussians' arrival was unexpected by Napoleon, who after Ligny had specifically detached Marshal Grouchy to follow and contain Blücher's battered army in the area around Wavre. Still, the emperor possessed the means to contain those Prussians who, in fulfilling their commander's promise, were gradually reaching the battlefield to aid Wellington. Lobau's corps was duly transferred from the French center to the village of Plancenoit, on the French right, to meet this new threat. It is indeed significant to note that by evening, something on the order of 50,000 Prussians would eventually reach the Waterloo battlefield, either to bolster Wellington's left or to engage the French right.

Apart from the fighting around Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, a fortified position in the Allied center, a lull in the fighting took place around 3:00 P.M., as both sides considered their next moves. A new and dramatic phase of the battle began around 4:00 P.M., when Marshal Ney, the de facto battlefield commander (as Napoleon was indisposed and headquartered beyond view of most of the action), erroneously interpreted Wellington's retrograde movement for a general withdrawal. In fact, the Duke was merely redeploying his men behind the ridge for better protection against enemy artillery. Sensing the moment opportune for destroying his opponent while apparently in the process of retreat, Ney foolishly launched a series of cavalry attacks—eventually involving 10,000 troopers—against the enemy center without the benefit of artillery or infantry support. Stubbornly executed though these repeated charges proved, they completely failed to break the squares of British infantry that dotted the slopes and only brought a temporary silence to the Allied guns, whose crews took temporary refuge in the squares as French cavalry swirled ineffectively around them. By 6:00 P.M., the exhausted horsemen, unable to advance faster than a trot, withdrew—a spent force with nothing to show for themselves but massive losses in men and horses.

During the course of the afternoon, as the Prussians continued to arrive at Plancenoit in increasing numbers, Napoleon dispatched the Young Guard to expel them. This expedient, however, proved merely a temporary measure, for with pressure mounting on his right, Napoleon knew that time was running short. Anxious, therefore, to break Wellington's line before the Prussians turned the tide in the Allies' favor, the emperor redoubled his efforts to seize La Haye Sainte, a fortified farm in the Allied left-center whose small garrison of Hanoverians had withstood determined attacks all day. With much of their position on fire, their numbers down to a handful of weary defenders, and their ammunition exhausted, the few remaining survivors of the garrison were finally expelled sometime between 6:00 and 6:30 P.M. This strategically important position, together with an ill-conceived counterattack

ordered by the Prince of Orange, one of Wellington's subordinates, left a large gap in the center of the Anglo-Allied line. Fortunately for Wellington, who quickly shifted units from other sectors to plug the gap, Napoleon failed to take advantage of circumstances by severing the enemy line altogether.

Finally, between 7:00 and 7:30 P.M., with the Prussians in possession of Plancenoit and poised to roll up the French right, Napoleon launched elements of his Imperial Guard up the slopes of Mont St. Jean, straight into the Anglo-Allied center. After issuing an intense fusillade to the attackers' front and flank, the British infantry repulsed this elite corps of the French army, whose retreat caused panic within the enemy ranks up and down the line, and Napoleon's army rapidly disintegrated into a fleeing mass. Wellington signaled a general advance, and with Prussian cavalry pursuing the remnants of Napoleon's shattered force through the night and over the following days, the campaign of the Hundred Days was effectively over well before the Allies reached Paris.

Napoleon abdicated for a second time in scarcely more than a year, surrendered himself to British authorities, and was exiled on the remote South Atlantic island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821. The significance of Waterloo cannot be overestimated, for it put an end to more than two decades of war in Europe and marked the last time France would seek continental hegemony.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

### **Watson-Wentworth, Charles**

*See* Rockingham, Watson-Wentworth, Charles, Marquess of

### **Whigs**

The term "Whig" arose in the late seventeenth century when it was applied, by their opponents, to those politicians who strove to prevent James, Duke of York, from

succeeding his brother Charles II, because York was a Catholic with absolutist tendencies. The Whigs played a major role in achieving the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 and the Hanoverian Succession of 1714. They went on to dominate every administration under the first two Hanoverian monarchs (1714–1760). By 1760 almost every politician in **Parliament** would have described himself as a Whig. They accepted **Britain's** mixed government and balanced constitution, the sovereignty of king-in-parliament, annual sessions of Parliament, the established churches in England and Scotland with toleration for Protestant Dissenters, the rule of law, quite extensive civil liberties for the British people, and a political system dominated by men of substantial property (especially the landed elite). Since so many politicians were Whigs and there was no organized alternative party in the state, Parliament in the 1760s was dominated by a number of competing Whig factions that sought power rather than pursuing distinctive programs. Ministries in the 1760s were usually coalitions of different Whig groupings.

Ministerial instability in the 1760s, the growth of popular radicalism, and, in particular, the American crisis influenced one of the larger Whig factions, led by the Marquess of **Rockingham** and with Edmund **Burke** as its leading thinker, to become an organized party increasingly based on principle, not just the pursuit of power. Alarmed by **George III's** use of Crown patronage, convinced that there was a conspiracy to keep them out of power, and deeply concerned at the treatment of Wilkite radicals at home and American Patriots in the colonies, the Rockingham Whigs claimed to be the only true Whigs and the only parliamentary group ready on principle to safeguard the constitution. The Rockingham Whigs, with Charles James **Fox** as a new recruit in the 1770s, blamed Frederick North, Lord **North**, for pursuing the authoritarian measures that provoked the rebellion in America and for badly mismanaging the **American Revolutionary War**. In power for a short period after the fall of Lord North in 1782, the Rockingham Whigs brought the war to an end, recognized American independence, and tried to reduce Crown patronage by passing several acts of Parliament. Rockingham's death in the summer of 1782 weakened the party, and Shelburne and Fox disputed the succession to the leadership. When Fox allied with North in a surprising coalition and proposed the unpopular India Bill, the king turned in late 1783 to the younger William **Pitt**, who was only 24, as an alternative prime minister. Although in a minority at first, Pitt soon built up majority support when independent MPs (members of Parliament) and many voters in the 1784 general election recognized his qualities and saw Fox as too factious.

The Foxites were to be in opposition for decades, but they strove to present themselves as a true party of principle. They developed a sophisticated party organization at the national and constituency levels to rally support, distribute propaganda, and increase unity. They believed that they were the true inheritors of Whig principles, and they were united in believing that the king had acted unconstitutionally in excluding Fox from power and bringing in Pitt. The wealthy Duke of Portland and other peers helped fund the party, while Fox, Edmund Burke, Sheridan, and other major Whig debaters led the most effective opposition to Pitt in the Commons. Unfortunately for them, the Foxite Whigs committed major blunders that played into the hands of Pitt. Fox was for a time a bosom companion of the Prince of Wales, encouraging his love of wine, women, and gambling. This greatly angered the king. Fox committed a worse misjudgment when, in 1788–1789, George III was

temporarily incapacitated by a mental disorder and Fox strove to pass a Regency Bill that would allow the Prince of Wales to assume the full powers of his father. Pitt was able to “un-Whig” Fox by accusing him of betraying his declared principles of wishing to curb royal power. When the king was restored to health, Fox found that he was even more unpopular with George III and had also lost much credit in Parliament and in the country.

It was the **French Revolution**, however, that really destroyed the Foxite Whigs. When Burke came out as a fierce critic of the Revolution in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (November 1790), many of his Whig associates were surprised. Fox was a firm admirer of the French Revolution, believing that the French had overthrown royal absolutism to create a limited, constitutional monarchy of the kind established in Britain in 1688–1689. When events in **France** became more anarchic and violent, Fox was ready to excuse the actions of the French revolutionaries by placing the blame on reactionary elements inside and outside France. When war broke out in Europe in 1792, Fox blamed **Austria** and Prussia, not France. When France declared war on Britain in early 1793, Fox blamed Pitt for supporting the reactionary enemies of France. When peace negotiations failed at various stages in the 1790s, Fox again blamed Pitt for being intransigent when France was the more unwilling to make peace. The French Revolution encouraged British radicals to press for extensive parliamentary reform in the early 1790s. Several of Fox’s younger colleagues in the Whig opposition believed that the granting of moderate reform was the best response to this radical challenge at home and abroad. Fox did not join their **Association of the Friends of the People**, but he did not oppose its creation either. Despite the political damage caused by his view of the French Revolution, Fox refused to change his mind and always regarded Pitt as the source of the country’s difficulties.

The French Revolution abroad, growing radicalism throughout the British Isles, and a long, bitter war greatly alarmed conservative opinion in Britain. The clear majority in Parliament and among the propertied elite, and perhaps among the people at large, grew increasingly ready to defend the status quo and oppose the French and radical threat. Fox found that many of his Whig allies could not agree with his stance on the French Revolution. Burke had broken with Fox as early as May 1791. Several other prominent Whigs deserted Fox in 1792–1793, before Portland led a large element of the opposition into a grand coalition with Pitt in July 1794. Fox was left with a tiny rump of Whigs in opposition, and he even stopped attending Parliament for a time in the late 1790s.

Deserted by conservative opinion and unwilling to give a clear lead to the radicals, Fox and his allies were a weak and disunited party for well over a decade. Although they were part of a short-lived coalition in 1806–1807, they could not rally much support in the country or in Parliament in support of their policies. Their one success was the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. The successors of Pitt dominated politics for nearly a quarter of a century after his death in 1806. The great war against France kept the Pittites in power even when **Napoleon’s** France was clearly in the ascendant because majority opinion in Britain continued to oppose French principles and the extension of French power. The Whig opposition very slowly began to recover, however. The blood and treasure spent in the long war and occasionally wasted on ill-judged expeditions helped them increase their support in Parliament and in the nation. Some major cases of political corruption and the abuse of executive



power enabled them to land some effective blows against the government. When middle-class opinion began to rally again in support of moderate parliamentary reform in the early 1810s, some of the Whigs sought to build a loose alliance with these reformers. By 1815, the Whigs were again a significant opposition party, but they were still a long way from power. *See also* French Revolutionary Wars; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Tories.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### White Terror (1815–1816)

After the fall of **Napoleon** in June 1815, King **Louis XVIII** returned to power and committed himself to a policy of reconciliation for **France**. But for more than a year, royalist elements punished former revolutionaries and supporters of the deposed emperor. These royalists who were “more royalist than the king” conducted an informal reign of terror, mainly in southern France. Once strongly established in the new French Parlement, they then unleashed their program of revenge on the entire country.

In June and July 1815, royalist mobs murdered, imprisoned, or exiled their political opponents in locations like Toulouse and Marseilles. Efforts by the government in Paris to appoint moderate administrators had no immediate effect, and the king’s reactionary nephew, the duc d’Angoulême, placed his supporters in positions of power in much of the south. A notable example of events here was the murder of General Guillaume Brune, one of Napoleon’s subordinates, by a royalist mob in Avignon.

By the fall of 1815, national elections had placed the extreme royalists in a position to control France’s new Chamber of Deputies. They set up special courts and widened the definition of sedition to trap as many foes as possible. They established lists of those they considered especially notorious subversives (e.g., those who rallied to Napoleon after his return from Elba). A prominent victim of such proscriptions was the great French military hero Marshal Michel Ney, who was executed for treason. The king and his ministers responded by trying to soften many such measures. By the time the Chamber was dissolved in September 1816, the White Terror had waned.

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NEIL M. HEYMAN

### Wilberforce, William (1759–1833)

William Wilberforce, a lifelong conservative, worked to abolish **slavery and the slave trade**. Wilberforce was born on August 27, 1759, to wealthy parents. When his father died, William was placed under the care of his Methodist aunt and uncle. Before long he showed an interest in Methodism, though his High Church mother retrieved him when she discovered this problem.

Wilberforce attended St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was rather sickly, and did not enjoy his time there, though he met many people who would become lifelong friends, among them William **Pitt** the Younger. Wilberforce's wealth allowed him to follow a political career. He became a member of **Parliament** for Hull from 1780 until 1824. His oratorical skills astounded everyone he met. He converted to Evangelical Christianity in 1784 and became interested in social reform. He was appalled at the working conditions faced by millions of his countrymen. He delivered his first speech against the slave trade on May 12, 1789, but when in 1791 Wilberforce introduced a bill to end the slave trade, it was soundly defeated. He reintroduced this bill every subsequent year. Wilberforce married on April 15, 1797. The couple had six children.

