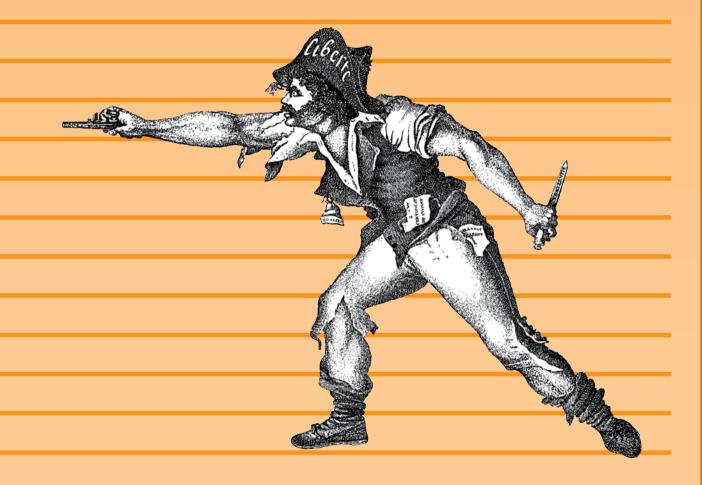
FRENCH REVOLUTION



STUDY AND EXAM GUIDE



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FRENCH REVOLUTION

STUDY AND EXAM GUIDE

2ND EDITION

Darius von Güttner Olivia Heaton Ian Lyell

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REVISION CHECKLISTS

AREA OF STUDY 1: CAUSES OF REVOLUTION (1744-4 AUGUST 1789)

Below are all of the key knowledge outcomes for Area of Study 1 (AOS1) in the VCE History Study Design. You may be required to answer a SAC or an exam question about any of these.

Revise each outcome carefully. Test whether you can explain it to another person or write about it in a practice exam question. Once you have revised each item, tick it off the checklist below.

There are four types of key knowledge outcomes. Basically, you need to be able to explain how each of the following *caused* the revolution. More specifically:

KEY KNOWLEDGE OUTCOME TYPE	WHAT YOU NEED TO BE ABLE TO DO
★ the events and conditions that contributed to the outbreak of revolution	Can you explain the causes and effects of each of these events? Can you explain how they were significant in bringing about a revolutionary situation?
the ideas that played a significant role in challenging the existing order	Can you explain how these inspired the French people to challenge their government?
† the role of individuals in challenging or maintaining the power of the existing order	Can you explain how the actions of this person helped strengthen and/or weaken the government?
the contribution of popular movements in mobilising society and challenging the existing order.	Can you explain how these groups gained the support of the French people and challenged the government ?

Notes	Test	FRANCE AOS1 KEY KNOW	WLEDGE	
		Key Movements and	# 	Nobility
		Key Ideas	###	Bourgeoisie
			###	Urban workers of Paris
			###	Peasants
			*	Attack on feudalism
			*	Enlightenment ideas: the critique of privilege, the critique of absolute authority, attack on the Church, claims to popular sovereignty, equality
		TOPIC 1	Ť	Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette
		Events and Conditions in the Ancien Régime	N	Social conditions
		That Contributed to the Outbreak of	M	Political conditions
		Revolution (1774–1789)	M	Economic conditions

FRANCE AOS1 KEY KNOWLE	DGE		Notes	Te
TOPIC 2	*	Enlightenment ideas		
Impact of the	M	Involvement in the American War of Independence		
Enlightenment Ideas	Ť	Jacques Necker and the <i>Compte rendu αu roi</i>		
(1774–1787)	M	Economic collapse and bankruptcy		
TOPIC 3	# İ†	Revolt of the Notables		
The Aristocratic Revolt	Ť	Marquis de Lafayette		
and Demands for Reform	\$	The critique of absolute authority		
(1787–August 1788)	M	Day of Tiles		
	M	Harvest crisis and food shortages		
TOPIC 4	N	The calling of the Estates-General and their regulation		
Towards Popular	M	The cahiers de doléances		
Sovereignty	₩ †	Political pamphlets, Abbé Sieyès's What Is the Third Estate?		
(September 1788– June 1789)	# †† †	The Réveillon Riots		
June 1703)	N	Events of the Estates-General		
TOPIC 5	†	Dismissal of Jacques Necker		
The Revolution	M	Storming of the Bastille		
Materialises	# †† † //	The Great Fear		
(July–4 August 1789)	M	Night of 4 August 1789 (Night of Patriotic Delirium)		

If you want to achieve the highest marks on the exam, it is very helpful to gather and memorise a range of quotations that illustrate different **historical perspectives** (views of people at the time) and **historical interpretations** (views of historians) of the causes of the French Revolution. A good target would be to gather three quotations on each of the following:

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AND INTERPRETATIONS				
FRANCE AOS1	Social, economic and political conditions that contributed to the outbreak of revolution			
	The significance of France's involvement in the American War of Independence			
	The role of Louis XVI in the development of revolution			
	Causes and significance of economic collapse and bankruptcy			
	The role and significance of Jacques Necker in the development of revolution			
	The causes and significance of the calling of the Estates-General			
	The significance of the <i>cahiers de doléances</i>			
	The role of Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès in the development of revolution			
	The role of the nobility in the development of revolution			
	The causes of the night of 4 August 1789			

AREA OF STUDY 2: CONSEQUENCES OF REVOLUTION (5 AUGUST 1789-1795)

Below are all of the key knowledge outcomes for Area of Study 2 (AOS2) in the VCE History Study Design. You may be required to answer a SAC or an exam question about any of these.

Revise each outcome carefully. Test whether you can explain it to another person or write about it in a practice exam question. Once you have revised each item, tick it off the checklist below.

There are four types of key knowledge outcomes. Basically, you need to be able to assess how effectively the revolutionary government overcame challenges and changed society. More specifically:

KEY KNOWLEDGE OUTCOME TYPE	WHAT YOU NEED TO BE ABLE TO DO
the challenges the new regime faced in attempting to consolidate its power	Can you explain how each of these challenged the revolutionary government, how it responded , and what the outcomes were?
the changes and continuities in political, social, cultural and economic conditions that influenced leaders to compromise and/or achieve their revolutionary ideals	Can you identify what changed versus what stayed the same ? Can you identify where the revolutionaries achieved their goals , and where they had to compromise ?
† the role of significant individuals that influenced and changed society	Can you explain how the actions of this person changed society?
the diverse revolutionary experiences of social groups and their responses to the challenges and changes to the conditions of everyday life.	Can you explain how each of these groups was affected by the decisions made by the revolutionary government? Can you explain how each of these groups reacted to, supported or challenged the revolutionary government?

Notes	Test	FRANCE AOS2 KEY KNOWI	.EDGE	
		TOPIC 6	()	August Decrees
		End of Feudalism and	()	Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (DORMAC)
		the Rights of Men (August–October 1789)	()	Changes and continuities in political conditions
		,	M	The October Days: Women's March to Versailles
		TOPIC 7	M	Reforms to the Church
		Early Reforms (November 1789–1790)	M	Hostility of the papacy
	(November 1789–1790) TOPIC 8 The End of the Revolutionary Consensus (1791–August 1792)	(November 1765–1750)	()	Changes and continuities in social and cultural conditions
		M	Reforms envisaged by the revolution	
		()	Changes to taxes	
		()	Changes to laws	
			M	King's flight to Varennes
			<u>†</u>	Marquis de Lafayette and the Champ de Mars massacre
		•	()	Political divisions over the aims of the revolution
		,	M	Introduction of popular sovereignty and representative government
			M	Outbreak and course of war
		M	Hostility of foreign powers	
			Ť.	Deposition of Louis XVI
			Ť	Georges Danton

8

FRANCE AOS2 KEY KNOW	LEDGE		Notes	Test
TOPIC 9	()	Rise of sans-culottes		
War Emergency and the	()	Revolutionary government		
Terror (September 1792– mid-1794)	N	Federalist Revolt and counter-revolution		
,	Ť	Trial and execution of Louis XVI		
	()	The Terror		
	()	De-Christianisation campaign		
TOPIC 10	()	Fall of Maximilien Robespierre		
The Thermidorian Reaction and the Consolidation (mid-1794– 26 October 1795)	()	Continuity and change in French society: Thermidorian Reaction and the Constitution of Year III		
TOPIC 11	()	Economic conditions		
Continuity and Change in French Society	()	Political conditions		
(1774–1789)	()	Social conditions		
	#†††	Experiences and responses of bourgeoisie		
	# †† †	Experiences and responses of parish priests and other clergy		
	#†††	Experiences and responses of urban workers		
	# †† †	Experiences and responses of women		
	帕帕	Experiences and responses of peasants		
	#11	Experiences and responses of nobility		

If you want to achieve the highest marks on the exam, it is very helpful to gather and memorise a range of quotations that illustrate different **historical perspectives** (views of people at the time) and **historical interpretations** (views of historians) of the consequences of the French Revolution. A good target would be to gather three quotations on each of the following:

HISTORICAL PE	ERSPECTIVES AND INTERPRETATIONS	Notes	Test
FRANCE AOS2	Causes and impact of the abolition of feudalism		
	Role of Louis XVI		
	Methods used to consolidate power		
	Causes and effects of political divisions over the aims of revolution		
	Causes and effects of insurrections and uprisings that challenged the revolution		
	Causes and effects of the Terror		
	Role of Robespierre		
	Political reforms (e.g. popular sovereignty, representative government)		
	Change and continuity in French society between 1774 and 1795		
	Nature and outcomes of revolutionary experiences by diverse social groups (e.g. peasants, urban workers, women, clergy)		

AREA OF STUDY 1: CAUSES OF REVOLUTION

TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS

10 May 1774

Accsion of Louis XVI (crowned 11 June 1775)



(Start of AOS1)

22 October 1776

Necker appinted to oversee the royal treasury

1776

France offersfinacial aid and volunteers o reels in American War of Independence (1775–1783)

19 May 1781

Necker signs after pesentig financial rpot o king, which conceals the extent of the Crown's debt

November 1783

Calonne succeeds Necker

August 1786

Calonne proposes to the king reformof taxations tem, effetively ending clerical and noble tax prvlege by rmoving all tax exemptions

22 February-25 May 1787

Kng convenes Assembly of Notables to appove taxation eform proposal; Assembly dsmssed after efusig; beginning of the revolt of the Notabes (o the Aristocratic Revolt)

8 April 1787

Calonne isissed, replaced b Loméne de Brienne o 30 April

6 August 1787

Pais and Bordeaux parlements eiled after refusingLoméni de rienne's eform edicts

3 May 1788

Restore Paris Parlementproclaims that taxes need to be approved by Estates-General

7 June 1788

Day o Tils in Grenble in response to attmted abolition of the Parlement of Grenobl; convcation of the estates f the proince of Dauphiné for 21 July 1788

—13 July 1788

Freak storms devastate crops on the eve of harvest; price of grain increases followed by prices of food

-8 August 1788

King convokes Estates-General for May 1789; elections of deputies and writing of *cahiers de doléances* from each estate

—16 August 1788

Treasury payments suspended; the Crown is virtually bankrupt

—26 August 1788

Necker recalled after Loménie de Brienne's resignation (24 August); parlements restored

—27 December 1788

King agrees to double Third Estate numbers in Estates-General

—January 1789

Sieyès publishes What Is the Third Estate?