In 1805 a law was passed that forbade British subjects from transporting slaves, but it was blocked by the wealthy and aristocratic House of Lords, whose business interests often depended on slavery. After Wilberforce wrote a public letter about the export of slaves, whose numbers exceeded 100,000 annually, more notice was taken of this inhumane policy. In 1807 the House of Commons and the House of Lords agreed that the slave trade was inhumane and unjust. The proposal succeeded and the slave trade was abolished throughout the British Empire. Nevertheless, in practice the trade did not end—even though British captains received hefty fines for transporting slaves. Wilberforce joined the campaign to abolish the slave trade entirely. The Slavery Abolition Act was passed in August 1833, just after Wilberforce's death on July 29.

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ANNETTE RICHARDSON

### Wilkes, John (1725–1797)

The son of a prosperous malt distiller, Wilkes was born in London. Witty, intelligent, and eminently sociable, he was cultured and well educated yet a notorious rake and blasphemer. In 1747 he married an older, wealthy woman and had a beloved daughter Mary (Polly) but abandoned his wife in 1757. Thereafter he had several mistresses and at least two illegitimate children. He joined the Hell-Fire Club at Medmenham and wrote his *Essay on Woman*, an obscene parody of Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*. He entered the House of Commons as a member for Aylesbury in 1757. He was not a very successful MP because he was a poor public speaker and debater. He was to win much greater fame and notoriety with his pen. Having been a supporter of William Pitt the Elder, Earl of **Chatham**, during the latter's great military successes, he became a fierce critic of the ministers who succeeded him in the early 1760s.

On June 5, 1762, Wilkes established his political weekly, the *North Briton*, and used it to attack the peace policies of the Bute and Grenville administrations. Issue number 45 of the *North Briton* finally overstepped the mark in attacking Grenville's "odious measures," and the government prosecuted him for seditious libel. The ministry blundered, however, by using a general warrant directed against the authors, printers, and publishers of the *North Briton*, without mentioning anyone by name. Wilkes challenged the legality of general warrants on principle and sought damages for false arrest. The ministry's use of general warrants was ruled unlawful by the courts in 1764 and 1765, and their use against individuals was thereafter abandoned. Wilkes had won an important legal victory and became identified as a friend of liberty. The ministry used a copy of his *Essay on Woman*, however, to blacken his reputation in the House of Lords (where it was read out). The House of Commons condemned number 45 of the *North Briton* as a seditious libel and denied that parliamentary privilege could be used to prevent Wilkes from being prosecuted in the courts. Having been wounded in a duel with a fellow MP, Wilkes feared the vindictiveness of his opponents and fled to **France** in December 1763. In January 1764 he was expelled from the House of Commons for publishing the *North Briton*, and on February 21, he was condemned in the courts for publishing both the *North Briton* and the *Essay on Woman*. After failing to appear in court, he was finally outlawed on November 1, 1764.

Wilkes enjoyed the life of a rake and an intellectual on the Continent but fell heavily in debt. He made short secret visits back home in a vain attempt to secure a pardon before returning permanently in February 1768 to participate in the general election. Heavily defeated in London, he stood as a candidate for Middlesex. Superb organization and much popular support saw him come top of the polls on March 20. He then surrendered to the courts. His outlawry was revoked on a technicality, but he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment on June 14 for his two seditious libels. On February 3, 1769, while he was in prison, the House of Commons expelled him and called a by-election in Middlesex. Wilkes was returned unopposed. Expelled again, he was again returned unopposed in March. At the third by-election on April 13, a government supporter, Henry Luttrell, stood against the absent Wilkes. Although Luttrell was heavily defeated, the House of Commons declared him the rightful MP (member of **Parliament**) for the county. This played into Wilkes's hands. He was now able to wage a massive and impressive popular campaign as the champion of liberty. He used the Middlesex election case to argue that ministers were disenfranchising the voters and subverting the constitution.

This campaign helped Wilkes to widen popular participation in politics and to build up a power base in London. A Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights was established to promote the Middlesex election issue and to raise funds to pay Wilkes's huge debts. Wilkite supporters began to capture control of the offices and the common council of the city of London. Wilkes himself became an alderman while still in prison, then later sheriff, lord mayor in 1774 (after prolonged opposition to him), and finally city chamberlain, in charge of London's finances, in December 1779. In all these posts he took his duties very seriously, and he was very popular and effective. His greatest triumph was in the printers' case, in 1771, when he used widespread support in the City to force Parliament to give up its efforts to prevent London newspapers from printing detailed reports of parliamentary debates.

Wilkes was elected MP for Middlesex in the general election of 1774. Several of his supporters were successful in other seats, but Wilkes never led a radical party in the House of Commons. He was a more diligent MP than before and a much more frequent and effective speaker. He made many speeches in support of liberty. While never supporting American independence on principle, he urged conciliation, attacked government policies, agreed with the Americans that Parliament had no authority to tax them, and denounced the war against the rebellious colonies as bloody, expensive, and quite futile. On November 26, 1778, he was the first MP to urge the recognition of American independence. Wilkes was also the first MP to support a motion for parliamentary reform, on March 21, 1776, when he advocated a redistribution of parliamentary seats from rotten boroughs to more populous towns and counties, and an extension of the franchise. His motion was defeated without a vote. Also very liberal in his religious views, Wilkes supported the Dissenters' Relief Bill of April 1779, and he was active in suppressing the anti-Catholic Gordon riots in London in June 1780.

After the **American Revolutionary War**, Wilkes became a supporter, though largely a silent one, of the ministries of Shelburne and then the younger William **Pitt**. Increasingly neglectful of his parliamentary duties, he decided there was no point in contesting the general election of 1790. In his last years, he was a critic of the violence and political extremism of the **French Revolution**. *See also* American Revolution.

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H. T. DICKINSON

### **Wilson, James (1742–1798)**

James Wilson was an American jurist, revolutionary politician, and a signer of both the **Declaration of Independence** and the **United States Constitution**. Of all the Founding Fathers, Wilson was perhaps the most distinguished constitutional lawyer, and he ended his career as an associate justice of the United States **Supreme Court** (1789–1798). The son of a farmer, Wilson, who was born in Scotland, studied at St. Andrews University and all his adult life would be influenced by the ideas generated by the Scottish **Enlightenment**, especially the philosophy of Thomas Reid. The unexpected death of his father cut short his studies in 1762, and he left St. Andrews without graduating. After trying his hand at many jobs, including tutoring and bookkeeping, he immigrated to **Pennsylvania** in 1765.

Briefly teaching at the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) he was awarded an honorary MA in 1766 and began studying law under John **Dickinson**, the leader of the proprietary interest in the Pennsylvania colonial legislature and conservative opponent of Benjamin **Franklin**. Called to the Pennsylvania bar in 1767, he later moved to the western Pennsylvania Scots-Irish settlement of Carlisle. Opposing British colonial regulation and taxation, Wilson took a leading part in Pennsylvania's revolutionary committee of correspondence and in Pennsylvania's first provincial convention. In the summer of 1774, he published

*Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament*, a work that opposed British imperial policy but also, nonetheless, reflected the moderate political position of many in Pennsylvania in 1774.

Elected to the Second **Continental Congress** in May 1775, Wilson continued to take a cautious, moderate position, and although he later signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, his initial vote to delay the decision to declare independence in June 1776 earned him the enmity of the more popular political element in Philadelphia. Although he continued to support the independence movement, his marriage to a local heiress, Rachel Bird, and his own involvement in speculative land and business schemes, together with his political alliance with Robert Morris, the wealthy financier who was accused of war profiteering, only increased suspicion that Wilson was largely motivated by his own economic self-interest. Such suspicions were compounded in October 1779, when Wilson undertook the public defense of Quaker merchants accused of being **Tories**, an action that led to an attack on his house in Philadelphia by a mob and the death of six people.

In something of a political wilderness, Wilson resurrected his career when **France** appointed him its advocate general in America, a position he held until 1783. His new position entailed advising the French on American law, and his political profile was increased when the Congress, due to Robert Morris's influence, appointed Wilson a director, trustee, and lawyer to the newly chartered Bank of North America in 1781. An economic nationalist and visionary regarding the economic potential of North America, Wilson came to support a position in his *Considerations on the Bank of North America* (1785) that reflected the later position of Alexander **Hamilton**. Appointed a Pennsylvania representative to the Confederation Congress in 1783, Wilson became a vocal critic of the weak federal union under the **Articles of Confederation**. Appointed a Pennsylvania delegate to the **Constitutional Convention** in the summer of 1787, Wilson took a leading role in the creation of a national constitution in Philadelphia.

A noted lawyer, Wilson was probably the most systematic thinker at the convention. While more democratically inclined than most of the delegates, he passionately believed in a system of checks and balances that would uphold the rule of law. Believing in government administered by the great and good, he also believed that government should be representative; be instituted to encourage the general good; and, if power was properly controlled, be an engine to promote the general happiness of the governed. As an active member of the convention Wilson delivered a reported 160 speeches, and although allied to James **Madison**, he was initially opposed to the Virginia Plan, as he thought it gave too much power to the lower house of the legislature. Wilson, however, also opposed the Connecticut Plan, the great compromise that preserved the equal representation of the states in the upper chamber, as he thought the upper chamber should be directly elected. Wilson was almost alone among his colleagues in believing that the executive should be directly elected and control an absolute veto. His most important role, however, was as a member of the Committee of Detail, which transformed the delegates' ideas and resolutions into a formal document—the actual United States Constitution.

Wilson had misgivings about the Constitution but signed it and became the foremost advocate of its ratification in Pennsylvania; his influential Statehouse Address of October 1787 became, next to the **Federalist Papers**, one of the most influential

Federalist defenses of the Constitution and was published in 34 newspapers. Following the ratification of the Constitution, Wilson returned to the law. Appointed professor of law at the College of Philadelphia, he was instrumental in drafting the new, more conservative Pennsylvania state constitution of 1790 and was appointed by President George **Washington** to the United States Supreme Court. In the two-dozen reports he wrote, especially the important *Chisholm v. Georgia* decision of 1793, Wilson upheld the notion of the sovereignty of the federal government and the importance of federal judicial review.

Wilson's career as a Founding Father has been overshadowed by the careers of many of his contemporaries, and although he was academically conservative, his bankruptcy ruined his reputation. His increasing financial speculations eventually led to personal disaster, and to escape his creditors in Philadelphia, he fled to **New Jersey** in 1797. Briefly imprisoned, Wilson then fled to Edenton, **North Carolina**, where he died of a stroke in August 1798. *See also* Committees of Correspondence; Constitutions, American State.

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RORY T. CORNISH

### Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759–1797)

An English radical who advocated rights for women, Wollstonecraft was born in London on April 27, 1759. Self-taught, she opened a private school with her sister, Eliza. From her experiences she wrote *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787), which advocated using **Enlightenment** ideals to educate women. She argued that women were just as reasonable and capable of learning as men. In 1790 she translated from German Christian Salzmann's *Elements of Morality*. She also published *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* in response to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

Wollstonecraft's most important book was *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she extended the idea of equality espoused in the **French Revolution** to women as well as men. She argued that men and women are equal because they share reason. She claimed that women must gain equality by rejecting romantic love in favor of reason; otherwise they will remain slaves to male domination. Her posthumously published *Maria, or The Wrongs of Woman* used fiction to illustrate the theme.

In late 1792, Wollstonecraft moved to Paris to observe the events of the French Revolution. In 1793 she married an American, Gilbert Imlay, whose daughter (Fanny Imlay) she bore on May 14, 1794. That same year she published *Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution*. Deserted by Imlay, Wollstonecraft married William Godwin on March 29, 1797, but she died of puerperal fever on September 10 of that year, after bearing Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin (the future Mary Shelley, author of *Frankenstein*) on August 30.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

## Women (American)

The lives of eighteenth-century American women centered on the family. The **American Revolution** offered women an opportunity to expand their lives beyond the home, at least for a limited time period. The Revolution affected women of different race, classes, and status in different ways. It provided white middle-class women with new roles, such as performing men's work by running farms and businesses, often with great trepidation at the outset. Abigail Smith **Adams** (1744–1818), wife of future president John **Adams**, not only managed the family farm and its workers but also conducted extensive financial enterprises unusual for women at the time. She purchased and speculated in land in addition to selling goods that her husband brought back from England. Patriot women experienced increased pride and self-respect. They learned to manage financial affairs and to act autonomously while their husbands were at the front. As far as Native American women were concerned, the Revolution did not bring about positive changes. For African Americans, wartime conditions enabled many slaves to acquire new liberties: slavery was eliminated in every state north of Maryland.

Struggling to provide for their families, women banded together in times of dearth and high inflation to demonstrate their demands and dissatisfactions. They attacked merchants, especially those with Loyalist leanings who were suspected of hoarding, and demanded goods at a just price. When they met with resistance, they seized the goods, sometimes leaving the amount of money they believed to be just. Women participating in boycotts simply made different decisions about what items to purchase and consume; they did not move beyond the boundaries of the feminine sphere. When colonial leaders began to stress the need for homespun cloth to be produced as a substitute for British cloth, women were not asked to take on an “unfeminine” task: spinning was the very role symbolic of femininity itself.

From the 1760s, women formed anti-tea leagues and ladies' associations, which provided crucial support for the boycotts and non-importation efforts of the men. Patriot women increased their production and use of homespun clothes and avoided British-made goods. They drank herbal teas and coffee rather than British tea after the passing of the **Townshend Acts** of 1767. Male leaders knew that women's cooperation was necessary to ensure that colonists would forego the use of tea and luxury goods until the act was repealed. Male leaders of the boycott movement needed female support, but they wanted to set the limits of women's activism. They did not expect or necessarily approve of clear signs of female autonomy.

This was clear in the well-known exchange between Abigail and John Adams. She had asked her husband in March 1776 to ensure that the new nation's legal code include protection for wives against the “Naturally Tyrannical” tendencies of their spouses. In reply, her husband declared, “I cannot but laugh at your extraordinary Code of Laws.” He failed to come to terms with the implications raised by the

growing interest in politics among colonial women. He could deal with his wife's display of independent thought only by refusing to take it seriously.

Although women were excluded from participating in the politics of government before and after the Revolution, the **New Jersey** state constitution of 1776 allowed everyone who had lived in the state for one year and who owned £50 of property to vote. Unmarried women voted in this state until 1807, when the Democratic-Republican Party ended this right. By the 1780s, women had become politically literate in the sense that they were widely read in political literature and joined in the debates. For example, in the South, groups of women generally supported non-importation policies and did not confine such support to the issue of tea. The women's meeting satirized in the famous British cartoon of the so-called Edenton Ladies' Tea Party illustrates this. The agreement signed in October 1774 by 51 female North Carolinians did not mention tea. Instead, the women declared their "sincere adherence" to the resolves of the Provincial Congress and proclaimed it their "duty" to do "everything as far as lies in our power" to support the "publick good." This simple statement had unprecedented implications. The Edenton women were not only asserting their right to support political measures, but they were also taking upon themselves a "duty" to work for the common good. It marked an important turning point in American women's political perceptions, signaling the start of a process by which they would eventually come to regard themselves as participants in the polity rather than as females with purely private concerns.

The Daughters of Liberty and other organizations like it that promoted the Patriot cause paralleled those of men. Women attended and sponsored bonfire rallies, and they burned tax collectors' effigies and produced their own anti-British propaganda. As individuals, they influenced the men in their efforts to support the revolutionary cause by withdrawing their womanly favors, services, and esteem. As professional printers and propagandists, women produced important revolutionary broadsides, **newspapers**, and documents.

Until recently, most scholarly studies of the American Revolution neglected the role of women in the army simply because they tended to examine it from the perspective of senior commanders. They did not analyze the army from the viewpoint of the foot soldier and the thousands of women who followed the troops. From this perspective, the army looks far less professional and far more disorganized. Camp followers, as they were known, worked as cooks, nurses, and washerwomen, as well as undertakers for the dead. Camp followers were usually the wives and children of soldiers. The most famous was Molly Pitcher (1754–1832), who earned this name at the Battle of Monmouth while carrying water from a nearby spring to American troops. After her husband, John Casper Hays, was wounded, she was in charge of the cannon of Colonel William Irvine's Seventh Company of the Pennsylvania Artillery until the end of the war. The daughter of a German dairyman in Mercer County, New Jersey, her true name was Mary Ludwig. Patriots were skeptical about giving women like Molly Pitcher official status in the army; Washington objected to a fixed quota of women. He saw them as a great hindrance, notwithstanding the fact that these women provided essential services in an army that lacked the support staff more associated with modern military. In addition to the tasks mentioned above, these women provided solace for the men. By the end of the war, Washington's General Orders established a ratio of one woman for every 15 men in a regiment. Although statistics for men and women in the army are often unreliable, Linda Grant De Pauw estimates that in the course of the war, some 20,000 women served in the **Continental Army**.



A number of women disguised themselves as men and fought in the army. One of these, Deborah Samson (1760–1827), fought for two-and-a-half years in the Fourth **Massachusetts** Regiment before she was discovered to be a woman after she was injured. She took the name of Robert Shurtliff or Shirtliffe. Congress did grant her husband a pension later in life—after she had died—as the widower of a revolutionary soldier. She welcomed the war as a kind of liberation from the restrictions on female behavior. Margaret Corbin (1751–1789), a soldier's wife and camp follower, survived the British attack on Fort Washington. After her husband was killed, she took his place in the line of duty.

Those women who did not fight or serve as camp followers assumed the responsibilities and positions of the men who volunteered and served in the army: they sewed clothes for soldiers, rolled bandages, and prepared foodstuffs for the front. In addition, they fought British soldiers who attempted to attack their property. Nancy Hart (1735?–1830) earned the name Amazon Warrior for shooting British soldiers who approached her property. Women provided medical services by converting their homes into makeshift hospitals or by providing local medical services, as was done by the Quaker widow Margaret Hill Morris (1737–1816) of Burlington, New Jersey. Traditional medicines such as herbal remedies were the most common form of treatment.

Loyalist women were no less committed to their cause than Patriot women. Approximately 15 percent of adult white male **Loyalists** took up arms for **Britain**. Among women it was about 5.5 percent. Some helped British soldiers by carrying letters through the lines. Others served as spies. Two women from upstate **New York** worked to prevent the Iroquois from joining the Americans. The work of Loyalist women was by definition clandestine and dangerous.

At the outset, the **American Revolutionary War** represented an ironic inversion of the colonists' themes of independence, liberty, and self-government. Initially, slaves found in the presence of British troops a possible avenue to freedom. In November 1775, Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, offered liberation to any slaves who fled to join the British Army. The high number of women with children in the resulting flood of runaways contrasts sharply with statistics from before and after the Revolution, when very few women with their children escaped. Once women were convinced that the presence of British redcoats and the general disruptions of the war made it possible to escape without abandoning their families, they eagerly seized the chance. In a brief period when revolutionary ideology caused many to question slavery and the disturbances of war diverted attention, free blacks had room to maneuver as they began to participate in and institutionalize Afro-American culture in black schools and churches. The opportunity to buy freedom for their kin, which occurred predominantly in the North and upper South during the Revolution, further strengthened family life.

Native American women found no real sources of hope or transformation in the Revolution through alignment with either the colonial or British cause. Warfare touched them when both sides competed for Indian loyalties. For women it meant increased mobility, traditional war preparations, and the loss of husbands and sons. Most of tribes supported the British as a way of resisting the pressure of white settlement in the west.

The theories of the **Enlightenment** raised new questions for women during the revolutionary era. Enlightenment thinkers in **France** offered a powerful critique of aristocratic society premised on the subordination of one class to another. The men

of the Enlightenment stressed human perfectibility. In addition, through education, people could abandon the superstition and irrationality of tradition. Educated citizens became the foundation of a rational and just republican social order. Men such as Benjamin **Rush** promoted education for women. Educated women were useful in the sense that they kept men on the path of virtue. A new ideology of republican motherhood developed, and republican mothers would take up their new patriotic duty of educating the next generation of moral and virtuous citizens. **Citizenship** was thus gender based and brought about a new civic role for women. Nevertheless, in the Lockean worldview, men remained the head of the household.

The future of a government based on such principles as “power is derived from the people,” liberty, and justice offered hope to women. But the founding fathers had a restricted view of the citizen. For them, women, slaves, men who owned no property, children, and the mentally ill lacked the capacity for independent and rational judgment for the general good. The phrase “All men are created equal” used the word “men” quite literally.

Women did receive civil benefits from the American Revolution. Divorce was legalized in 1800 in 12 states; primogeniture was abolished in states that had practiced it; and all children, regardless of gender, could inherit property equally, although coverture remained in effect into the nineteenth century except for wealthy women.

The American Revolution brought significant changes to women’s lives, for they contributed to the war effort at home and on farms, in aid of the armies, and, in some cases, as soldiers on the battlefield. Historians are divided when they turn to the question of what lasting gains women actually made. Certainly in terms of status, work, and public roles, they gained very little. The principles of equality and natural rights hailed by the **Declaration of Independence** did not apply to women, African Americans, Native Americans, or white men without property. Nevertheless, many women still experienced considerable growth in self-esteem, organizational skills, and political acumen. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade; Women (French).

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LEIGH WHALEY

## Women (French)

The Age of the **Enlightenment** and **French Revolution** was a time of mixed blessings for women. The Enlightenment produced three different principal views about women’s nature and abilities. First, women were mentally and socially inferior to

men (Jean-Jacques **Rousseau**). Second, women were equal but different (**Voltaire**). And third, women were potentially equal in both mental ability and contribution to society (the Marquis de **Condorcet**). These differing perspectives prevailed during the French Revolution.

Women's experiences and roles in the French Revolution were diverse and multifarious. They cut across social boundaries, religious differences, politics, and geography. Similar to men's political views during the Revolution, women's political views ranged from conservative and counterrevolutionary to radical and militant. Although women in revolutionary **France** were excluded from the formal political process in the sense that they could not vote and they could not sit as deputies, they nevertheless retained some means of participation in the political life of the nation. Political activism outside the formal structures of power, for instance, was exercised through petitions, marches, and acts of violence.

Women's political activity and interest in the Revolution can be traced back to the first months of 1789, when, like many others in France, they assisted with the drafting of *cahiers de doléances* (lists of grievances) in which their concerns were made known. These cahiers provide an interesting window into the reforms that women from different social and economic backgrounds sought. Working women were keen to obtain improved working conditions and the reestablishment of medieval guilds to protect their rights. Like their male counterparts, middle class and noble women desired the acquisition of civil rights. For women, these included the franchise, equality in marriage, and the right to initiate divorce.

Economic issues such as access to bread and employment were the traditional concerns of women. The French Revolution was no exception here, as there was an acute shortage of bread in the summer of 1789 and women were the primary instigators of the bread riots of October 5–6, 1789, and the uprisings of Germinal and **Prairial** (April and May 1795) of the Year III. Hufton has argued that women's concerns were primarily bread oriented. Others such as Landes have contended that female militants were not only interested in but acutely aware of the contemporary political scene. In any case, bread, or the lack thereof, remained the primary motivating factor for the march to Versailles on the rainy day of October 5. On the morning of October 5, women from les Halles sounded the tocsin and went to the **Hôtel de Ville**. From there they marched to Versailles under the protection of the Marquis de **Lafayette** and the more radical contingents of the **National Guard**. Once there, they demanded bread. The king agreed to provide a regular bread supply, to consent to revolutionary legislation proposed by the **Constituent Assembly**, and to live in Paris. The pattern set by the uprising in October is of central importance for understanding the involvement of Parisian women from 1789 to 1795.

French revolutionary women certainly had political as well as economic demands. The **October Days** resulted in the transfer of government from Versailles to Paris. Contemporary accounts demonstrate that women understood the role of the deputy and that they supported what the deputies were demanding. Women joined the protest against the 1791 **Chapelier Law** abolishing guilds that prohibited any professional or workers' organizations. Throughout the early years of the Revolution, women petitioned the **National Assembly** on several occasions. Middle-class women wanted legislation that would improve the condition of women. Educated women wanted to see the transformation of the women's place in the family and in the economy, the legal equality of rights within marriage, the right to divorce,

and publicly guaranteed educational opportunities that would allow girls and women to work. In 1791, Olympe de Gouges, a playwright and the daughter of a butcher, drafted a Declaration of the Rights of Women in which she demanded a representative institution for women. She argued that France now had rights guaranteed to men in the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** (August 26, 1789) but that this document did not apply to women. In addition, de Gouges demanded greater equality between spouses within the institution of marriage similar to that championed by Mary **Wollstonecraft** in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792).