-26-29 April 1789

Réveillon Riots: violent crowds protest against rumoured wage reductions

-5 May 1789

Estates-General begins; king makes no decision on voting by head or order; Third Estate (commons) refuse to verify their election in separate chamber (6 May)

—13 June 1789

Deputies of First Estate begin to join the deputies of the Third Estate

—17 June 1789

Third Estate members declare themselves the National Assembly

-20 June 1789

Tennis Court Oath: deputies swear to stay together until a constitution is established

—23 June 1789

At Royal Session, king declares National Assembly unconstitutional, commands three estates to meet separately, and introduces reforms; National Assembly deputies ignore him

—25 June 1789

Members of Second Estate begin to join the National Assembly

—27 June 1789

King gives in and orders estates to unite as one; troops are called to Paris

—11 July 1789

King dismisses Necker, sparking revolt in Paris

—14 July 1789

Storming of the Bastille

-15-16 July 1789

King orders troops to leave Paris and recalls Necker

-July-August 1789

The Great Fear: rural revolt across France caused by fears of backlash from nobles; castles attacked

-4 August 1789

Night of Patriotic Delirium: mass renunciation of noble and clerical privileges leads to August Decrees (End of AOS1)

KEY IDEAS

THE ATTACK ON FEUDALISM

- Feudalism or feudal system refers to a social, economic and
 political order that developed in Europe during the early
 Middle Ages. It was characterised by a form of land ownership
 in which land was held in return for military service.
- In 1789, the word 'feudalism' was used to describe two distinct things:
 - ▶ the obligation for peasants to pay the feudal dues (in money, goods and labour) for their cultivation of the land they leased from the landowner (the seigneur or lord)
 - the entire system of privilege of the old regime in France that is, lawful inequality due to division of the society into estates or orders to which all members of the population belonged.
- The attack on feudalism came from the thinkers of the Enlightenment, from liberal nobles (progressive or enlightened nobles), and in 1789 from the Third Estate in the form of the books of grievances.
- Liberal nobles gathered in the Breton Club; they argued that the feudalism was unfair and campaigned for its abolition.
- During bad harvests and food shortages, peasants resented paying the feudal dues to their landowners (the seigneurs or lords).
- In addition to economic burdens, peasants were required to show deference to seigneurs (culture of deference).
- Peasants could not hunt or collect wood on the land of lords and could be legally tried by the seigneur for trespassing.
- Grievances over feudalism caused widespread noncompliance with the system and triggered the Great Fear. In turn, this led to the Night of Patriotic Delirium (4 August 1789) during which the privileged estates voluntarily gave up their rights (later formalised in the August Decrees).



THE ENLIGHTENMENT

- The Enlightenment was an intellectual movement across Europe and the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- It promoted the ideas of order, religious tolerance, rational thought, scepticism, education, human progress and examination of human knowledge based on reason rather than faith.
- Notable French thinkers include Denis Diderot (use of reason to extend human knowledge),
 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (general will as the basis of government), Voltaire (religious tolerance) and Montesquieu (separation of the powers to prevent its abuse by governments).



- The Enlightenment was a key influence on French revolutionaries, as its ideas challenged the existing power of the Crown and the Church.
- Its influence manifested itself in the growth of the reading public: liberal nobles, who challenged the king during the Assembly of Notables, demanded accountability of the Crown and the nation's participation in government through the Estates-General.

ENLIGHTENMENT IDEAS

The critique of privilege

- New ideas challenged the political, social and economic privilege of the Church (First Estate) and nobility (Second Estate).
- Privilege manifested itself in the hierarchical structure of the society, the estate system.
- Estate system guaranteed special political, economic and social rights to the First and Second Estates; thus, they were referred to as the 'privileged estates'.
- Thinkers and writers were critical of all forms of privilege, and some focused on the disproportionate taxation burden on the Third Estate, because the privileged estates were exempt from most taxes.
- Privilege was also visible in gaining a place in an educational college, commission in the army or employment in the public service or in the Church, with appointments often restricted to those belonging to the Second Estate.
- When Louis XVI asked for all estates to produce *cahiers de doléances* (books of grievances) between February and April 1789, they revealed a widespread rejection of privilege.
- Cahiers of the Second Estate tended to be more revolutionary than those of the Third Estate (commoners) and accepted the need to end taxation exemptions.

The critique of absolute authority

- Assembly of Notables rejected Calonne's tax reforms in February 1787, fearing extension of the Crown's fiscal (taxation) powers.
- Notables challenged what they saw as excessive use of the king's prerogative, including lettres de cachet that imposed arbitrary orders, and lack of legal protection of individuals.
- Notables reminded the king that only the Estates-General could approve changes to taxes.
- Proclamations of the Parliament of Paris (1787–1788) were seen as a defence of the people against absolute monarchy.
- The Assembly of Notables, the Paris Parlement and parlements in provinces challenged royal authority by demanding recognition of new political ideas, including:
 - no taxation without representation (i.e. king's subjects must consent through a meeting of their representatives in the Estates-General to the taxes they will be required to pay)
 - b the Crown's accountability (i.e. the king's government must be willing to show how the taxes are spent).

Attack on the Church

- The Church was seen as the key supporter of the ancien régime (at his coronation, the king swore an oath to maintain the Church) and the traditional way of life based on the moral teachings of the Church.
- The excesses of some of its members, such as bishops who lived in luxury due to combining multiple appointments, was contrasted with the living conditions of the Third Estate, who paid tithes for the upkeep of the Church.
- The Church's accumulation of a large landholding throughout France (6–7%) meant it was often seen as a landlord rather than an institution taking care of the faithful.
- The collection of the tithe was considered excessive even though it financed the operation of the Church, its parishes, hospitals, hospices and schools.
- The calls for toleration were effectively calls for ending the Church's monopoly on public worship and recognition by the state that there were followers of other religions in France.

Claims to popular sovereignty

- The Aristocratic Revolt revealed that liberal nobles in the Assembly of Notables and in the *parlements* across France advanced claims to popular sovereignty by calling for the convocation of the Estates-General.
- Liberal nobles in the Assembly of Notables agreed to the principle of fiscal uniformity.
- Works of Rousseau, Locke and Hobbes promoted ideas of a social contract and general will.
- Revolutionary idea of popular sovereignty is based on the idea that government was established and existed by the consent of the people, not imposed by the monarch (absolute power) and endorsed by the Church (divine right).
- Later, the concept was expressed in DORMAC (proclaimed 26 August 1789).

Equality

- Equality represented all that was opposite to privilege.
- Equality was understood as equal treatment before the law, payment of equitable taxes and equality of opportunity in all walks of a nation's life (the principle of merit over birth).

KEY INDIVIDUALS



KING LOUIS XVI (1754-1793)

- King of France from 1774.
- Married Marie Antoinette, archduchess of Austria (1770).
- In 1788, Louis summoned the Estates-General for May 1789—a turning point in the revolution.
- Louis was a virtual prisoner of the revolution from October 1789.



MARIE ANTOINETTE (1755-1793)

- The youngest daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Francis I and Maria Theresa of Austria.
- Her marriage to future King Louis XVI was to strengthen an alliance between France and Austria.
- Deeply unpopular because of her Austrian origin.
- Dubbed 'Madame Deficit', she was blamed for France's financial problems due to alleged wastefulness.



EMMANUEL JOSEPH SIEYÈS (1748-1836) (BETTER KNOWN AS ABBÉ SIEYÈS)

- Priest and author.
- Wrote the radical pamphlet What Is the Third Estate?
- Elected a Third Estate deputy for the Estates-General.
- Best known for opening his pamphlet with 'What
 is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been
 hitherto in the political order? Nothing. What does it
 desire to be? Something.'

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757-1834)

- Hero of the American War of Independence.
- Liberal noble, appointed to the Assembly of Notables; he was later elected as a Second Estate deputy for the Estates-General.
- Lafayette was a 'man of 1789' who was influential during the early years of the revolution.
- First commander of the newly formed National Guard in July 1789.
- Composed a draft of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (later proclaimed by the National Assembly on 26 August 1789).



JACQUES NECKER (1732-1804)

- Swiss Protestant banker.
- Appointed in 1776 to oversee the Crown's finances.
- Financed support for the American War of Independence by borrowing rather than increasing taxes: the Crown spent 1.3 billion livres; by 1786 its debt reached 3.3 billion livres.
- Attempted to balance the cost of repaying the loans, by reforming the Crown's finances, and improve the collection of taxes.
- In 1781, Necker released the *Compte rendu au roi*, which was the first public account of France's finances; however, it did not disclose the full extent of the Crown's debts.
- Resigned in 1781 after the king refused to appoint him to his Council due to his religion.
- Recalled in 1788, as the Crown had reached a state of bankruptcy.
- His dismissal on 11 July 1789 was a major trigger for the storming of the Bastille (14 July 1789).
- Once reinstated, he controlled the government's finances until September 1790.



KEY MOVEMENTS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE REVOLUTION



NOBILITY

- Constituted the Second Estate of the realm by birth or creation (ennoblement by the king).
- Comprised less than 1% of the whole population but controlled approximately 30% of land.
- Included most ancient families (nobility of the sword) and recently ennobled (nobility of the robe).
- Its membership ranged from the most powerful royal dukes to minor nobles living on the land.
- Its traditional role was to protect the kingdom and be available to fight when summoned.
- Noble status was highly valued because it granted several privileges, including:
 - ▷ exemption from many of the heaviest taxes (e.g. the taille, a tax levied on land ownership)
 - preferential treatment in appointments to the most prestigious positions in the government and in the Church, as well as the royal academies and officer posts in the army and navy
 - ▶ the right to wear swords at their side in public
 - ▶ use of the noble particle 'de' before their family names
 - ▶ seating privileges in their local churches and at public ceremonies
 - ▶ the exclusive right to put weathervanes on their houses
 - ▶ the right to hunt game
 - b the right to a dignified death by having their heads cut off when condemned to death.
- Played the key role in the onset of the revolution by preventing the king's reform of the taxation system and, thus, transforming the fiscal crisis into a political crisis. (The events are referred to as the revolt of the Notables or the Aristocratic Revolt.)