The organization of female clubs was another avenue through which women expressed their views and fostered their interests. Women were banned from the Jacobin Club, but they did participate in the more popular **Cordeliers Club** and formed the earliest of the truly popular societies, the Société Fraternelle de l'Un et l'Autre Sexe, Défenseur de la Constitution. One of the earliest clubs in which women actively participated was the Cercle Social, founded in January 1790. By the autumn, it was explicitly supporting women's issues, and some prominent women came to speak before it. Women were granted full membership in this society and also served as officers. Three female members of the Société Fraternelle, Etta Palm d'Aelders, Théroigne de **Méricourt**, and Pauline **Léon**, were active in revolutionary politics from 1790 to 1793. D'Aelders, a Dutch baroness who had been in Paris since 1774, addressed the Cercle Social on women's rights twice in the late autumn of 1790. In February 1791, she introduced an ambitious plan to form women's patriotic societies in each of the sections of Paris and in each of the 83 departments, all to be coordinated by a "central and federative circle." Her goal was to establish schools and workshops to teach skills to poor girls. She did manage to buy apprenticeships for three girls. Her club survived until she became a suspect in the autumn of 1792. She immigrated to Holland in January 1793.

Théroigne de Méricourt, whose real name was Anne Joséphe Terwagne, was described as the Amazon of the Revolution by contemporaries and historians alike. The journalist Camille **Desmoulins** in his *Le Vieux Cordelier* called her the "beautiful Amazon of Liège, the Queen of Sheba." Armed with a saber and pistols, she distinguished herself on June 20 and August 10, 1792.

The period from January 1792 to February 1793 marked a crucial stage in the evolution of women's involvement in the politics of the Revolution. It was a year of critical changes: war, the overthrow of monarchy, economic hardship, and the creation of a **National Convention**, the first truly republican assembly in France. Issues with which women concerned themselves were the defense of Paris, divorce legislation, and other laws concerning equal rights for women. In 1792, *sans-culotte* women joined the Enragés, the extreme radical movement. Its leader, Jacques Roux, spoke for the demands of the common people: political and economic terror against all enemies of the sovereign people, stringent laws against hoarding and speculation, and the immediate execution of the king. As political institutions of Paris came increasingly under the control of the ordinary people, women were allowed to have more power. But men were still the leaders. The Paris sections began admitting passive citizens in 1792; they had been meeting consistently since July 1792. Leadership in the sections passed from rich lawyers and merchants to small shopkeepers, revolutionary journalists, and less wealthy clerks. Sections were never led by the poorest *sans-culottes*, but by those more literate and skilled in

speech making and petition drafting, skills necessary for communicating with the Commune, the **Jacobins**, and the National Convention. Women were relegated to the spectator galleries.

The real power of women was, at the best of times, limited and short lived. At the height of its power, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, a society that brought together radical women, had several hundred members. Its presidents included Pauline Léon and Claire **Lacombe**. Lacombe was a well-known provincial actress who had acted in Lyon and Marseille. Arriving in Paris at the beginning of 1792 with Léon, she frequented the Cordeliers Club. She also participated in the overthrowing of the monarchy and in the uprisings of May 30 to June 2, 1793. She demanded the removal of nobles from the army in the Convention on August 28. On September 5, she demanded the purification of the government. She was protected by the **Hébertistes** and was violently attacked by Chabot and other Jacobins. Léon, the daughter of a chocolate maker, was the most radical of the two women. In 1793, she became a leader of the female *sans-culottes*. By the spring of 1791, she was a member of the fraternal society of her section and of the Société Fraternelle, and an associate of the Cordeliers. In March 1790, she petitioned the Assembly for the right of women to bear arms.

The Society of Revolutionary Republican Women campaigned for a law compelling all women to wear the tricolor cockade as a symbol of their republican loyalties. They circulated petitions to popular societies and to the Convention for the immediate implementation of price controls and the **Law of Suspects**, which the Enragés and Cordeliers also pushed for. These measures were decreed by the Convention in September 1793.

In addition to forming clubs and radical societies, women of the French Revolution also held political salons. One such woman was Madame **Roland**, wife of the minister of the interior in 1792. She held meetings in 1791 and 1792 at her Paris home at which journalists and men from the various assemblies and from the Jacobin Club would assemble to discuss public policy. Although Madame Roland did not actively engage in the discussions, she noted everything in her letters and memoirs. Lucile Duplessis Desmoulins and Louise de Kéralio-Robert, both wives of journalists and deputies, also held political salons in their homes. Robert, like Madame Roland, was a journalist during the moderate years of the Revolution. While Roland was a ghostwriter for **Brissot's** *Patriote Français*, Kéralio-Robert was the editor of a major newspaper, the *Mercur National*. Her husband assisted her with the publication of this paper, a journal dedicated to promoting the new popular society movement that existed between 1789 and 1791. Both played an active part in reconstructing the Société Fraternelle, of which Robert became president in March 1790.

The growing hostility of other women and male Jacobins brought about the ultimate defeat of the society. Market women, former servants, and religious women opposed controls and severe punishments for former aristocrats and clergy. The Jacobins began to regard these women as rabble-rousers. On October 30, the Convention decreed all women's clubs and associations illegal. **Chaumette**, of the Paris Commune, dissolved women's clubs because he said he had the right to expect his wife to run his home while he attended political meetings. Hers was the care of the family: this was the full extent of her civic duties.

The **Thermidorians** excluded women from the galleries of the Convention, though women did participate in the popular insurrections that occurred during

the spring of the Year III (1795). The uprisings of Germinal and Prairial were a response to food shortages and the Convention's lifting of the **Maximum**. Women called for bread and the Constitution of 1793, but the government took harsh measures to prevent a recurrence of popular uprisings. The aftermath resulted in a number of suicides of women and children, who were fished out of the Seine. After June 1795, it seemed the women of Paris had been a failure as a political force: clubs were closed, and they were kept out of the Convention.

Although women never gained equal rights during the French Revolution—they had to wait until the twentieth century for them—their activities did make a lasting contribution in French history. They pressured government officials to act in times of crisis; they contributed to the political education of the nation, and the content of French political vocabulary was permanently changed by women. Indeed, much of their revolutionary rhetoric survives to this day. *See also* Constitutions, French Revolutionary; Women (American).

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LEIGH WHALEY

### Wright, James (1716–1785)

James Wright served as the third and last royal governor of **Georgia** from 1760 to 1782, except for a brief period during the **American Revolution**. Wright stood out among Georgia's royal governors for his popularity and effectiveness.

Born in London on May 8, 1716, Wright came to America in 1730 when his father secured a position as the chief justice of **South Carolina**. He also entered the legal profession, practicing in South Carolina and eventually becoming the attorney general for the colony in 1747, a position he held for a decade. Over the course of his career, Wright purchased a considerable amount of land and many slaves in the colony. He married in 1742. His wife, Sarah Maidman, bore eight children before her death in 1763.

Following Henry Ellis's retirement, Wright was appointed royal governor of Georgia as a consequence of his status in South Carolina. As governor, Wright encouraged Georgia's expansion by purchasing large tracts of land from the Creek and Cherokee Indians. Though Wright was generally a popular governor, he was

staunchly loyal to the Crown. Under his leadership, Georgia became the only colony in which the **Stamp Act** was enforced. This led to his removal when rebels seized power in Georgia in 1776. Wright escaped to London and there lobbied for forces to retake the colony. When British troops arrived and occupied Georgia in 1778, the king reinstated Wright as governor. Owing to the strength of revolutionary sentiment in Georgia, however, Wright would hold this position for only three difficult years. The British abandoned the colony in 1782, and Wright returned to London.

With other displaced **Loyalists**, Wright would spend the remainder of his life seeking reparations for the losses he incurred during the Revolution. He never recouped his entire fortune and died at 69 on November 20, 1785. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

**FURTHER READING:** Coleman, Kenneth. *The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763–1789*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958; Cook, James F. *The Governors of Georgia, 1754–2004*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2005.

CHARLES H. WILSON III

### Wyvill, Christopher (1738–1822)

Wyvill was educated at Cambridge University and ordained as a clergyman in the Church of England. He showed little interest in his clerical duties and preferred to live as a country gentleman, especially after 1773, when he married his cousin, who inherited large estates in North Yorkshire. From 1772, when he supported the Feathers Tavern petition to abolish the requirement for Anglican clergymen to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, he was an active campaigner for religious toleration for both Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics. Deeply concerned by the **American Revolutionary War**, and convinced that this disaster owed much to excessive royal influence and executive power, he persuaded over 600 Yorkshire gentlemen to join the Yorkshire Association on December 30, 1779, and to mount a campaign to reduce Crown patronage and public expenditure.

Determined to prevent peers and MPs (members of **Parliament**) from dominating this association, Wyvill sought the active support of country gentlemen, many of them liberal clergymen. With deep commitment, enormous energy and remarkable firmness of purpose, he corresponded widely, arranged county meetings, and organized petitions for reform. He collected about 8,000 signatures for the Yorkshire petition of 1780 and was active in encouraging many other counties and boroughs to establish similar associations and to join in a nationwide petitioning campaign for reform that eventually secured 60,000 signatures. Most of these petitions supported economical reform, the creation of additional county MPs, and triennial parliaments, but the Westminster Association adopted a much more radical program, which included universal manhood suffrage, annual general elections, and equal-sized constituencies. Wyvill opposed such radical proposals, but he strove to bring unity to the Association movement at meetings of Association delegates in London from March to April 1781.

Wyvill organized another, but less substantial, petitioning movement in early 1783, and he strongly backed the efforts of William **Pitt** the Younger to pass moderate reform bills in May 1783 and April 1785. These failed, and with the ending of the American war, the reform movement waned in the later 1780s. The outbreak of

the **French Revolution** soon revived considerable interest in parliamentary reform, but Wyvill could raise little support for moderate reform among the gentlemen in the country, while he himself was alarmed at the radical demands of the popular reformers. He tried to stand on the narrow middle ground as the country was increasingly polarized between advanced radicals and militant loyalists. He thought moderate reform would prevent revolution but radical reform would precipitate it. Wyvill opposed Pitt's repressive legislation of 1795 and looked to Charles James **Fox** for support in Parliament as he grew concerned once more that war was creating waste, extravagance, and an increase in executive power. He was pleased with the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and continued to campaign for full religious toleration. His caution and political moderation were condemned by John **Cartwright** in a series of essays in the *Statesman* from October 1813 to March 1814. This helped persuade Wyvill to retire from active political campaigning, but he remained interested in political issues and he maintained his voluminous correspondence. He had little sympathy with the extreme mass radicalism after 1815 and little confidence in the reform credentials of the parliamentary **Whigs**. *See also* Slavery and the Slave Trade.

**FURTHER READING:** Black, Eugene C. *The Association: British Extraparliamentary Political Organization, 1769–1793*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963; Christie, Ian R. *Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962; Dinwiddy, John. *Christopher Wyvill and Reform, 1790–1820*. York, UK: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1971.

H. T. DICKINSON



# Y

## **Yates, Abraham (1724–1796)**

A lawyer, public servant, and political writer who was born to a middle-class family, Yates was one of the most important Anti-Federalist figures in American history. Known for his ardent opposition to the newly promulgated **United States Constitution**, Yates consistently and persistently defended a more decentralized administrative structure. While he started his career as a lawyer, Yates became known for his political writings on the alleged dangers posed by strong centralized federalism.

Born in Albany, **New York**, before the **American Revolution** Yates, the son of a blacksmith, also mended shoes. His past as a shoemaker was used against him during the controversy over the ratification of the federal constitution by representatives from New York. This and similar experiences, as well as his personal observations during his career, greatly affected Yates's stance toward aristocracy. His basic contention was that aristocrats had conspired to weaken the status of the common man in New York throughout the colonial era. For Yates, the U.S. Constitution was nothing more than the extension of this conspiracy. He maintained that the Constitution was designed to serve the special interests of aristocracy, whom Yates distrusted entirely.

Yates attacked the Constitution on the grounds that it provided a centralized system of administration, which, according to him, would be exploited as a means of repression in the hands of aristocrats. For him, the amendments made to the Constitution in 1789 were also unsatisfactory, for they did not address the most imminent problem—the dangers posed by the centralized power.

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### Yorktown, Siege of (1781)

One of the few decisive actions of the **American Revolutionary War**, the siege of Yorktown (September 28–October 19, 1781) sealed the fate of Major General Lord Cornwallis's British army of 8,000 troops in Virginia, leaving the commander-in-chief of British forces in America, Sir Henry Clinton, with only one major force remaining in the 13 colonies, at **New York**.

Operating in the southern theater, Cornwallis withdrew his army from the Carolinas without authorization from Clinton, and though he had defeated the Americans on a number of occasions, he had to abandon a number of garrison towns in order to consolidate his forces in **Virginia**, control of which the British government was keen to retain. There he established a good defensive position at Yorktown, whose port could provide a safe anchorage for a Royal Navy fleet. This appeared a sensible decision, for Cornwallis could, in theory at least, be supplied indefinitely from the sea. When, however, the British temporarily lost naval superiority to the French at the Battle of the Virginia Capes on September 5–9, 1781, Cornwallis found himself cut off from water-borne supply and communication. Recognizing Cornwallis's vulnerability, Major General George **Washington**, commander-in-chief of the **Continental Army**, concentrated a numerically superior force of 9,500 American and 7,800 French troops under Rochambeau, which he then marched south from New York. On September 28, the Allied force began investing Yorktown.

Once he found himself boxed in by Washington, Cornwallis suffered from greater disadvantages than merely the numerical one: the Allies possessed siege guns and an abundant supply of ammunition, whereas the British had begun to run low and could not replenish their supply. The outbreak of smallpox within his



Lord Cornwallis surrenders the British forces besieged at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1781. *Library of Congress.*

lines also contributed to Cornwallis's discomfiture. Compounding these problems, Cornwallis, believing that his outer defenses could not be defended with the number of troops available to him, withdrew to his inner works. This was probably a premature decision, for he might have lasted several more weeks had he stood fast. Now he could no longer hold up the besiegers, whose artillery pounded the new, more cramped positions. Once the Allies seized two important redoubts on October 14, Cornwallis's position became untenable, and he capitulated on October 19. Five days later, Clinton arrived in the Chesapeake with 7,000 reinforcements, but by then he was too late and returned to New York.

The war in America was already unpopular in **Britain**, and Yorktown proved a fatal blow to the government under Lord **North**, which opened negotiations in April 1782. With the Treaty of Paris, concluded in September 1783, Britain formally recognized American independence.

**FURTHER READING:** Chidsey, Donald B. *Victory at Yorktown*. New York: Crown, 1962; Davis, Burke. *The Campaign That Won America: The Story of Yorktown*. New York: Dial, 1970; Ketchum, Richard. *Victory at Yorktown: The Campaign That Won the Revolution*. New York: Henry Holt, 2004; Lewis, Charles Lee. *Admiral de Grasse and American Independence*. Reprint., New York: Arno, 1980; Morrill, Dan. L. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1993; Wickwire, Franklin, and Mary Wickwire. *Cornwallis and the War of Independence*. London: Faber and Faber, 1971.

GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

### **Young, Thomas (1731–1777)**

Born in Ulster County, Albany, **New York**, in February 1731, Thomas Young began practicing medicine in 1753. A very well-known deist, Young was also a writer and poet. Historical scholarship has emphasized Young's role as a revolutionary ideologue. He moved to Boston from Albany because of the **Stamp Act** passed by **Parliament** in 1765, which imposed a tax on the American colonies for every piece of paper used, including legal documents, newspapers, and even playing cards. Young left Boston in 1774 before the war started due to a fear of being attacked.

Even though he was a practicing physician who liked his profession very much—so much so that he reportedly developed medical theories, the accuracy of which he insisted upon, so producing the term “Youngism”—Young became renowned for his political activities. A radical, he was involved in almost every politically significant development, especially during the period between 1766 and 1774. He assumed active roles in several local organizations in Boston founded to oppose British rule. While publicly justifying the resort to violence against the opponents of freedom, Young also extensively relied on peaceful means in his activism, such as organizing colonists to prevent the importation of goods from **Britain**. He designed plans to enhance local production and employment so that the American colonies would become less dependent on the British economy.

After the colonies gained their independence from Britain, Young became an ardent advocate of democratic reform. In consideration of his ideas, which were progressive for the time, some called him a radical, a label reflecting his enthusiasm and ambition for a democratic transformation. Young favored democratic rule not only in theory but also in practice. He apparently held that legislatures

should ensure that people meet in public buildings to discuss communal issues and participate in the decision-making process. Young was especially concerned with the status of the lower strata of society and asserted that government should be able to protect the poor and allow the participation of the underprivileged in the political process. Young's popular and democratic inclinations contributed to his recognition as a political radical.

Young's radicalism was mainly associated with his past experiences as a poor man, and it was largely as a result of his poverty that he adopted a hostile attitude toward the apparently unfair distribution of wealth and especially toward those who held large estates. Indeed, he was always involved in conflicts between the landed and the poor. Young's deism has also been cited by historians as more evidence of his radicalism. In a society whose commitment to Christianity was axiomatic, Young's deism was equated with atheism. Young died in Philadelphia in 1777.

**FURTHERREADING:** Edes, Henry H. "Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young: 1731–1777." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions*, vol. 11, 1906–1907 (1910): 2–54; Hawke, David. "Dr. Thomas Young: Eternal Fisher in Troubled Waters: Notes for a Biography." *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 54 (1970): 6–29; Maier, Pauline. "Reason and Revolution: The Radicalism of Dr. Thomas Young." *American Quarterly* 28 (1976): 229–49.

CENAP CAKMAK

# PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

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In the interests of saving space, the texts of the Declaration of the Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are not reproduced here. Readers should note, however, that these documents can be found on the Web site of the National Archives at:

[www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/declaration.html](http://www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/declaration.html)  
[www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/constitution.html](http://www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/constitution.html)  
[www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/bill\\_of\\_rights.html](http://www.archives.gov/national-archives-experience/charters/bill_of_rights.html)

All three documents, as well as the *Federalist Papers*, are also available online courtesy of the Library of Congress at: [memory.loc.gov/ammem/help/constRedir.html](http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/help/constRedir.html)

## 1. Currency Act (April 19, 1774)

The Currency Act, passed by Parliament, was intended to compensate for the scarcity of precious metals in Britain's North American colonies by controlling the issuance of paper money. It proved exceedingly unpopular with the colonists.

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Whereas great quantities of paper bills of credit have been created and issued in his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, by virtue of acts, orders, resolutions, or votes of assembly, making and declaring such bills of credit to be legal tender in payment of money: and whereas such bills of credit have greatly depreciated in their value, by means whereof debts have been discharged with a much less value than was contracted for, to the great discouragement and prejudice of the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects, by occasioning confusion in dealings, and lessening credit in the said colonies or plantations: for remedy whereof, may it please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of September,

one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, no act, order, resolution, or vote of assembly, in any of his Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, shall be made, for creating or issuing any paper bills, or bills of credit of any kind or denomination whatsoever, declaring such paper bills, or bills of credit, to be legal tender in payment of any bargains, contracts, debts, dues, or demands whatsoever; and every clause or provision which shall hereafter be inserted in any act, order, resolution, or vote of assembly, contrary to this act, shall be null and void.

II. And whereas the great quantities of paper bills, or bills of credit, which are now actually in circulation and currency in several colonies or plantations in America, emitted in pursuance of acts of assembly declaring such bills a legal tender, make it highly expedient that the conditions and terms, upon which such bills have been emitted, should not be varied or prolonged, so as to continue the legal tender thereof beyond the terms respectively fixed by such acts for calling in and discharging such bills; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every act, order, resolution, or vote of assembly, in any of the said colonies or plantations, which shall be made to prolong the legal tender of any paper bills, or bills of credit, which are now subsisting and current in any of the said colonies or plantations in America, beyond the times fixed for the calling in, sinking, and discharging of such paper bills, or bills of credit, shall be null and void.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any governor or commander in chief for the time being, in all or any of the said colonies or plantations, shall, from and after the said first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty four, give his assent to any act or order of assembly contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, every such governor or commander in chief shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand pounds, and shall be immediately dismissed from his government, and for ever after rendered incapable of any public office or place of trust.

IV. Provided always, That nothing in this act shall extend to alter or repeal an act passed in the twenty fourth year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second, intituled, An act to regulate and restrain paper bills of credit in his Majesty's colonies or plantations of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, the Massachuset's Bay, and New Hampshire, in America, and to prevent the same being legal tenders in payments of money.

V. Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to make any of the bills now subsisting in any of the said colonies a legal tender.

Pickering, Danby, ed. *The Statutes at Large of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland...* [1225–1867]. London: His Majesty's Statute and Law Printers, 1762–1869.



## 2. Declaratory Act (March 18, 1766)

Passed by Parliament immediately after repeal of the unpopular Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act reaffirmed Parliament's right to enact laws pertaining to the North American colonies.

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An act for the better securing the dependency of his majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain.

Whereas several of the houses of representatives in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, have of late against law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes upon his majesty's subjects in the said colonies and plantations; and have in pursuance of such claim, passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders derogatory to the legislative authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency of the said colonies and plantations upon the crown of Great Britain: may it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be declared; and be it declared by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the King's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever,

II. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings, in any of the said colonies or plantations, whereby the power and authority of the parliament of Great Britain, to make laws and statutes as aforesaid, is denied, or drawn into question, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void to all in purposes whatsoever.

Pickering, Danby, ed. *The Statutes at Large of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland... [1225–1867]*. London: His Majesty's Statute and Law Printers, 1762–1869.



### 3. Association of the Sons of Liberty (New York, December 15, 1773)

The Sons of Liberty was a secret society composed of disgruntled American colonists who objected to the imposition of taxes imposed by Parliament. They played an important part in agitating for rebellion against Britain in the decade prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1775.

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The following association is signed by a great number of the principal gentlemen of the city, merchants, lawyers, and other inhabitants of all ranks, and it is still carried about the city to give an opportunity to those who have not yet signed, to unite with their fellow citizens, to testify their abhorrence to the diabolical project of enslaving America.

It is essential to the freedom and security of a free people, that no taxes be imposed upon them but by their own consent, or their representatives. For "What property have they in that which another may, by right, take when he pleases to himself?" The former is the undoubted right of Englishmen, to secure which they expended millions and sacrificed the lives of thousands. And yet, to the astonishment of all the

world, and the grief of America, the Commons of Great Britain, after the repeal of the memorable and detestable Stamp Act, reassumed the power of imposing taxes on the American colonies; and insisting on it as a necessary badge of parliamentary supremacy, passed a bill, in the seventh year of his present Majesty's reign, imposing duties on all glass, painters' colours, paper, and teas, that should, after the 20th of November, 1767, be "imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America." This bill, after the concurrence of the Lords, obtained the royal assent. And thus they who, from time immemorial, have exercised the right of giving to, or withholding from the crown, their aids and subsidies, according to their own free will and pleasure, signified by their representatives in Parliament, do, by the Act in question, deny us, their brethren in America, the enjoyment of the same right. As this denial, and the execution of that Act, involves our slavery, and would sap the foundation of our freedom, whereby we should become slaves to our brethren and fellow subjects, born to no greater stock of freedom than the Americans—the merchants and inhabitants of this city, in conjunction with the merchants and inhabitants of the ancient American colonies, entered into an agreement to decline a part of their commerce with Great Britain, until the above mentioned Act should be totally repealed. This agreement operated so powerfully to the disadvantage of the manufacturers of England that many of them were unemployed. To appease their clamours, and to provide the subsistence for them, which the non-importation had deprived them of, the Parliament, in 1770, repealed so much of the Revenue Act as imposed a duty on glass, painters' colours, and paper, and left the duty on tea, as a test of the parliamentary right to tax us. The merchants of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, having strictly adhered to the agreement, so far as it is related to the importation of articles subject to an American duty, have convinced the ministry, that some other measures must be adopted to execute parliamentary supremacy over this country, and to remove the distress brought on the East India Company, by the ill policy of that Act. Accordingly, to increase the temptation to the shippers of tea from England, an Act of Parliament passed the last session, which gives the whole duty on tea, the company were subject to pay, upon the importation of it into England, to the purchasers and exporters; and when the company have ten millions of pounds of tea in their warehouses exclusive of the quantity they may want to ship, they are allowed to export tea, discharged from the payment of that duty with which they were before chargeable. In hopes of aid in the execution of this project, by the influence of the owners of the American ships, application was made by the company to the captains of those ships to take the tea on freight; but they virtuously rejected it. Still determined on the scheme, they have chartered ships to bring the tea to this country, which may be hourly expected, to make an important trial of our virtue. If they succeed in the sale of that tea, we shall have no property that we can call our own, and then we may bid adieu to American liberty. Therefore, to prevent a calamity which, of all others, is the most to be dreaded—slavery and its terrible concomitants—we, the subscribers, being influenced from a regard to liberty, and disposed to use all lawful endeavours in our power, to defeat the pernicious project, and to transmit to our posterity those blessings of freedom which our ancestors have handed down to us; and to contribute to the support of the common liberties of America, which are in danger to be subverted, do, for those important purposes, agree to associate together, under the name and style of the sons of New York, and engage our honour to, and with each other faithfully to observe and perform the following resolutions, viz.