BOURGEOISIE

- The educated urban middle class of the Third Estate.
- Comprised about 10% of the population, living mainly in the capital and large provincial cities.
- Owned substantial property.
- This class of commoners included lawyers, doctors, bankers, brokers, manufacturers and bureaucrats.
- The term 'bourgeoisie' refers to the whole social group and the 'bourgeois' to its individual members.
- Its members' ambition and frustration at their inability to play a role in the political life of France led to some of its members standing as deputies for the Estates-General.
- Their criticism of privilege was articulated in Abbé Sieyès's pamphlet What Is the Third Estate?
- The Aristocratic Revolt progressively drew in the bourgeoisie to rebel against the ancien régime.
 Its members took active part in the provincial estates of Dauphiné in July 1788 and later in the
 open constitutional revolt against absolute monarchy with the establishment of the National
 Assembly, the Tennis Court Oath, and their refusal to disperse at the Royal Session.

IIRBAN WORKERS OF PARIS

- Included unskilled industrial workers and highly skilled artisans, crafts and trades.
- Artisans, who were often self-employed, were interested in new ideas and were influenced by publications, as they could read.
- Unskilled workers were affected by price fluctuation and availability of food, as they spent 30–50% of their income on bread. When food prices went up, their lives got harder.
- Unskilled workers' protest against a rumoured reduction of wages resulted in the Réveillon Riots (27 April 1789)
- Highly mobile unskilled workers became very active and influential during the radical stage of the revolution.



PEASANTS

- The most populous section of the Third Estate, which constituted more than 80% of the population.
- Peasants worked on the land.
- Most survived by subsistence farming; their standard of living was dependent on harvest and weather.
- They owned about 30% of the land outright.
- Their key role as the food producers of the nation meant they were often shown in illustrations (as representatives of the Third Estate) to carry on their shoulders the privileged estates and, thus, France.
- Peasants were obligated to:
 - pay feudal dues as well as work on the lord's land
 - ▷ be available for labour service on the roads (corvée)
 - ▷ pay the land tax (taille)
 - pay the salt tax (gabelle)
 - ▷ pay the poll tax (capitation)
 - pay the 'twentieth tax' (vingtième)
 - ▶ pay a tithe to the Church.
- In July-August 1789, their revolt (Great Fear) in response to escalating rumours and fear in the countryside forced the National Assembly to declare the abolition of the feudal system during the Night of Patriotic Delirium. During the Great Fear, peasants attacked noble households demanding the release and destruction of manorial rolls (feudal documents that stated peasants' obligations to nobles).

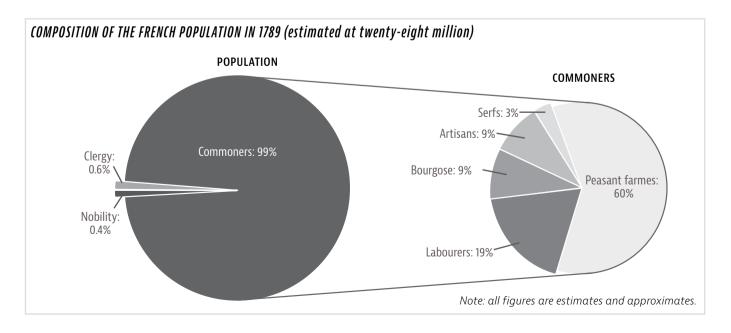


TOPIC 1: EVENTS AND CONDITIONS IN THE ANCIEN RÉGIME THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE OUTBREAK OF REVOLUTION (1774-1789)

KEY KNOWLEDGE			
Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette	► As absolute monarch, Louis XVI governed by himself with his authority unrestricted by any elected representative body.		
Bourbon dynasty	► According to the teachings of the Church, he was accountable to God alone—the king ruled by divine right.		
Nature of monarch's	▶ The political system of absolute monarchy, with the king ruling personally, derived its origins from the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715), known as the Sun King.		
authority Absolute monarchy	▶ In the hands of an absolute monarch, all legislative, executive and judicial power was vested. The king alone could legislate, he alone governed, and he was the final authority of appeal.		
and divine right	▶ Louis allowed his subjects, such as the Marquis de Lafayette, to volunteer in support of American rebellion against Britain and later committed substantial funds (1777) to aid the American War of Independence.		
Desacralisation of monarchy	➤ Queen Marie Antoinette was very unpopular because of her Austrian origin.		
,	➤ The emergence of public opinion during Louis XVI's reign brought about the further decrease in respect for the monarchy (desacralisation).		
	► The publication of the <i>Compte rendu</i> (1781) fuelled interest in the Crown's financial affairs.		
	► Concerns about the Crown's debt and the lack of knowledge about its causes fuelled rumours of the queen's excessive spending.		
	► Scandals such as the Diamond Necklace Affair (1785) added to the perception of the queen's wastefulness, resulting in her public branding with the nickname 'Madame Deficit'. In turn, this made Marie Antoinette a scapegoat for France's financial problems.		
	► King Louis XVI mishandled several issues:		
	▷ In 1787, he demonstrated his weakness by requesting the Assembly of Notables (February–May 1787) to endorse his fiscal reforms, prepared by finance minister Calonne, and at the critical point withdrew his support from Calonne.		
	→ He used his prerogative during the Royal Session of the Paris Parlement (19 November 1787) to force registration of his edicts and attempted to silence opposition with arbitrary arrests.		
	▷ In 1788, he failed to show leadership with the convocation of the Estates-General by making no decision on the voting procedure (voting by head rather than by order) and ignored advice to abandon the honorific distinctions between the representatives of the three estates.		
Social conditions	► The estates of the realm were: ▷ First Estate—ordained members of the Church (bishops, priests, monks and nuns)		
Three estates	▷ First Estate State State of the entire (bishops, presss, mones and nums) ▷ Second Estate—nobles (nobility of the sword and nobility of the robe)		
	► The estate system represented legalised political, economic and social inequality by separating the population of France into three groups (also called orders or estates) on the grounds of birth (noble or commoner) or vocation (ordained members of the Church).		
	▶ By the 1780s, the estate system became an outdated, unjust and unrepresentative structure.		
Feudal society	▶ Remnants of the feudal society continued in France because of the existence of the estate system.		
	▶ Landowners (predominantly the clergy and nobility) exercised almost absolute power over peasants.		
	▶ Peasants who were tenants leasing land were required to pay the landowner dues in cash, produce or labour (on average valued at 10–30% of their produce).		

KEY KNOWLEDGE	
Inequities and	► The clergy and nobility were referred to as the privileged orders, as they exclusively enjoyed many
inefficiencies	legal, political and social rights. • One of the most significant privileges was related to taxes: the clergy and nobility were exempt from
	the taille (land tax). ► The Third Estate had to pay the majority of taxes, such as the taille (land tax), gabelle (salt tax), vingtième (income tax of 5% levied during the time of war) and capitation (poll tax, a tax on each person).
	 Some provinces were exempt from some taxes while others had heavy taxes (northern areas were heavily taxed).
	► Feudal dues varied between 10% and 30%.
	▶ Laws varied by region and by origin (e.g. ancient Roman law, feudal law, common law).
	► There were customs barriers between towns and provinces that required payment of tolls and customs dues.
Peasant grievances	▶ Peasants were aggrieved at the above inequities. When a series of poor harvests created poverty and food scarcity, the entrenched inequality of French society began to unravel.
	▶ In consequence of the Eden Treaty (trade treaty with Britain, 1786), bread prices increased, reducing peasants' ability to purchase manufactured goods.
	▶ Unemployment affected rural women's textile cottage industry and other workers across France due to cheaper produce from Britain.
Political conditions	▶ The kingdom of France was governed by a king; only men could succeed to the throne.
Monarchy	► The king had to belong to the Catholic Church.
Worldicity	► The king governed personally (absolute monarchy).
	► The royal government included the king's Council of State and the network of governors who represented the monarch in each province.
	► The king's authority depended on the acceptance by his subjects of his competence, legitimacy and benevolence.
Parlements	► The parlements were the highest law courts in France and not elected bodies.
	► The parlements did not make laws, they administered legislation enacted by the king.
	► The function of the <i>parlements</i> was to administer justice and register, remonstrate and publish royal edicts.
	▶ In the absence of regular sessions of the Estates-General, the Parlement of Paris and the network of provincial parlements demonstrated their aspiration to become a representative body by questioning and, thus, challenging the king's authority. The political aspirations of the parlements were based on their right to remonstrate—that is, to address the king directly with objections when the judges found that the laws enacted by the king did not conform with the principles of law.
	▶ During 1787–1788, the judges were seen as protectors of the people against the absolute monarchy.

KEY KNOWLEDGE ▶ The Society was an informal gathering of over fifty liberal nobles and bourgeoisie who argued for a Society of Thirty constitution for France. They advocated for political representation of the Third Estate. ▶ Among its members were Jean-Sylvain Bailly, Marquis de Lafayette, Comte de Mirabeau and Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès. ▶ Members commissioned and published pamphlets criticising France's traditional system of government with the aim to establish a constitutional monarchy like in Britain. ▶ Leading members made the radical claim that the Third Estate represented virtually the whole nation. ▶ The argument was put forward in Abbé Sieyès's What Is the Third Estate? (January 1789). **Economic conditions** France was a kingdom linguistically, culturally and economically diverse. ▶ Its economy was overwhelmingly based on agriculture, with 80% of an estimated twenty-eight million inhabitants living outside cities and towns. ▶ Agricultural production and, thus, the standard of living depended on successful harvests, which, in turn, was affected by natural factors: droughts, storms and floods resulted in poor harvest and caused rapid rises in bread prices. ▶ Majority of the French identified themselves with their local region, and their economic interests were often locally centred at their own farm as the basic unit of production. ▶ Peasant life and their agricultural production aimed to provide a living for one's family (subsistence farming). ▶ In the eighteenth century, the economy of France was undergoing a transformation due to the growing importance of national and international trade, manufacturing and industrialisation. ▶ France was divided by internal customs barriers that hindered domestic trade due to the high cost of transporting goods between provinces. New ideas ► Scientific discoveries ▶ Increased literacy ▶ Increased social mobility ► Economic expansion ► Formation of new social groups