- 1st. Resolved, that whoever shall aid or abet, or in any manner assist, in the introduction of tea from any place whatsoever, into this colony, while it is subject, by a British Act of Parliament, to the payment of a duty, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.
- 2d. Resolved, that whoever shall be aiding, or assisting, in the landing, or carting of such tea, from any ship, or vessel, or shall hire any house, storehouse, or cellar or any place whatsoever, to deposit the tea, subject to a duty as aforesaid, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.
- 3d. Resolved, that whoever shall sell, or buy, or in any manner contribute to the sale, or purchase of tea, subject to a duty as aforesaid, or shall aid, or abet, in transporting such tea, by land or water, from this city, until the 7th George III, chap. 46, commonly called the Revenue Act, shall be totally and clearly repealed, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.
- 4th. Resolved, that whether the duties on tea, imposed by this Act, be paid in Great Britain or in America, our liberties are equally affected.
- 5th. Resolved, that whoever shall transgress any of these resolutions, we will not deal with, or employ, or have any connection with him.

Niles, Hezekiah, ed. *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America*. . . . Baltimore: W. O. Niles, 1822.



#### 4. Circular Letter of the Boston Committee of Correspondence (May 13, 1774)

Committees of correspondence were established to enable colonists from different regions of the 13 American colonies to discuss colonial policy and coordinate their activities in response to legislation passed by Parliament. The Boston Committee of Correspondence, the first such committee, was established by Samuel Adams in 1772; it sent out the following circular letter to other colonial committees in 1774.

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We have just received the copy of an Act of the British Parliament passed in the present session whereby the town of Boston is treated in a manner the most ignominious, cruel, and unjust. The Parliament have taken upon them, from the representations of our governor and other persons inimical to and deeply prejudiced against the inhabitants, to try, condemn, and by an Act to punish them, unheard; which would have been in violation of natural justice even if they had an acknowledged jurisdiction. They have ordered our port to be entirely shut up, leaving us barely so much of the means of subsistence as to keep us from perishing with cold and hunger; and it is said that [a] fleet of British ships of war is to block up our harbour until we shall make restitution to the East India Company for the loss of their tea, which was destroyed therein the winter past, obedience is paid to the laws and authority of Great Britain, and the revenue is duly collected. This Act fills the inhabitants with indignation. The more thinking part of those who have hitherto been in favour of the measures of the British government look upon it as not to have been expected even from a barbarous state. This attack, though made immediately upon us, is doubtless designed for every other colony who will not surrender their sacred rights and liberties into the hands of an infamous ministry. Now therefore is the

time when all should be united in opposition to this violation of the liberties of all. Their grand object is to divide the colonies. We are well informed that another bill is to be brought into Parliament to distinguish this from the other colonies by repealing some of the Acts which have been complained of and ease the American trade; but be assured, you will be called upon to surrender your rights if ever they should succeed in their attempts to suppress the spirit of liberty here. The single question then is, whether you consider Boston as now suffering in the common cause, and sensibly feel and resent the injury and affront offered to here. If you do (and we cannot believe otherwise), may we not from your approbation of our former conduct in defense of American liberty, rely on your suspending your trade with Great Britain at least, which it is acknowledged, will be a great but necessary sacrifice to the cause of liberty and will effectually defeat the design of this act of revenge. If this should be done, you will please to consider it will be, though a voluntary suffering, greatly short of what we are called to endure under the immediate hand of tyranny.

We desire your answer by the bearer; and after assuring you that, not in the least intimidated by this inhumane treatment, we are still determined to maintain to the utmost of our abilities the rights of America, we are, gentlemen,

Your friends and fellow countrymen.

Cushing, Harry Alonzo, ed. *The Writings of Samuel Adams*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904–08.



## 5. Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress (October 14, 1774)

The First Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in September 1774, when delegates from 12 colonies assembled to discuss the Coercive Acts passed by Parliament. The establishment of the Congress set an important precedent in the process of American independence, for the Congress declared that while Parliament had a right to regulate trade, it should not pass laws concerning the American colonies without the consent of the colonists themselves.

Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath, in some acts, expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county:

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace: And whereas it has lately been resolved in parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, colonists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treasons and misprisions, or concealments of treasons

committed in the colonies, and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned:

And whereas, in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made; one entitled, "An act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading, or shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England;" another entitled, "An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England;" and another entitled, "An act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England;" and another statute was then made, "for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, etc." All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights:

And whereas, assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his Majesty's ministers of state:

The good people of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet, and sit in general Congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,

That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS:

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty and property: and they have never ceded to any foreign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

*Resolved*, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and

exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bonfide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects, in America, without their consent.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 7. That these, his Majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislature.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire, that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

*Resolved*, N.C.D. That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies, viz.

The several acts of Geo. III. ch. 15, and ch. 34.-5 Geo. III. ch.25.-6 Geo. ch. 52.-7 Geo. III. ch. 41 and ch. 46.-8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their

ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24, intituled, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts-Bay, and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice, etc."

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government) of the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service, in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit, but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. 2. To prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America: and 3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into.

Tansill, Charles C., ed. *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927.



## 6. Articles of Confederation (March 1, 1781)

The Articles of Confederation established the first proper government of the United States. The Second Continental Congress approved the Articles in November 1777, but full ratification by all 13 states did not occur until March 1787.

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Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut,

New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

1 March 1781

**I.**

The Stile of this Confederacy shall be “The United States of America”.

**II.**

Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

**III.**

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

**IV.**

The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

**V.**

For the most convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislatures of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests or imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

## VI.

No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, Prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any King, Prince or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any King, Prince or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgement of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of filed pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then

only against the Kingdom or State and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

#### VII.

When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

#### VIII.

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

#### IX.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other causes whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with



another shall present a petition to Congress stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgement and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgement, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgement or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgement, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, 'well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgement, without favor, affection or hope of reward': provided also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standards of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing or regulating post offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service

of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated ‘A Committee of the States’, and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their members to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a solid-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled. But if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of each State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spread out in the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, cloath, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of the majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgement require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

**X.**

The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of the nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled be requisite.

**XI.**

Canada acceding to this confederation, and adjoining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

**XII.**

All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

**XIII.**

Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union. Know Ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said Confederation are submitted to them. And that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Eight, and in the Third Year of the independence of America.

Tansill, Charles C., ed. *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927.



### 7. Tennis Court Oath (June 20, 1789)

The deputies of the French Third Estate, upon finding themselves locked out of their usual meeting hall, moved to the royal tennis court at Versailles and declared that thereafter legislative authority would rest with them rather than with the king, thus setting the stage for the establishment of the National Assembly.

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The National Assembly, considering that it has been summoned to determine the constitution of the kingdom, to effect the regeneration of public order, and to maintain the true principles of the monarchy; that nothing can prevent it from continuing its deliberations in whatever place it may be forced to establish itself, and lastly, that whenever its members meet together, there is the National Assembly.

Decrees that all the members of this assembly shall immediately take a solemn oath never to separate, and to reassemble whenever circumstances shall require, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and consolidated upon firm foundations; and that, the said oath being taken, all members and each of them individually shall ratify by their signatures this steadfast resolution.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.



### 8. Fourth of August Decrees (August 4–5, 1789)

These decrees established various rights for the French population and abolished the centuries-old institution of feudalism.

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1. The National Assembly completely abolishes the feudal regime. It decrees that, among the rights and dues, both feudal and *censuel*, all those originating in real or personal serfdom, personal servitude, and those which represent them, are abolished, without indemnification; all others are declared redeemable, and that the price and mode of the redemption shall be fixed by the National Assembly. Those of the said dues which are not extinguished by this decree shall, nevertheless, continue to be collected until indemnification takes place.
  2. The exclusive right to maintain pigeon-houses and dove-cotes is abolished; the pigeons shall be confined during the seasons fixed by the communities; and during that time, they shall be regarded as game, and every one shall have the right to kill them upon his hand.
  3. The exclusive right to hunt and to maintain unenclosed warrens is likewise abolished; and every land-owner shall have the right to kill or to have destroyed upon his own land only, all kinds of game, observing, however, such police regulations as may be established with a view to the safety of the public.

All *captaineries*, royal included, and all hunting reserves, under whatever denominations, are likewise abolished; and provision shall be made, in a manner compatible with the respect due to property and liberty, for maintaining the personal pleasures of the king.

The president of the assembly shall be commissioned to ask for the king the recall of those sent to the galleys or exiled simply for violations of the hunting regulations, as well as for the release of those at present imprisoned for offences of this kind, and the dismissal of such cases as are now pending.

4. All manorial courts are suppressed without indemnification; nevertheless, the magistrates of these courts shall continue to perform their functions until such time as the National Assembly shall provide for the establishment of a new judicial system.
5. Tithes of every description and the dues which have been substituted for them, under whatever denomination they are known or collected, even when compounded for, possessed by secular or regular congregations, by holders of benefices, members of corporations, including the Order of Malta and other religious and military orders, as well as those impropriated to lay persons and those substituted for the *portion congruë*, are abolished, on condition, however, that some other method be devised to provide for the expenses of divine worship, the support of the officiating clergy, the relief of the poor, repairs and rebuilding of churches and parsonages, and for all establishments, seminaries, schools, academies, asylums, communities and other institutions, for the maintenance of which they are actually devoted. And moreover, until such provision shall be made and the former possessors shall enter upon the enjoyment of an income on the new system, the National Assembly decrees that the said tithes shall continue to be collected according to law and in the customary manner. Other tithes of whatever nature they may be, shall be redeemable in such manner as the Assembly shall determine. Until such regulation shall be issued, the National Assembly decrees that these, too, shall continue to be collected.
6. All perpetual ground rents, payable either in money or in kind, of whatever nature they may be, whatever their origin, and to whomsoever they may be due, as to members of corporations, domanial apanagists, or to the Order of Malta, shall be redeemable; *champarts*, of every kind and under every denomination, shall likewise be redeemable at a rate fixed by the assembly. No due shall in the future be created which is not redeemable.
7. The sale of judicial and municipal offices shall be suppressed forthwith. Justice shall be dispensed gratis; nevertheless, the magistrates at present holding such offices shall continue to exercise their functions and to receive their emoluments until the assembly shall have made provision for indemnifying them.
8. The fees of the country *curés* are abolished; and shall be discontinued as soon as provision shall be made for increasing the minimum salary (*portion congruë*) for priests and for the payment of the curates; and there shall be a regulation drawn up to determine the status of the priests in the towns.
9. Pecuniary privileges, personal or real, in the payment of taxes are abolished forever. The assessment shall be made upon all the citizens and upon all property, in the same manner and in the same form; and plans shall be considered by which the taxes shall be paid proportionally by all, even for the last six months of the current year.
10. Inasmuch as a national constitution and public liberty are of more advantage to the provinces than the privileges which some of these enjoy, and inasmuch as the surrender of such privileges is essential to the intimate union of all parts of the realm, it is declared that all the peculiar privileges, pecuniary or otherwise, of the provinces, principalities, districts, cantons, cities and communes, are once for all abolished and are absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen.