TOPIC 2: IMPACT OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT IDEAS (1774-1787)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
Enlightenment ideas Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu	 Economic, social and cultural ideas that undermined the foundations of the ancien régime. The reading public grew with the increased availability and affordability of printed texts. Philosophes (critical thinkers) questioned all forms of authority (monarchy and Church). Philosophes argued that all things need to be subject to analytical examination. Philosophes did not call for a revolution or the overthrow of the monarchy. 	 ▶ Order, religious tolerance, rational thought, criticism and human progress became the key 'enlightened' ideas. ▶ The witty, satirical and daring writings of the <i>philosophes</i> (thinkers), novelists, journalists and scientists propagated the ideas of freedom, extending the acceptance of what was permissible. ▶ Marked the birth of public opinion. ▶ Circulation of political pornography led to the desacralisation of the monarchy because it discredited the king and queen and damaged the dignity and legitimacy of the royal family. 	 The new ideas challenged existing frameworks of society, politics and religion by asserting that reason and logic rather than religion, tradition and superstition should govern human affairs. Ideas of religious tolerance, reason and the pursuit of knowledge challenged the monopoly of the Church. Ideas of the separation of powers challenged the absolute monarchy. Ideas of the general will promoted a representative form of government.
Involvement in the American War of Independence (1775–1783)	 Britain's thirteen colonies in North America declared their independence on 4 July 1776 after staging a war of rebellion that started in 1775. Persuaded by his foreign minister Count Vergennes, Louis XVI decided to support the American rebellion. 	 ▶ The United States of America was established. ▶ The Declaration of Independence, influenced by Enlightenment thinkers John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and others, stated that 'all men are created equal' and are endowed with 'unalienable rights' to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. ▶ To finance its support for the American War of Independence, France borrowed money rather than increased taxes, and spent 1.3 billion livres. By 1786, its debt reached 3.3 billion livres. 	 ▶ American leaders rejected the concept of the divine right of kings in favour of the Enlightenment ideas of accountability and representation. ▶ The Americans argued that governments derive their legitimacy from the consent of the governed, who have the right to abolish them when 'any form of government becomes destructive'. ▶ France gained no tangible rewards from the American victory. ▶ The Crown's debt reached 3.3 billion livres and its servicing costs added to the growing pressure for reform of France's fiscal system, which by 1789 had developed into a political crisis.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
Jacques Necker and the Compte rendu au roi (February 1781)	▶ At Necker's advice, Louis XVI decided to make the Crown's royal finances public to boost confidence in the Crown's ability to repay loans from its creditors.	 ▶ The Compte rendu au roi, a summary of the government's income and expenses, was published in February 1781. Finance minister Jacques Necker claimed the finances were ten million livres in surplus. The cost of the Crown's borrowing was hidden in the notes. ▶ Necker claimed that income was sufficient to cover normal expenditures and did not disclose the fact and the size of the loans that had helped to finance the American War of Independence. 	 ▶ The report gave the public more information than it had ever before. ▶ The state of the Crown's finances became so identified with Necker that his resignation in 1781 caused a significant loss of public confidence. ▶ In time, the inaccuracy of the Compte rendu caused suspicion of the monarchy's mismanagement of France's financial affairs.
Economic collapse and bankruptcy Failed attempts at reform	 Necker sought to abolish the vingtième and divide the taille more equally, limit the sale of state offices (venal offices), and implement a broad range of budgetary savings. In February 1787, finance minister Calonne made an unsuccessful attempt to remove fiscal privileges of the First and Second Estates by applying a new land tax to nobles and the Church. His successor Loménie de Brienne also failed (revolt of the Notables, the Aristocratic Revolt). 	 Necker's publication of the Crown's accounts made the public more interested in state affairs. The French elites, through the Assembly of Notables, demanded the right to scrutinise the royal accounts (accountability) and the need for approval of any new taxes by the Estates-General (representation). There was a realisation that the absolute monarchy was not the best manager of national interests. 	► The unmet expectations of nobles in the matters of accountability and representation, and their rejection of the king's fiscal (taxation) reform plan, fuelled demands for political and social reform.

PHILOSOPHES

BARON DE MONTESOUIEU (1689-1775)

Nobleman, lawyer and president of the Parlement of Bordeaux.

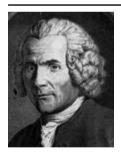
In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu suggested the concept of the separation of the powers, which would balance and restrain any branch of government (executive, legislative and judiciary) from dominating administration.



VOLTAIRE (1694-1778)

Poet, playwright and pamphleteer.

Voltaire was widely regarded as the foremost literary figure in France. He aimed his sharpest criticism at religious superstition, and in the *Treatise on Tolerance* (1763) he called for religious tolerance and denounced intolerance and fanaticism.



JEAN-JACOUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778)

Writer, philosophe and Encyclopédie contributor.

In his 1762 book *The Social Contract*, Rousseau promoted the idea of the general will. His works became popular after 1789.



DENIS DIDEROT (1713-1784)

Writer, co-founder and chief editor of the Encyclopédie.

The Encyclopédie (1751–1765) aimed to present a full range of human knowledge by applying the critical and rational approach of the Enlightenment to many aspects of society.

FINANCE MINISTERS



JACQUES NECKER (1732-1806)

Swiss banker and head of the royal treasury.

A liar who restored the public confidence.

Necker oversaw the royal treasury and finances from 1776. In attempting to strengthen confidence in the Crown's finances, in January 1781 he published the misleading *Compte rendu au roi* in which he claimed that the royal accounts were ten million livres in surplus. Necker concealed the cost of royal borrowing in the accounts' notes. Public opinion considered him to be a reformer and 'a man of the people'.



CHARLES-ALEXANDRE DE CALONNE (1734-1802)

Career administrator and directorgeneral of finances.

A big spender who kept up the credit.

As director-general of finances (from 1783), Calonne proposed the taxation reform plan removing all fiscal exemptions of the clergy and nobles. This radical change was rejected by the Assembly of Notables in 1787. He was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne.



ÉTIENNE-CHARLES LOMÉNIE DE BRIENNE (1727-1794)

Archbishop of Toulouse and chief minister.

A bully who tried to force reforms through.

Appointed as chief minister in May 1787, Loménie de Brienne concentrated on getting tax reform through the Parlement of Paris (the war with parlements). His failure led to his August 1789 resignation, allowing for the return of Necker.

VIEWPOINT

KEY QUOTATION

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The general will is derived from the collective interests of the people.

'Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.'

Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1787)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Church lands should be subject to land tax.

'It is proposed to replace the vingtièmes with a general land tax which, covering the whole kingdom, would be payable in kind with no exception. The church lands would be included in this assessment which, to be fair, must include all land.'

Chrêtien-François de Lamoignon (1787)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The absolute monarchy is based on the principle of the sovereignty vested in the king, who rules by divine right.

'These principles, universally acknowledged by the entire kingdom, are that the King alone must possess the sovereign power in his kingdom; that He is answerable only to God in the exercise of his power.'

Darius von Güttner

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The power of the Crown relied on balancing the interests of various groups and could not be exercised arbitrarily or unilaterally without endangering France's unwritten constitution. 'In theory, there were no legal limits to the monarch's power over his realm. In practice, however, the king was bound by the laws and customs of the land, and exercising his authority depended on the agreement of France's elite: the nobility and the clergy.'

Simon Schama

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Enlightenment did not cause the revolution but provided the language and ideas that supported the development of the revolutionary situation.

'On their own they could not conceivably have constituted any kind of independent "revolutionary" opposition to the crown. But once the money crisis of the monarchy was transformed into a political argument, the vocabulary of "liberty" was apt to take on a life of its own.'

Albert Soboul

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Enlightenment eroded the base of the divine right of kings.

'The Enlightenment undermined the ideological foundations of the established order.'

William Doyle

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The full impact of the Enlightenment was only apparent when the financial crisis resulted in the failure of the established political structures.

'They advocated a change in outlook, a way of looking at the world less dependent on religion and tradition. ... It was only when the established order had collapsed ... that the attitudes propagated by the Enlightenment were to lead Frenchmen in ... revolutionary ... directions.'

Simon Schama

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The unsuccessful fiscal reforms of Louis XVI forced his government to undertake measures that led to revolution.

'By 1788, ... the government ... had no alternative but to abandon fiscal fine-tuning and turn instead to drastic political solutions for its problems.'

VIEWPOINT

KEY QUOTATION

Peter McPhee HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The nobility opposed the king's tax reforms to bargain for a more active role in governing the kingdom.	'The entrenched hostility of most nobles towards fiscal and social reform was generated by long-term pressures which reduced the nobility's autonomy.'
Peter McPhee HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The burden of the hierarchical society was borne by the poorer members of the Third Estate.	'It was the rural population above all which underwrote the costs of the three pillars of authority and privilege in eighteenth-century France: the Church, the nobility and the monarchy.'
Micah Alpaugh HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	Thinkers of the Enlightenment gave not only ideas but also practical solutions to age-old problems, but they did not plan or anticipate revolutionary change.	'The French Revolution was enabled by the Enlightenment era preceding it, yet unplanned and unanticipated. Thinkers integrated ideas and examples from across the globe while developing strikingly new theories—yet few made concrete plans to apply them in absolutist France before the revolutionary crisis unfolded.'
Michael Kwass HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	Jacques Necker made the financial affairs of the Crown a matter of public knowledge and in consequence took the initiative of reform away from the hands of the king.	'By publicizing the working of the state both patriotism and public opinion would emerge to guide the nation to reform, stability, and fiscal strength.'

ACTIVE REVISION! Topic 2
Choose an option and complete it here.
1. Select, elect: List five key points from this topic. Then, highlight the one you think is most significant and explain why.
Mind map: present one sub-topic or concept as a mind map or other type of diagram.
3. Memory: create a mnemonic, acronym or rhyme to help you remember something from this topic.

TOPIC 3: THE ARISTOCRATIC REVOLT AND DEMANDS FOR REFORM (1787-AUGUST 1788)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
Revolt of the Notables (Aristocratic Revolt) Assembly of Notables (February–May 1787)	► The king sought an endorsement of the fiscal (tax) reforms, which were thought to be radical, from a gathering of eminent individuals (Assembly of Notables).	 The Assembly of Notables rejected Louis's proposed uniform land tax, which would increase the Crown's revenue and, therefore, reduce the deficit. Two radical principles emerged: accountability (the right to scrutinise royal accounts) and representation (through the elected body of the Estates-General approving any new taxes). 	 ▶ The Assembly of Notables represented the birth of public opinion in France. ▶ There was an erosion of public confidence in the existing order. ▶ The political debate shifted from the exercise of royal prerogative to accountability and representation. ▶ The Assembly of Notables was dissolved on 25 May 1787, as it refused to endorse the king's reforms. ▶ Marked the beginning of the Aristocratic Revolt.
Marquis de Lafayette	 Having volunteered to serve in the American War of Independence, Lafayette was a liberal noble instilled with the 'spirit of America'. Lafayette was appointed as one of the notables in the Assembly of Notables. 	► Like other returning volunteers from the American War of Independence, Lafayette contributed to the spread of the ideas of liberty, representative government and popular sovereignty.	 The success of the American War of Independence demonstrated that the Enlightenment ideas can be realised, not just talked about. Established a link between the ideas of the <i>philosophes</i> and the revolutionary action. Showed the world that the ancien régime was outdated and other forms of government were possible.
Growing importance of parlements	► Parlements (sovereign courts of law), dominated by nobles or aspiring bourgeoisie, claimed a mandate to keep the absolute monarchy in check.	► The principles of royal accountability and representation gained acceptance among the French elites.	► The convocation of the Estates- General became a necessity.
Fundamental laws according to the Parlement of Paris (May 1788)	► The Crown's attempt to use the royal prerogative (summoning a lit de justice royal session of the parlement) fuelled opposition to the government, heightening tensions and increasing popular support for the parlements.	 ▶ On 3 May 1788, the Parlement of Paris issued the 'Declaration of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom', which included a reiteration of the long-held principle that the Estates- General must consent to any new taxes. ▶ 'Taxes should be consented to by those who had to bear them.' 	 There were such fundamental laws that amounted to a constitution, and even the king could not change them. Absolute monarchy existed only in theory because the Crown was accountable to the nation and could not act arbitrarily and unilaterally. In the absence of the regular sessions of the Estates-General, the parlements' right to remonstrate and register the king's edicts formed a part of the checks and balances preventing despotism.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
Economic collapse and bankruptcy	 ▶ The debts of the Crown had accumulated because of costly foreign wars, including the American War of Independence. ▶ The government had failed to convince the parlements and nobility to reform the tax system so that it applied to all the king's subjects without any exemptions (removal of privilege). 	 Loménie de Brienne resigned, and Necker returned as finance minister (26 August 1788). The taxation reform crisis gave way to hopes of political reform during the Estates-General. 	 The Crown looked weak in the face of concerted opposition led by the nobility, the parlements and increasingly by the people of France throughout the kingdom. Public confidence in the existing institutions eroded further.
Day of Tiles	 ➤ Suspension of the Paris Parlement and the provincial parlements (May 1788) brought the urban population to the streets in protest against the dissolution of the parlements. ➤ In Grenoble, the population rioted in defence of the judges and attacked royal troops. ➤ Shortly before (7 June 1788), representatives of the estates of the province of Dauphiné agreed to hold a meeting of the old estates of the province. 	 Political tensions during the revolt of the Notables heightened due to poor harvests and the high cost of food (bread). The summoning of the old estates of the province of Dauphiné (with the doubled representation of the Third Estate and voting by head) provided a model for the meeting of the Estates-General. 	 ▶ The unresolved fiscal crisis and continued financial crisis drew urban crowds into action to protect the parlements, which were now seen as defenders of the peoples' rights. ▶ Poor harvest and increased costs of living, combined with the fiscal and political problems of France, politicised the issue, resulting in a rejection of royal authority. ▶ The strength of popular unrest and the unwillingness of royal troops to fire on the crowds demonstrated to the royal government the need for further concessions.
Harvest crisis and food shortages (1787–1788)	➤ Poor harvests for several years had put strain on working people and food supplies.	► A series of weather events including severe storms (with large hailstones that killed men and animals) in July 1788 destroyed grain and grape crops.	 Within a year of the 1788 harvest, a working family's spending on bread rose from 50% of their income to 70−80%. The material hardships heightened the tensions and the demands of the Third Estate for reform. The decreased tax receipts affected the Crown's budget.

VIEWPOINT

KEY OUOTATION

Cahiers of the
Third Estate of
Carcassonne (1789)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The representatives of the people should have the right to approve the laws that govern them and the taxes they are going to bear. 'Among [the rights we request] the following should be especially noted: the nation should hereafter be subject only to such laws and taxes as it shall itself freely ratify.'

Marquis de Lafayette (1787)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Notables were not elected national representatives and could not endorse the fiscal reform plan unless the Crown disclosed its expenditure and the plans for savings.

'We were not the representatives of the Nation ... and we declared, that although we had no right to impede, it was our right not to advise, unless we thought the measures were proper, and that we could not think of new taxes unless we knew the returns of expenditure and the plans of economy.'

Abbé Sieyès (1789)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The nation is a group of individuals governed by the same law and represented by the elected legislators. 'What is a nation? A body of associates, living under a common law, and represented by the same legislature.'

William Doyle

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

In the Assembly of Notables, the nobles asked for the Crown to be accountable to the nation for its spending. They rebelled when this was rejected. 'They concluded ... that the disorder in the finances was the result of incompetent government; and quite reasonably they asked for independent safeguards against further incompetence. They were offered none.'

Peter McPhee

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

French society was ready for political change, and the calling of the Estates-General provided the outlet for its articulation.

'The king's calling of the Estates-General in May 1789 facilitated the expression of tensions at every level of French society, and revealed social divisions which challenged the idea of a society of "orders".'

William Doyle

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The key to the revolution was the nature of the ancien régime itself, its inequities and legally entrenched privileges. 'In August 1788, the old monarchy collapsed. It was not overthrown by the opposition to its policies, much less by revolutionaries dedicated to its destruction. It fell because of its own inner contradictions.'

Simon Schama

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The harvest failure and the increased and unmet expectations pushed different groups of the king's subjects towards revolution.

'It was the connection of anger with hunger that made the revolution possible. But it also programmed the revolution to explode from over-inflated expectations.'

ACTIVE REVISION! Topic 3
Choose an option and complete it here.
 Select, elect: List five key points from this topic. Then, highlight the one you think is most significant and explain why.
Mind map: present one sub-topic or concept as a mind map or other type of diagram.
3. Memory: create a mnemonic, acronym or rhyme to help you remember something from this topic.
something from this topic.

TOPIC 4: TOWARDS POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY (SEPTEMBER 1788-JUNE 1789)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
The calling of the Estates- General and their regulation	 The king was under pressure to respond to demands from the Assembly of Notables, the parlements and the public. The Crown was in financial crisis and needed to gain the approval of an elected body to pass any tax reforms. 	 In August 1788, Louis XVI officially summoned an Estates-General, to be held in May 1789. The king lifted the ban on pamphlets and political clubs 	 No king since 1614 had needed to convene the Estates-General, suggesting that the monarchy of Louis XVI was in a weakened state. Expectations were high that a range of grievances would be addressed by the Estates-General. Constitutional reform had begun. The financial and fiscal crisis had turned into a political crisis. The Paris Parlement's decision to hold the Estates-General according to the procedure of 1614 made the Parlement out of step with the public.
Political demands of the Third Estate	► The registration procedure of the king's edict convoking the Estates-General for May 1789 enabled the Parlement of Paris to decide that the Estates-General should be organised like the one held in 1614.	► There were calls to double the Third Estate representation in the Estates-General and for voting to be counted by head, not order (estate), to give the Third Estate equal say to the clergy and nobles.	 ▶ The chain of events started by the Aristocratic Revolt brought to the fore the demands of the most populous estate, the Third Estate. ▶ The financial crisis crippling the Crown's budget, which turned into a failed fiscal reform, evolved into a political crisis. ▶ The king eventually agreed to the double the Third Estate delegates on 27 December 1788.
The cahiers de doléances	 ▶ The writing up of the king's subjects' grievances was a traditional part of the preparations for the Estates-General. ▶ The books of grievances were petitions that listed concerns and requests for action. 	 ▶ Louis called for cahiers de doléances (books of grievances) to be collected from across the country. ▶ Across all estates there were new political and constitutional demands related to how France was governed, including: ▷ regular sessions of the Estates-General (idea of representation) ▷ voting by head at its meetings ▷ equality in tax burden, with the end to tax privilege ▷ equality of access to careers in the army and Church ▷ financial accountability of the Crown ▷ the guarantee of civic rights (freedom from arbitrary arrest). 	 The demands demonstrated that Louis XVI's subjects had a clear expectation of change and reform. The books of grievances drawn up between February and April 1789 contained radical ideas.

K	EY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
	Doubling of the Third Estate representation (December 1788)	 The public debate forced the king to consider an alternative procedure for the Estates-General. He was influenced by the example of the Estates-General of Dauphiné, which met after the Day of Tiles in Grenoble (7 June 1788). 	► The government announced that the Estates-General would have double representation of the Third Estate, to better reflect the population; the issue of vote by head or order remained undecided.	 ▶ The king's conciliatory gesture suggested that the Third Estate would have more influence. ▶ The Third Estate and liberal nobles believed that all three estates would unify as one body and vote by head.
	Harvest crisis intensifies (December 1788– April 1789)	 ▶ From December 1788 to April 1789, France experienced the longest, coldest winter in living memory, with northern France in the grip of snow and ice for almost six months. ▶ People had to spend around 80% of their income on bread (up from 50%). 	 The harsh winter conditions further increased food prices and living costs because navigable rivers froze, preventing the transportation of cereals. By mid-1789, grain prices reached the highest level ever. Working people's standard of living was falling rapidly. 	 There were market-day riots, and barns, warehouses, monasteries and country houses were ransacked on suspicion that grain and flour were being hoarded. People refused to pay tithes or taxes. Social discontent was becoming pronounced.
	Political pamphlets, Abbé Sieyès's What Is the Third Estate? (January 1789)	 ▶ Removal of censorship opened public debate. ▶ Over 7000 pamphlets were published between September 1788 and May 1789 (the pamphlet war). ▶ The most influential pamphlet was Abbé Sieyès's What Is the Third Estate? It influenced the debate about whether the representation of the Third Estate in the Estates-General should be doubled and whether voting would be done by head or order. 	 ▶ The birth of public opinion in eighteenth-century France reflected growing interest in how France was governed and all issues that affected the king's subjects. ▶ Pamphlets stimulated the intense interest about the Crown's debt, taxation and representation. ▶ In January 1789, Sieyès's pamphlet What Is the Third Estate? challenged the privilege of the nobles and called for the emancipation of the French commoners. ▶ Sieyès asserted that the Third Estate really was the nation and contributed to a seismic shift in public opinion towards the removal of absolutism and privilege. 	 Pamphlets informed and stimulated public opinion, often guiding actions of individuals and groups. Enlightenment ideas adopted from Montesquieu (The Spirit of the Laws) and Rousseau (The Social Contract)—including the checks and balances in government, ideas of personal liberty and the general will—influenced thinking about political authority. A new political discourse emerged favouring sovereignty vested in the people rather than the monarch (popular sovereignty). The revolutionary idea of equality was no longer unthinkable. Sieyès's pamphlet highlighted the idea that commoners 'had every right to proceed on their own, disregarding any objections of deputies from the privileged orders'.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
The Réveillon Riots (26–29 April 1789)	 There was increased unemployment and fear of lower wages and higher prices for bread. The owner of a wallpaper factory, Jean-Baptiste Réveillon, was considered a good employer who paid his workers well. 	 Riots broke out in the Saint-Antoine district of Paris at a wallpaper factory after the owner was thought to be threatening lower wages. Order was restored by the French Guard after at least twenty-five people were killed and property was destroyed. 	► Marked the first instance of a militant crowd using violence in the revolution, demonstrating how the urban population's anger can be unleased in a frenzy of destruction of property and looting.
Events of the Estates-General Convening of the Estates-General (5 May- 17 June 1789)	► Around 1200 deputies had been elected to the Estates-General, with half representing the Third Estate (some nobles and clergy stood for election as deputies of the Third Estate, including the Comte de Mirabeau and Abbé Sieyès).	 ▶ The three orders assembled in Versailles in the costumes dictated by precedent—the clergy in their vestments; the nobility in silk, swords, cloth-of-gold waistcoats and white-plumed hats; and the commoners in black. ▶ The Third Estate took a radical step: it refused to begin work until the other two orders agreed to meet and vote in common, and it demanded that the whole Assembly verify the credentials of the deputies. 	 ▶ The king and his ministers failed to keep the focus of the proceedings on finances, as the unresolved issue of voting (by head or order) kept the Third Estate moving ahead with political reforms. ▶ In the absence of the king's political initiative, the Third Estate took control of matters.
Declaration of the National Assembly (17 June 1789)	► The First and Second Estate deputies refused to verify their deputies' credentials together with the Third Estate.	 ▶ Influenced by Sieyès's What Is the Third Estate? the Third deputies declared that they were already a fully fledged national assembly. ▶ The Third Estate deputies declared themselves the National Assembly after winning the vote (491 votes to 89). 	► The Assembly claimed to represent the nation, challenging not only the authority of the other two estates but also royal authority itself.
Tennis Court Oath (20 June 1789)	► The doors of the Third Estate debating chamber were locked in preparation for the Royal Session.	► Third Estate deputies met at a nearby indoor tennis court and swore an oath not to separate until 'the constitution of the Realm and public regeneration are established and assured'.	 The Oath directly and openly challenged the king's authority. It signified that the sovereign power was vested in the elected representatives of the nation and not the king, negating the 'divine right' of kings.
Royal Session (23 June 1789) and uniting the three orders (27 June 1789)	 ▶ Louis XVI wished to maintain the traditional division of deputies in the Estates-General according to their respective estates. ▶ At the same time, the king wished to show his good will by offering several concessions to the Third Estate. 	 Louis attempted to annul the 17 June Declaration of the National Assembly and offered concessions—these included reforms on personal liberties, taxation and the regular sessions of the Estates-General. Members of the National Assembly refused to disperse after the Royal Session in defiance of the king's orders. 	▶ In the face of disobedience from the members of the National Assembly, the king ordered the privileged estates to unite with the Third and to recognise the existence of the National Assembly, thus, cementing the new constitutional developments.