11. All citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity, whether ecclesiastical, civil or military; and no profession shall imply any derogation.
12. Hereafter no remittances shall be made for annates or for any other purpose to the court of Rome, the vice-legation at Avignon, or to the nunciature at Lucerne; but the clergy of the diocese shall apply to their bishops for all provisions in regard to benefices and dispensations, which shall be granted gratis, without regard to reservations, expectancies, and monthly divisions, all the churches of France enjoying the same freedom.
13. The rights of deport, of *côte-morte*, *dépouilles*, *vacat*, *censaux*, Peter's pence, and other dues of the same kind, under whatever denomination, established in favour of bishops, archdeacons, archpresbyters, chapter, *curés primitifs* and all others, are abolished, but appropriate provision shall be made for those benefices of archdeacons and archpresbyters which are not sufficiently endowed.
14. Pluralities shall not be permitted hereafter in cases where the revenue from the benefice or benefices held shall exceed the sum of three thousand livres. Nor shall any individual be allowed to enjoy several pensions from benefices, or a pension and a benefice, if the revenue which he already enjoys from such sources exceeds the same sum of three thousand livres.
15. The National Assembly shall consider, in conjunction with the king, the report which is to be submitted to it relating to pensions, favors and salaries, with a view to suppressing all such as are not deserved and reducing those which shall prove excessive; and the amount shall be fixed which the king may in the future disburse for this purpose.
16. The National Assembly decrees that a medal shall be struck in memory of the recent grave and important deliberations for the welfare of France, and that a *Te Deum* shall be chanted in gratitude in all the parishes and the churches of France.
17. The National Assembly solemnly proclaims the king, Louis XVI, the *Restorer of French Liberty*.
18. The National Assembly shall present itself in a body before the king, in order to submit to His Majesty the decree which has just been passed, to tender to him the tokens of its most respectful gratitude, and to pray him to permit the *Te Deum* to be chanted in his chapel, and to be present himself at this service.
19. The National Assembly shall consider, immediately after the constitution, the drawing up of laws necessary for the development of the principles which it has laid down in the present decree which shall be transmitted without delay by the deputies to all the provinces, together with the decree of the tenth of this month, in order that both may be printed, published, announced from the parish pulpits, and posted up wherever it shall be deemed necessary.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

## 9. Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 26, 1789)

In the course of its debates, the French National Assembly established a manifesto that articulated the principles and philosophy of the Revolution. The Declaration of the Rights of Man stated that all citizens were equal under the law, were entitled to freedom of speech and opinion, and possessed the right to liberty and property.

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the Social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the objects and purposes of all political institutions and may thus be more respected, and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

Article I. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.

Article II. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

Article III. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

Article IV. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

Article V. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.

Article VI. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

Article VII. No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed, any arbitrary order, shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offense.

Article VIII. The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offense.

Article IX. As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law.

Article X. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

Article XI. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

Article XII. The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military forces. These forces are, therefore, established for the good of all and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be entrusted.

Article XIII. A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.

Article XIV. All the citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection and the duration of the taxes.

Article XV. Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration.

Article XVI. A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all.

Article XVII. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.



## 10. Decree on the Church (November 2, 1789)

The Decree on the Church declared all ecclesiastical property henceforth at the disposal of the French nation but offered provision for those clergy who continued to perform their religious duties.

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The National Assembly decrees, 1st, that all the ecclesiastical estates are at the disposal of the nation, on condition of providing in a suitable manner for the expense of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the relief of the poor, under the supervision and following the directions of the provinces; 2d. that in the provisions to be made, in order to provide for the maintenance of the ministers of religion, there can be assured for the endowment of each cure not less than twelve hundred livres per annum, not including the dwelling and the gardens attached.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.



## 11. Decree Abolishing Hereditary Nobility and Titles (June 19, 1790)

In the course of a few years, the French Revolution swept away centuries of privilege, including hereditary titles and other trappings of the hitherto entrenched aristocracy and nobility.

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1. Hereditary nobility is forever abolished; in consequence the titles of prince, duke, count, marquis, viscount, vidame, baron, knight, *messire*, *écuyer*, *noble*, and all other similar titles, shall neither be taken by anyone whomsoever nor given to anybody.



2. A citizen may take only the true name of his family; no one may wear liveries nor cause them to be worn, nor have armorial bearings incense shall not be burned in the temples, except in order to honor the divinity, and shall not be offered for any one whomsoever.
3. The titles of *monseigneur* and *messeigneurs* shall not be given to any society nor to any person, likewise the titles of excellency, highness, eminence, grace, etc.; nevertheless, no citizen, under pretext of the present decree, shall be permitted to make an attack on the monuments placed in the temples, the charters, titles and other tokens of interest to families or properties, nor the decorations of any public or private place; nevertheless, the execution of the provisions relative to the liveries and the arms placed upon carriages shall not be carried out nor demanded by any one whomsoever before the 14th of July for the citizens living in Paris and before three months for those who inhabit the country.
4. No foreigners are included in the provisions of the present decree; they may preserve in France their liveries and their armorial bearings.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

## 12. Decree for Reorganizing the Judicial System (August 16, 1790)

In seeking to establish freedom for all before the law and a more equitable system of justice, the French revolutionaries abolished the sale of judicial offices, guaranteed trial by jury, and decreed that all such proceedings must be held in public.

### TITLE I. OF THE ARBITERS

1. Arbitration being the most reasonable means for the termination of disputes between citizens, the legislature shall not make any provision which may tend to diminish either the popularity or the efficiency of the compromise.

### TITLE II. OF THE JUDGES IN GENERAL

1. Justice shall be rendered in the name of the King.
2. The sale of judicial offices is abolished forever; the judges shall render justice gratuitously and shall be salaried by the state.
3. The judges shall be elected by the justiciable.
4. They shall be elected for six years; at the expiration of this term a new election shall take place, in which the same judges may be re-elected.  
...
12. They shall not make regulations, but they shall have recourse to the legislative body, whenever they think necessary, either to interpret a law or to make a new one.
13. The judicial functions are distinct and shall always remain separate from the administrative functions. The judges, under penalty of forfeiture, shall not disturb in any manner whatsoever the operations of the administrative bodies, nor cite before them the administrators on account of their function.
14. In every civil or criminal matter, the pleadings, testimony, and decisions shall be public, and every citizen shall have the right to defend his own case, either verbally or in writing.

15. Trial by jury shall occur in criminal matters; the examination shall be made publicly and shall have the publicity which shall be determined.
16. A privilege in matters of jurisdiction is abolished; all citizens, without distinction, shall plead in the same form and before the same judges in the same cases.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.



### 13. Decree for the Maintenance of Public Order (June 21, 1791)

Fear of the mob motivated successive French revolutionary governments to issue decrees such as the one reproduced below, which called for public calm at times of crisis.

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The National Assembly declares to the citizens of Paris and to all the inhabitants of the kingdom, that the same firmness which it has exhibited in the midst of all the difficulties that have attended its labours will control its deliberations upon the occasion of carrying away the king and the royal family. It notifies all citizens that the maintenance of the constitution and the safety of the empire have never more imperatively demanded good order and public tranquillity; that the National Assembly has taken the most energetic measures to follow the traces of those who have made themselves guilty of carrying away the king and the royal family; that, without interrupting its sittings, it will employ every means in order that the public interest may not suffer from that event; that all citizens ought to reply entirely upon it for the arrangements which the safety of the kingdom may demand; and that everything which may excite trouble, alarm individuals, or menace property, would be all the more culpable since thereby liberty and the constitution might be compromised.

It orders that the citizens of Paris hold themselves in readiness to act for the maintenance of public order and the defense of the fatherland, in accordance with the orders which will be given them in conformity with the decrees of the National Assembly.

It orders the department administrators and the municipal officers to cause the present decree to be promulgated immediately and to look with care to the public tranquillity.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.



### 14. Decree Upon the Oath of Allegiance (June 22, 1791)

Amid growing fear of invasion by the royalist armies beyond the Rhine, the French revolutionary government called upon its troops to swear to defend their homeland from the forces of counterrevolution.

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The National Assembly decrees as follows:

1. That the oath ordered on 11 and 13 June, the present month, shall be taken in the following form:

“I swear to employ the arms placed in my hands for the defence of the fatherland and to maintain against all its enemies within and without the constitution decreed by the National Assembly; to perish rather than to suffer the invasion of French territory by foreign troops, and to obey only the orders which shall be given in consequence of the decrees of the National Assembly.”

2. That commissioners, taken from within the body of the assembly, shall be sent into the frontier departments in order to receive there the above-mentioned oath, a record of which shall be drawn up, and to concert there with the administrative bodies and the commanders of the troops and measures which they think suitable for the maintenance of public order and the security of the state, and to make for that purpose all the necessary requisitions.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

## 15. The King's Acceptance of the Constitution (September 13, 1791)

By accepting the constitution of 1791, King Louis XVI formally acknowledged the existence of constraints upon his rule.

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Gentlemen: I have examined attentively the constitutional act which you have presented to me for my acceptance; I accept it and shall cause it to be executed. This declaration might have sufficed at another time; today I owe it to the interests of the nation, I owe it to myself, to make known my reasons.

Let everyone recall the moment at which I went away from Paris: the constitution was on the point of completion; nevertheless the authority of the laws seemed to become enfeebled every day. Opinion, far from becoming fixed, was subdividing into a multitude of parties. The most extreme opinions alone seemed to obtain favour, the license of the press was at the highest pitch, no authority was respected. I could no longer recognize the mark of the general will in the laws which I saw everywhere without force and without execution. At that time, I am bound to declare, if you had presented the constitution to me, I should not have believed that the interest of the people (the constant and sole rule of my conduct) would permit me to accept it. I ha only one feeling, I formed only one project: I wished to isolate myself from all he parties and to know what was truly the will of the nation.

The considerations which were controlling me no longer remain today; since then the inconveniences and evils of which I was complaining have impressed you as they did me; you have manifested a desire to re-establish order, you have directed your attention to the lack of discipline in the army, you have recognized the necessity of repressing the abuses of the press. The revision of your work has put in the

number of the regulative laws several articles which had been presented to me as constitutional. You have established legal forms for the revision of those which you have placed in the constitution. Finally, the opinions of the people is to me no longer doubtful; I have seen it manifested both in their adhesion to your work and their attachment to the maintenance of the monarchical government.

I accept ten the constitution. I take the engagement to maintain it within, to defend it against attacks from without, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it places in my power. I declare that, instructed by the adhesion which the great majority of the people give to the constitution, I renounce the co-operation which I had claimed in that work; and that, being responsible only to the nation, no other, when I renounce it, has the right to complain thereof. I should be lacking in sincerity, however, if I said that I perceived in the means of execution an administration, all the energy which may be necessary in order to give motion to and to preserve unity in all parts of so vast an empire; but since opinions at present at divided upon these matters, I consent that experience alone remain judge therein. When I shall have loyalty caused to operate all the means which have been left to me, no reproach can be aimed at me, and the nation, whose interests alone ought to serve as rule, will explain itself by the means which the constitution has reserved to it.

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## 16. Brunswick Manifesto (July 25, 1792)

While the manifesto issued by the Duke of Brunswick, the allied commander-in-chief, was intended to protect Louis XVI and his family from harm at the hands of the French populace, it proved spectacularly counterproductive, for it turned public opinion against the notion of restoring Bourbon rule in France and galvanized resistance to the invading Austro-Prussian army.

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Their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, having committed to me the command of the united armies which they have causes to assemble on the frontiers of France, I have wished to announced to the inhabitants of this kingdom, the motives have determined the measures of the two sovereigns and the intentions which guide them.

After having arbitrarily suppressed the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, disturbed and overthrown good order and legitimate government in the interior exercised against the sacred person of the king and his august family outrages and brutalities which are still carried on and renewed day by day those who have usurped the reins of the administration have at last completed their work by declaring an unjust war against His Majesty the Emperor and by attacking his provinces situated in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions of the Germanic Empire have been enveloped in this oppression, and several others have only escaped the same danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the dominant party and of its emissaries.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty by the bonds of a strict defensive alliance and himself the preponderant member of the Germanic body, could not excuse himself from marching to the help of his ally and his co-state; and it is under this double relationship that he takes up the defense of this monarch and of Germany.

To these great interests is added another aim equally important and very dear to the hearts of the two sovereigns; it is to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to stop the attacks carried on against the throne and the altar, to re-establish the legal power, to restore to the king the security and liberty of which he is deprived, and to put him in a position to exercise the legitimate authority which is his due.