KEY QUOTATION

Comte de Mirabeau (1789)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The deputies of the National Assembly were the elected representatives of the nation and would not stop their work on the constitution unless forced to do so by violence. 'We are here by the will of the people, and we will only be dispersed by the force of bayonets.'

Jean-Sylvain Bailly (1789)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The king could not order the National Assembly to terminate.

'The assembled nation cannot receive any order.'

Jean-Joseph Mounier (1789)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Crown as the head of the executive branch of government needed to retain its independence to guard the national interest.

'Democracy is a foolish dream in a large state. If the throne loses authority only to give way to the degrading yoke of aristocracy; ... thus defence of the crown's independence is defence of the people's liberty.'

Darius von Güttner

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Sovereignty was no longer vested in the Crown but in the representatives of the nation. 'Through Mirabeau, the National Assembly stated plainly that their right to deliberate unhindered was based on the will of the nation and not hereditary or divine right.'

Simon Schama

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The books of grievances of the Second Estate were often far more revolutionary than those of the Third.

'While the cahiers of the liberal nobility offered an alluring picture of a briskly modernizing France that would consummate the great alterations, ... by shaking off restrictions like a butterfly emerging from a chrysalis, those of the Third Estate wanted, very often, to return to the cocoon.'

Peter McPhee

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Peasants' chief grievance was the remnants of the feudal system still in operation in France. 'Resentment of seigneurialism above all ... bonded rural communities together against their lords.'

Francois Furet

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Most French expected the king to show leadership in rejuvenating France.

'In Paris, revolution was already widely expected, but the French en masse still expected the reforms they considered essential to come from the king.'

Donald Sutherland

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The nobles, but not the Third Estate, assumed that the Estates-General would limit the king's power.

'The nobles trusted the institutions they controlled to curb the arbitrariness of the monarch, whereas scepticism was greater among the Third.'

William Doyle

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The lack of leadership from the king made the Third Estate more radical.

'What turned them from reformers into radicals was ... not the experience of the old regime, but that of the months of May, June and July 1789.'

William Doyle

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Declaration of the National Assembly altered the constitution of France and marked the end of absolutism.

'It was the founding act of the French Revolution. If the Nation was sovereign, the king no longer was.'

TOPIC 5: THE REVOLUTION MATERIALISES (JULY-4 AUGUST 1789)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
Dismissal of Jacques Necker (11 July 1789)	 Necker was criticised for not laying out the government's proposals for political reform in his opening address to the Estates-General (5 May). Nonetheless, the king saw him as encouraging the aspirations of the National Assembly deputies. ▶ Public opinion considered Necker as the safe and steady manager of government business. ▶ Necker's Compte rendu au roi (January 1781), the first set of national accounts ever presented to the public in France, cemented Necker's name as a good administrator. 	► The king dismissed Necker because Necker's program of liberal concessions was too radical for the conservative court faction, including Marie Antoinette.	▶ News of the dismissal, combined with the agitation of radical leaders (e.g. Camille Desmoulins) and the king surrounding Paris with approximately 20,000 troops, triggered an urban revolt (12–14 July). This resulted in the storming of the Bastille.
Storming of the Bastille (14 July 1789)	 The king brought 20,000 troops to Paris and refused Mirabeau's request to withdraw them (8 July). Influential speakers such as the educated, bourgeois Camille Desmoulins urged the people to arm themselves. 	 ▶ The Bastille, a government prison on the east side of Paris, was attacked by a mob of around 1000 armed civilians, mainly to gain access to the large store of munitions. ▶ The governor de Launay was killed, and his head was paraded on a pike. ▶ Only seven were detained in the prison at the time; none of them were political prisoners. 	 ▶ The event became a symbol of the victory of liberty over despotism. ▶ It gave the reformist deputies of the National Assembly a much-needed show of public support, legitimising the power shift away from the Crown. ▶ It demonstrated how quickly popular action could turn to punitive violence.
The Great Fear (17 July-3 August 1789)	 Following on from the crop failures of July 1788, there was deepening hardship in the countryside. Some suspected speculators of hoarding grain to further inflate prices. There were confused reports of the revolution in Paris and the failure of the National Assembly to address rural grievances. Some peasants feared punishment for not paying the tithe and feudal dues and for infringing seigneurial rights (from December 1788). 	 ▶ Peasants attacked castles (the chateaux of the nobles) and burnt the feudal charters/ manorial rolls, the contracts that specified peasants' obligations to the noble owners of the land. ▶ Chateaux of the nobles and many other symbols of privilege were destroyed. 	 ▶ Government authority in the countryside broke down. ▶ New, often grassroots, authorities were established to contain unrest. ▶ Deputies in the National Assembly were shocked by the attack on property. ▶ The Great Fear triggered the Night of Patriotic Delirium and August Decrees (AOS2).

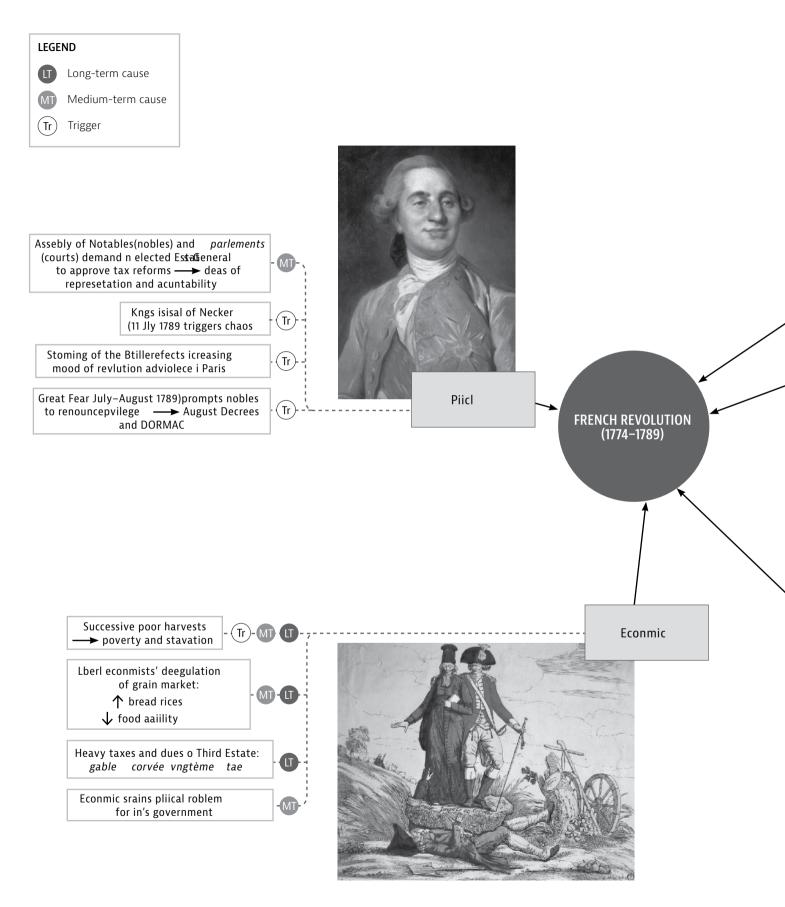
KEY KNOWLEDGE	CAUSE	EFFECT	SIGNIFICANCE
Night of 4 August 1789 (Night of Patriotic Delirium)	 Weeks of peasant revolt wreaked destruction in some rural areas. Deputies in the National Assembly feared further disturbances of public order and attacks on private property. Deputies had no means of suppressing the revolt and chose to calm them down with a conciliatory partial surrender of some feudal rights. 	 ▶ A controlled renunciation of feudal rights turned into a 'patriotic delirium' (the night of 4 August 1789), in which liberal and idealistic deputies, in a wave of 'self-sacrifice', went further than they had originally planned. ▶ This led to the August Decrees (5–11 August), in which the National Assembly deputies announced their intention to 'abolish the feudal regime entirely' (AOS 2). 	▶ The age of privilege was over, as the French would now all enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same laws.

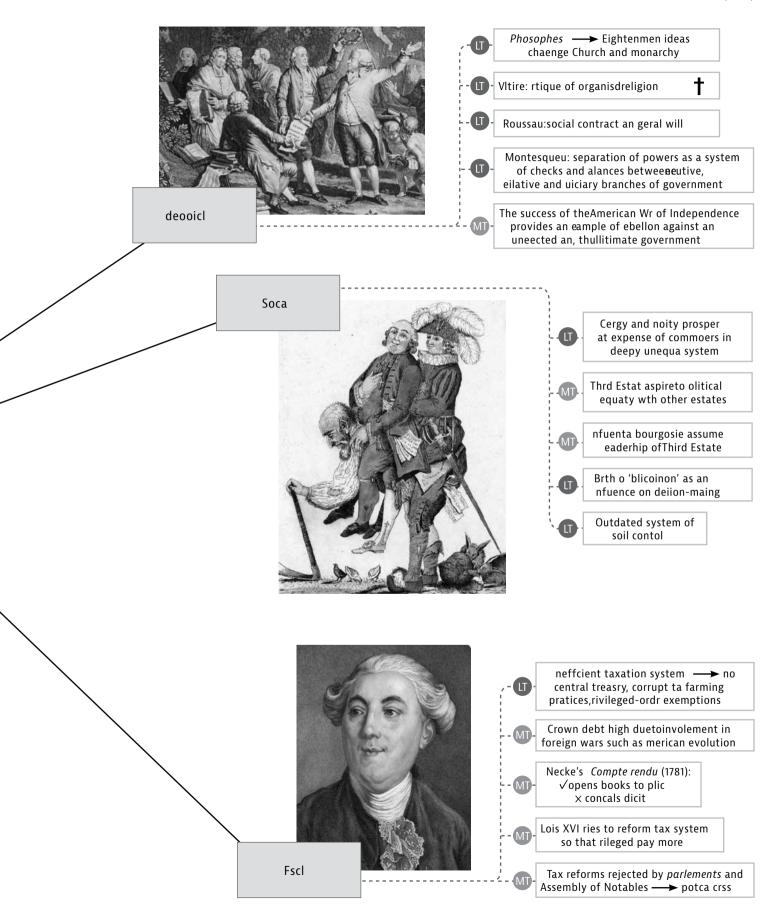
ACTIVE REVISION! Topics 4 and 5

Choose an option for each topic and complete it here.

- 1. Select, elect: List five key points from the topic. Then, highlight the one you think is most significant and explain why.
- 2. Mind map: present one sub-topic or concept as a mind map or other type of diagram.
- Memory: create a mnemonic, acronym or rhyme to help you remember something from the topic.

MIND MAP: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION





AREA OF STUDY 2: CONSEQUENCES OF REVOLUTION

TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS

4-11 August

August Decrees (Start of AOS2)

-26 August 1789

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (DORMAC) proclaimed

-11 September 1789

King is granted a suspensive veto under the new constitution

-19 September 1789

King gives qualified acceptance of August Decrees and DORMAC

-5-6 October 1789

Women's March to Versailles (October Days): king is forcibly moved to Paris; National Assembly follows

-2 November 1789

Church property nationalised

-12 December 1789

First assignats issued

-19 June 1790

Nobility abolished

-12 July 1790

Civil Constitution of the Clergy proclaimed

-14 July 1790

Festival of the Federation (Fête de la Fédération)

-16 August 1790

Parlements abolished and judiciary reorganised

-27 November 1790

Oath of the clergy introduced

-13 April 1791

Pope condemns Civil Constitution of the Clergy

21 June 1791

Flight to Varennes

—17 July 1791

Massacre at Champ de Mars

-27 August 1791

Declaration of Pillnitz

—14 September 1791

King swears oath of allegiance to Constitution of 1791

—1 October 1791

Legislative Assembly convenes, replacing National (Constituent) Assembly

—9 November 1791

Decree against émigrés (emigrants, people who fled revolution) issued (vetoed by king 12 November)

—29 November 1791

Decree against refractory (non-juring) priests issued (vetoed by king 19 December)

-20 April 1792

Declaration of war against Austria

-27 May 1792

Decree orders deportation of refractory (non-juring) priests who refuse to swear allegiance to Civil Constitution of the Clergy (vetoed by king 11 June)

—8 June 1792

Assembly orders an army of 20,000 volunteers to camp outside Paris (vetoed by king 11 June)

—20 June 1792

Demonstrators invade Tuileries Palace

—11 July 1792

Assembly declares the nation is in danger (la patrie en danger)

—25 July 1792

Brunswick Manifesto threatens Parisians with 'exemplary revenge' if royal family is harmed

—28 July 1792

Brunswick Manifesto widely circulated in Paris, causing fury against king

-10 August 1792

Louis XVI is deposed by armed insurrection at Tuileries Palace, organised by Paris Commune and sections

—2–6 September 1792

September Massacres (murders of non-juring clergy and prisoners thought to be royalists)

–20 September 1792

French victory at Valmy; National Convention holds its first session

–22 September 1792

Convention proclaims abolition of monarchy, declaring France a republic; first day of revolutionary calendar (1 Vendémiaire Year I)

—10 December 1792

Convention's trial of the king begins

–21 January 1793

Louis XVI executed

—1 February 1793

France declares war on Great Britain and Dutch Republic

—24 February 1793

Levée of 300,000 men to defend Republic

—25–27 February 1793

Food riots in Paris

—9 March 1793

Representatives-on-mission established

—10 March 1793

Revolutionary Tribunal created to try those suspected of counter-revolution

-11 March 1793

Vendée region revolts, mainly in response to *levée* of 300,000 men

—21 March 1793

Committees of Surveillance established in Paris to monitor 'strangers'

-6 April 1793

Committee of Public Safety established

—29 April 1793

Federalist Revolt in Marseilles

—24 June 1793

Constitution of 1793

—13 July 1793

Jean-Paul Marat assassinated by Charlotte Corday

-27 July 1793

Maximilien Robespierre elected to Committee of Public Safety

—1 August 1793

Convention implements 'scorched-earth' policy in Vendée region

—23 August 1793

Decree on levée en masse

—5 September 1793

Government by terror begins

—10 October 1793

Constitution of 1793 suspended—government 'revolutionary' until peace

—16 October 1793

Marie Antoinette executed, followed by Girondin leaders (31 October), Olympe de Gouges (3 November), the former Duke of Orléans Philippe Égalité (7 November), Madame Roland (8 November), Bailly (12 November) and Barnave (29 November)

-4 December 1793

Law of Revolutionary Government (Law of 14 Frimaire) dubbed the 'Constitution of the Terror'

-4 February 1794

Slavery abolished

—24 March 1794

Hérbertists executed

-5 April 1794

Dantonists executed

—8 June 1794

Festival of the Supreme Being

—10 June 1794

Law of 22 Prairial enacted

-28 July 1794

Robespierre executed

—1 August 1794

Law of 22 Prairial repealed

—12 November 1794

Jacobin Club closed

—December 1794

White Terror begins (ends July 1795)

—1-2 April 1795

Germinal uprising demands reinstatement of the Constitution of 1793

—26 April 1795

Representatives-on-mission abolished

-20-23 May 1795

Prairial uprising demands reinstatement of the Constitution of 1793

-31 May 1795

Revolutionary Tribunal abolished

—22 August 1795

Constitution of Year III and Two-Thirds Decree

—26 October 1795

Dissolution of the National Convention
(4 Brumaire Year IV) (End of AOS2)

KEY INDIVIDUALS



KING LOUIS XVI (1754-1793)

- Vetoed (refused royal assent for) several revolutionary decrees.
- Fled Paris on the night of 20 June 1791, possibly aiming to depart France; Louis was then captured at Varennes.
- Overthrown in insurrection (10 August 1792) and tried by the National Convention (December 1792).
- Sentenced to death by the Convention and guillotined on 21 January 1793.



GEORGES DANTON (1759-1794)

- Lawyer who became a leader of the Cordeliers.
- Member of the insurrectionary Paris Commune, which orchestrated the 10 August 1792 attack on the Tuileries Palace, resulting in the overthrow of Louis XVI.
- Member of the Committee of Public Safety (April–July 1793) who argued for relaxation of the revolution's emergency measures.
- Charged with conspiracy and guillotined after a sham trial.



JEAN-PAUL MARAT (1743-1793)

- Radical journalist.
- Advocated on behalf of the *sans-culottes*.
- Edited *L'ami du peuple* ('friend of the people'), a newspaper supported by the Jacobin and Cordeliers clubs.
- Became a 'revolutionary martyr' after being assassinated in his bath by Charlotte Corday (immortalised in Jacques-Louis David's famous painting *The Death of Marat*).



MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE (1758-1794)

- Lawyer and deputy to the Estates-General and later the National Convention.
- Member of the Jacobin Club and supporter of the execution of Louis XVI.
- Leading figure in the Committee of Public Safety, associated with the Reign of Terror.
- Arrested after his speech to the Convention on 26 July 1794 (8 Thermidor) and guillotined two days later.



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757-1834)

- A constitutional monarchist and founding member of the Feuillant Club in 1791, which supported the constitution of that year.
- Lost popularity after his troops opened fire on demonstrators at the Champ de Mars on 17 July 1791 following the king's flight to Varennes.
- Denounced the influence of the Jacobin Club.
- Defected to Austria in August 1792 and remained there until 1797.

TOPIC 6: END OF FEUDALISM AND THE RIGHTS OF MEN (AUGUST-OCTOBER 1789)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
August Decrees (4–11 August 1789)	▶ Deputies had no means of suppressing the peasant revolts and chose to calm them down with a conciliatory partial surrender of some feudal rights.	► The night of 4 August 1789 (AOS1) led to the August Decrees (5–11 August), in which the National Assembly deputies announced their intention to 'abolish the feudal regime entirely'.	► The age of privilege was over, as the French would now all enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same laws.
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (DORMAC) (26 August 1789)	 The Night of Patriotic Delirium and August Decrees prompted calls for a document to declare the values of the revolution. The Marquis de Lafayette, inspired by his American experiences, drafted the declaration, which was intended to be the preamble to the new constitution. 	 The declaration abolished the system of the three estates and all forms of privilege (fiscal, legal or honorific). The legal bases of privilege and the tradition of birth over merit were eliminated. 	 The renewed French society was based on equality, individual rights and a representative government. Social distinctions in the new society would be based solely on merit and social utility.
Changes and continuities in political conditions Granting of the king's right of veto (11 September 1789)	► The National Assembly wished to reduce the powers of the king and executive branch of government but not eliminate them altogether.	➤ The Assembly granted the king a 'suspensive veto', meaning he could delay legislation for up to three two-year sessions of the legislature.	 This allowed the king to retain the right to seek amendments to proposed laws but not to prevent them from being enacted. The king gave qualified acceptance of the August Decrees and DORMAC on 19 September.
The October Days: Women's March to Versailles (5-6 October 1789)	► The lack of the king's endorsement of the August Decrees and DORMAC on 19 September caused anger.	► A mob of Parisian market women invaded the royal palace at Versailles.	► The king, royal family and National Assembly were forcibly relocated from Versailles to Paris.

VIEWPOINT

KEY QUOTATION

Francois Furet HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The August Decrees had the greatest effect on the income of the Church.	'In terms of revenue, the clergy were the principal losers on 4 August.'
Peter McPhee	The October Days cemented belief	'The key decrees sanctioned and the court party in disarray, the
HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	that a new France had dawned.	Revolution's triumph seemed assured; to signify the magnitude of what they had achieved, people now began to refer to [the days before as] the ancien régime.'