Convinced that the sound part of the French nation abhors the excesses of a faction which dominates it, and that the greatest number of the inhabitants look forward with impatience to the moment of relief to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors, His Majesty the Emperor and His Majesty the King of Prussia, call upon them and invite them to return without delay to the ways of reason, justice, order and peace. It is in accordance with these views, that I, the undersigned, the General, commanding in chief the two armies, declare:

1. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts propose to themselves no other aim than the welfare of France and have no intention of enriching themselves by conquests;
2. That they do not intend to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they merely wish to deliver the king, the queen and the royal family from their captivity, and to procure for His Most Christian Majesty the necessary security that he may make without danger or hindrance the conventions which he shall judge suitable and may work for the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises and as far as it shall depend on him;
3. That the combined armies will protect the towns, boroughs and villages and the persons and goods of those who shall submit to the king and who shall co-operate in the immediate re-establishment of order and of the police in the whole of France.
4. That the national guard will be called upon to watch provisionally over the peace of the towns and country districts, the security of the persons and goods of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until otherwise ordered, under pain of being personally responsible; that on the contrary, those of the national guard who shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, will be treated as enemies and punished as rebels to their king and as disturbers of the public peace;
5. That the generals, officers, under officers and troops of the French line are likewise summoned to return to their former fidelity and to submit themselves at once to the king, their legitimate sovereign;
6. That the members of the departments, of the districts and municipalities shall likewise answer with their heads and their goods for all offences. Fires, murders, pillaging, and acts of violence, which they shall allow to be committed, or which they have not manifestly exerted themselves to prevent within their territory; that they shall likewise be required to continue their functions provisionally, until His Most Christian Majesty, being once more at liberty, may have provided for them subsequently or until it shall have been otherwise ordained in his name in the meantime;
7. That the inhabitants of the towns, boroughs and villages who may dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties and fire on them either in the open country, or through windows, doors and openings of their houses, shall be punished immediately according to the strictness of the law of war, and their houses

destroyed or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, boroughs and villages, who shall submit to their king, opening their doors to the troops of their Majesties, shall at once be placed under their immediate protection; their persons, their property, and their effects shall be under the protection of the laws, and the general security of all and each of them shall be provided for;

8. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction shall be required to submit at once and without delay to the king, to put that prince in full and perfect liberty, and to assure him as well as the other royal personages the inviolability and respect which the law of nations and men requires of subjects toward their sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties declare personally responsible with their lives for all events, to be tried by military law and without hope of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, district, municipality and national guard of Paris, the justices of the peace and all others that shall be concerned; their said Majesties also declare on their honor and on their word as Emperor and King, that if the château of the Tuileries be entered by force or attacked, if the least violence or outrage be offered to their Majesties, the king, queen and royal family, if their preservation and their liberty be not immediately provided for, they will exact an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance, by delivering the city of Paris over to a military execution and to complete ruin, and the rebels guilty of these outrages to the punishments they shall have deserved. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties, on the contrary, promise the inhabitants of Paris to employ their good offices with his Most Christian Majesty to obtain pardon for their misdeeds and errors, and to take the most vigorous measures to assure their lives and property, if they obey promptly and exactly all the above mentioned order.

Finally, their Majesties being able to recognize as laws in France only those which shall emanate from the king, in the enjoyment of a perfect liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of any declarations which may be made in the name of His Most Christian Majesty, so long as his sacred person, that of the queen, and those of the royal family shall not be really in security, for the effecting of which they Imperial and Royal Majesties beg His Most Christian Majesty to appoint the city in his kingdom nearest the frontiers, to which he would prefer to retire with the queen and his family under good and sufficient escort, which will be furnished him for this purpose, so that his most Christian Majesty may in all security summon such ministers and councillors as he may see fit, hold such meeting as he deems best, provide for the re-establishment of good order and regulate the administration of his kingdom.

Finally, I declare and bind myself, moreover, in my own private name and in my above capacity, to cause the troops entrusted to my command to observe a good and exact discipline, promising to treat with kindness and moderation all well intentioned subjects who show themselves peaceful and submissive, and only to use force against those who shall make themselves guilty of resistance and ill-will.

It is for these reasons that I call upon and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom in the strongest and most urgent manner not to oppose the march and the operations of the troops which I command, but rather to grant them everywhere a free passage and with every good will to aid and assist as circumstances shall require.

Charles-William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

A decorative flourish or signature mark at the bottom of the page, consisting of stylized, overlapping letters and lines.

## 17. Decree for Suspending the King (August 10, 1792)

By this decree, France formally became a republic, placed the king under arrest, and set the stage for an increasingly radical turn in the fortunes of the French Revolution.

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The National Assembly, considering that the dangers of the fatherland have reached their heights;

That it is for the legislative body the most sacred of duties to employ all means to save it;

That it is impossible to find efficacious ones, unless they shall occupy themselves with removing the source of its evils;

Considering that these evils spring principally from the misgivings which the conduct of the head of the executive power has inspired, in a war undertaken in his name against the constitution and the national independence;

That these misgivings have provoked from different parts of the kingdom a desire tending to the revocation of the authority delegated to Louis XVI;

Considering, nevertheless, that the legislative body ought not to wish to aggrandize itself by any usurpation;

That in the extraordinary circumstances wherein events unprovided for by any of the laws have placed it, it cannot reconcile what it owes, in its unshaken fidelity to the constitution, with the firm resolve to be buried under the ruins of the temple of liberty rather than to permit it to perish, except by recurring to the sovereignty of the people and by taking at the same time the precautions which are indispensable, in order that this recourse may not be rendered illusory by treasons; decrees as follows:

1. The French people are invited to form a national convention; the extraordinary commission shall present tomorrow a proposal to indicate the method and the time of this convention.
2. The head of the executive power is provisionally suspended from his functions until the national convention has pronounced upon the measures which it believes ought to be adopted in order to assure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality.
3. The extraordinary commission shall present within a day a method for organizing a new ministry; the ministers actually in service shall continue provisionally the exercise of their functions.
4. The extraordinary commission shall present, likewise, within the day, a proposal for a decree upon the selection of a governor for the prince royal.
5. The payment of the civil list shall continue suspended until the decision of the national convention. The extraordinary commission shall present, without twenty-four hours, a proposal for a decree upon the stipend to be granted to the king during the suspension.
6. The registers of the civil list shall be deposited in the office of the National Assembly, after having been numbered and attested by two commissioners of the assembly, who shall repair for that purpose to the intendant of the civil list.
7. The king and his family shall reside within the precincts of the legislative body until quiet may be re-established in Paris.
8. The department shall give orders to cause to be prepared for them within the day a lodging at the Luxembourg [Palace], where they shall be put under the custody of the citizens and the law.

9. Every public functionary, every soldier, under-officer, officer, of whatever grade he may be, and general of an army, who, in these days of alarm shall abandon his post, is declared infamous and traitorous to the fatherland.
10. The department and the municipality of Paris shall cause the present decree to be immediately and solemnly proclaimed.
11. It shall be sent by extraordinary couriers to the eighty-three departments, which shall be required to cause it to reach the municipalities of their jurisdiction within twenty-four hours, in order to be proclaimed with the same solemnity.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.



### 18. Decree for the *Levée en Masse* (August 23, 1793)

In response to the French Republic's desperate need for manpower on an unprecedented scale, the Convention decreed the *levée en masse*, or mass conscription, which laid claim to the services of a large section of the population, above all men fit to fight.

1. From this moment until that in which the enemy shall have been driven from the soil of the Republic, all Frenchmen are in permanent requisition for the service of the armies.
2. The young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the aged shall betake themselves to the public places in order to arouse the courage of the warriors and preach the hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic.
3. The national buildings shall be converted into barracks, the public places into workshops for arms, the soil of the cellars shall be washed in order to extract therefrom the saltpetre.
4. The arms of the regulation calibre shall be reserved exclusively for those who shall march against the enemy; the service of the interior shall be performed with hunting pieces and side arms.
5. The saddle horses are put in requisition to complete the cavalry corps; the draught-horses, other than those employed in agriculture, shall convey the artillery and the provisions.
6. The Committee of Public Safety is charged to take all the necessary measures to set up without delay an extraordinary manufacture of arms of every sort which corresponds with the ardor and energy of the French people. It is, accordingly, authorized to form all the establishments, factories, workshops and mills which shall be deemed necessary for the carrying on of these works, as well as to put in requisition, within the extent of the Republic, the artists and workingmen who can contribute to their success. For this purpose there shall be put at the disposal of the Minister of War a sum of thirty millions, to be taken out of the four hundred ninety-eight million two hundred thousand livres in *assignats* which are in reserve in the fund of the three keys. The central establishment of this extraordinary manufacture shall be fixed at Paris.
7. The representatives of the people sent out for the execution of the present law shall have the same authority in their respective districts, acting in concert with the



Committee of Public Safety; they are invested with the unlimited powers assigned to the representatives of the people and the armies.

8. Nobody can get himself replaced in the service for which he shall have been requisitioned. The public functionaries shall remain at their posts.
9. The levy shall be general. The unmarried citizens and widowers without children, from eighteen to twenty-five years, shall march first; they shall assemble without delay at the head-town of their districts, where they shall practice every day at the manual of arms while awaiting the hour of departure.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

### 19. Law of Suspects (September 17, 1793)

During the course of the Reign of Terror, the Committee of Public Safety grew increasingly paranoid, issuing decrees and passing laws that made a mockery of the rights guaranteed under the constitution of 1791. The Law of Suspects is one example of French revolutionary fervor gone awry.

1. Immediately after the publication of the present decree all the suspect-persons who are in the territory of the Republic and who are still at liberty shall be placed under arrest.
2. These are accounted suspect-persons: 1st, those who by their conduct, their connections, their remarks, or their writings show themselves the partisans of tyranny or federalism and the enemies of liberty; 2d, those who cannot, in the manner prescribed by the decree of March 21st last, justify their means of existence and the performance of their civic duties; 3d, those who have been refused certificates of civism; 4th, public functionaries suspended or removed from their functions by the National Convention or its commissioners and not reinstated, especially those who have been or shall be removed in virtue of the decree of August 14th last; 5th, those of the former nobles, all the husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons or daughters, brothers, or sisters, and agent of the *émigrés* who have not constantly manifested their attachment to the revolution; 6th, those who have emigrated from France in the interval from 1 July 1789, to the publication of the decree of 30 March-8 April 1792, although they may have returned to France within the period fixed by that decree or earlier.
3. The committees of surveillance established according to the decree of 21 March last, or those which have been substituted for them, either by the orders of the representatives of the people sent with the armies and into the departments, or in virtue of special decrees of the National Convention, are charged to prepare, each in its district, the list of suspect-persons, to issue warrants of arrest against them, and to cause seals to be put upon their papers. The commanders of the public force to whom these warrants shall be delivered shall be required to put them into execution immediately, under penalty of removal.
4. The members of the committee without being seven in number and an absolute majority of votes cannot order the arrest of any person.
5. The persons arrested as suspects shall be first conveyed to the jail of the place of their imprisonment: in default of jails, they shall be kept from view in their respective dwellings.

6. Within eight days following they shall be transferred to the national building, which the administrations of the department, immediately after the receipt of the present decree, shall be required to designate and to cause to be prepared for that purpose.
7. The prisoners can cause to be transferred to these buildings the movables which are of absolute necessity to them; they shall remain there under guard until the peace.
8. The expenses of custody shall be at the charge of the prisoners and shall be divided among them equally; this custody shall be confided preferably to the fathers of families and the parents of the citizens who are upon or shall go to the frontiers. The salary for it is fixed for each man of the guard at the value of a day and a half of labor.
9. The committees of surveillance shall send without delay to the committee of general security of the National Convention the list of the persons whom they shall have caused to be arrested, with the reasons for their arrest and the papers which shall have been seized with them as suspect-persons.
10. The civil and criminal tribunals can, if there is need, cause to be arrested and sent into the above mentioned jails persons accused of offences in respect of whom it may have been declared that there was no ground for accusation, or who may have been acquitted of the accusations brought against them.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

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## 20. Decree Upon Religious Toleration (December 8, 1793; 18 Frimaire, Year II)

While the French National Convention attempted to establish a new form of state religion to replace Roman Catholicism, all such measures failed. The following decree guaranteed all citizens the right to express their faith freely.

1. All violence and measures in constraint of liberty of worship are forbidden.
2. The surveillance of the constituted authorities and the action of the public force shall confine themselves in this matter, each or what concerns it, to measures of police and public safety.
3. The National Convention, by preceding provisions, does not mean to derogate in any manner from the laws or precautions of public safety against the refractory or turbulent priests, or against all those who may attempt to take advantage of the pretext of religion to compromise the cause of liberty; no more does it intend to disapprove of what has been done up to this day in virtue of the orders of the representatives of the people, nor to furnish or for diminishing the free text for disturbing patriotism or for diminishing the free scope of the public spirit. The Convention invites all good citizens, in the name of the fatherland, to abstain from all disputes that are theological or foreign to the great interests of the French people, in order to co-operate by all methods in the triumph of the Republic and the ruin of all its enemies.

Ministre de l'instruction publique, ed. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Documents de la période révolutionnaire*. 28 vols. Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889.

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