ACTIVE REVISION! Topic 6
Choose an option and complete it here.
 Select, elect: List five key points from this topic. Then, highlight the one you think is most significant and explain why.
Mind map: present one sub-topic or concept as a mind map or other type of diagram.
3. Memory: create a mnemonic, acronym or rhyme to help you remember something from this topic.

TOPIC 7: EARLY REFORMS (NOVEMBER 1789-1790)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
Reforms to the Church Administrative reform and religious freedoms	► The new regime decided to rationalise and reorganise the administrative structures of the Roman Catholic Church in France and to implement religious freedom for Jews and Protestants.	 Church land was nationalised (taken into government control) by the National Assembly and sold to reduce some of the public debt. Jews and Protestants were allowed to worship freely. French citizens could no longer join Catholic religious orders (monasteries or convents) as monks or nuns. Religious orders were abolished unless they were involved in teaching or welfare. Members of the clergy became public servants and received salaries from the state. 	 ▶ The Church's financial autonomy was severely limited and its spiritual authority restricted. ▶ The Church became a department in the state administration. ▶ A division was created between the constitutional clergy, who accepted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and the refractory (non-juring) clergy, who acknowledged the leadership of the Pope. ▶ Many French felt they had to choose between their faith and the revolution.
Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790)	► The new regime needed a legal mechanism for reforming the Church.	 Under the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the number of dioceses (church districts) was reduced from 135 to eighty-three, with one bishop for each department. Bishops and priests had to be elected by their local communities. The Pope's authority to appoint people to church positions was removed. 	 The revolutionaries forced people to declare themselves for or against the new order. The revolution became more radical. The Civil Constitution influenced the king's decision to attempt to flee France. Large-scale and general opposition to the revolution emerged—the 'popular counter-revolution'. A major civil war broke out in the Vendée (central-west France).
Clerical Oath (27 November 1790)	► The new regime needed to secure compliance with the legislation reforming the Church.	 Clergy were forced to take an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy or lose their job and face exile. Clergy were to live at the place of their appointment. Any citizen who opposed the decree would be 'pursued and punished for having disrupted the public peace'. 	 The Oath alienated Catholics who supported the revolution. Fifty-four per cent of the parish clergy took the Oath whereas only seven bishops did. In the west of France, only a quarter of clerics accepted the Oath.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
Hostility of the papacy	 ▶ Civil Constitution of the Clergy removed the Pope's authority over the Catholic Church in France, breaking the link between the worldwide Catholic Church and its faithful in France. ▶ Civil Constitution of the Clergy effectively established a constitutional church, which was subordinate to a national government. 	 On 13 April, Pope Pius VI condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy as heretical and schismatic. For the Pope, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was heretical because it challenged his authority, and schismatic because it caused a schism, separating the Church in France from the universal Church. 	 ▶ The Pope's rejection of the Church reforms gave Catholics the strength to oppose the National Assembly's intervention into the religious lives of citizens. ▶ Two Catholic churches operated in France: one legal constitutional and officially recognised; the other underground, outlawed and persecuted. ▶ Priests who refused to swear the Oath to the constitutional church were removed from their post and branded as 'refusers' or 'refractory' and 'non-juring' clergy. ▶ The largest supporters of the continuing links between Church and the papacy were French women.
Changes and continuities in social and cultural conditions Festival of the Federation (14 July 1790)	► The new government wished to celebrate the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille and for every National Guard across France to renew their oaths.	 Many hundreds of thousands participated in the government-run celebrations at the Champ de Mars on the outskirts of Paris. The king led the oath-taking in front of a crowd estimated at 350,000. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette received cheers from the crowds. 	 The festival was a sign of unity, optimism and support of the revolution. The event endorsed the reforms of the National Assembly to date.
Reforms envisaged by the revolution Reform of local government	 ▶ A national system of administration was needed, based on cooperation between local authorities (communes) and the central government in Paris. ▶ The new regime wanted popular sovereignty at all levels of government. 	 The old provinces and other administrative divisions of the kingdoms were abolished. The government replaced provinces with eighty-three departments divided into districts and communes (local councils). All departments were of approximately the same size, population and wealth. All administrative divisions were run by an elected body. Every commune had an elected mayor, procurator and general council. Communes with a population of over 25,000 (i.e. cities) were divided into sections for electoral purposes: Paris had 48, Lyons and Marseilles had 32 each, Bordeaux 28, and Toulouse 15. 	 Communes were responsible for taxation, law and order, and public works. The government was decentralised, and there was a devolution of administrative responsibilities.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	ОИТСОМЕ
Electoral reform	➤ The new regime wished to enshrine the right for male citizens to vote, as promised in DORMAC (1789).	 The decree of 29 October 1789 introduced a definition of eligibility to vote based on a man's wealth—categories of 'active' and 'passive' citizens. Voting rights were restricted to 'active' citizens, defined as adult men who paid taxes equivalent to three days of an ordinary labourer's wage and were not employed as servants. The rest of the population (including women) were labelled 'passive' citizens. Over half the adult men in France acquired the right to vote in national elections. 	 The system favoured the wealthy and property owners. It came to cause resentment among the sans-culottes and appeared contrary to the principles of civil equality proclaimed in DORMAC.
Market reform	 ▶ There was no uniform national market before the revolution because provincial laws and privileges, and internal customs tolls, prevented the free circulation of goods. ▶ France was divided by internal customs barriers, located at the gates of towns, along rivers or between provinces, where customs duties and tolls were collected. 	▶ Internal customs tolls were abolished, thus, establishing a national market with a uniform set of weights and measures.	▶ A free national market operated but the grain supply and prices were at times controlled by the state. This was to prevent economic hardship for those on low wages.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
Changes to taxes	 ▶ The inefficient taxation system that contributed to the Crown's debt crisis needed a significant overhaul to raise revenue to repay national debt and finance new initiatives. ▶ According to William Doyle, 'The first year of the Revolution witnessed massive tax-evasion People simply stopped paying, and once the habit was broken it was hard to restore.' 	 ▶ The Assembly abolished indirect taxes such as the gabelle (a tax on salt) but left customs duties in place. ▶ It also abolished direct taxes: ▶ taille (land tax) ▶ capitation (poll tax) ▶ vingtième (income tax of 5% levied during the time of war). ▶ Tax farming (outsourced tax collection) was abolished. ▶ The government introduced three new income taxes: ▶ on land ▶ on commercial profits ▶ on all income not derived from land or commerce. ▶ Citizens paid taxes according to their capacity to pay. ▶ All lands belonging to the Church were confiscated and sold to finance the national debt redemption. 	 ▶ The inequitable tax system of the ancien régime was reformed, removing all exemptions and privileges of certain groups. ▶ The sale of former Church lands contributed to an increase in inflation.
Changes to laws	 ➤ The legal system, such as the parlements, and the administration of justice throughout France were seen as a relic of the ancien régime that needed reform. ➤ The existence of the old sovereign courts violated the Enlightenment idea of the separation of powers. 	 The government introduced a uniform legal system involving local justices of the peace, district civil and departmental criminal courts, and a single court of appeal. Trial by jury was introduced for criminal courts. Judges were elected and were required to have over five years of experience. Torture was forbidden, and execution by the quick and efficient guillotine was introduced. 	 ▶ The new legal system reflected the Enlightenment principle of the separation of powers. ▶ All citizens had access to the same law and justice (although, many protections were removed under the Terror [see p. 58]).

KEY QUOTATION

honourable individuals, show more and more that they prefer the

distinguishing the innocent from the wicked.'

total destruction of the structure to the correction of the abuses. They

yearn for civil war; but more probably they will get a massacre at their

own expense. In that case, the worst evil would be the impossibility of

The government had no authority 'My religion does not allow me to take an oath such as the National Abbé Baudé (1790) over the clergy. Assembly requires. ... I recognise no superior ... than the Pope and the HISTORICAL bishops." PERSPECTIVE William Doyle The oath of the clergy was a key 'The French revolution had many turning-points; but the oath of the moment after the revolution. clergy was unquestionably one of them, if not the greatest.' HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION Peter McPhee The main people to benefit from the 'Those who moved to fill the power vacuum left by the collapse of early stages of the new regime were the ancien régime and those who were among the major initial HISTORICAL members of the urban upper middle beneficiaries of the Revolution were bourgeois." INTERPRETATION class. Peter McPhee In the countryside, the clergy 'Throughout rural France ... the parish clergy were at the heart of the performed vital functions for their community: as a source of spiritual comfort and inspiration.' HISTORICAL local communities. INTERPRETATION Peter McPhee The Civil Constitution of the Clergy 'The Festival of Federation celebrated the unity of Church, monarchy shattered the revolutionary consensus and Revolution. Two days earlier, the Assembly had voted a reform HISTORICAL and alienated the king. which was to shatter all three.' INTERPRETATION Elysée Loustallot The clergy's domination of public life 'The reign of the priests has passed; and the more efforts they make to was over. They should accept this [maintain] the tottering remains of ecclesiastical power, the sooner will (1790)fact, as it is the lawful decision of the they hasten its collapse. ... If the clergy were less concerned with their HISTORICAL representatives of the nation. past glory and wealth, if they did not wish to foment civil war at any **PERSPECTIVE** possible price, they would no longer resist the lawful will of the nation.' **Thomas Paine** The king lost the allegiance of the 'The nation can never give back its confidence to a man who, false to nation because he committed treason. his trust, perjured to his oath, conspires a clandestine flight, obtains a (1791) fraudulent passport, conceals a King of France under the disguise of HISTORICAL a valet, directs his course towards a frontier covered with traitors and PERSPECTIVE deserters, and evidently meditates a return into our country, with a force capable of imposing his own despotic laws.' Pope Pius VI (1791) The French Catholics should not follow 'We call upon you [to be] mindful of your religion and the faith of your the new constitutional Church. fathers [because] it is the one and the true religion, which bestows HISTORICAL eternal life. ... Take special care [not to follow the orders] of this secular PERSPECTIVE sect, whose voices furnish death, and avoid in this way all usurpers whether they are called archbishops, bishops or parish priests.' The counter-revolutionaries rejected 'The former privileged classes, with the exception of a few good and Philip Mazzei

the revolution and will cause a civil

war in which both sides will not be

able to distinguish each other.

(1790)

HISTORICAL

PERSPECTIVE

TOPIC 8: THE END OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CONSENSUS (1791-AUGUST 1792)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	ОИТСОМЕ
King's flight to Varennes (20–21 June 1791) Marquis de Lafayette and the Champ de Mars massacre (17 July 1791) Political divisions over the aims of the revolution	 ▶ Louis XVI rejected the course of the revolution and the abuse of the rights of the Catholic Church. ▶ The king and queen fled Paris in an attempt to reach the protection of loyal troops in Montmédy; they were recognised at Varennes and escorted back to Paris. ▶ The king had left a note renouncing the revolution. 	 ▶ The National Assembly announced that the king had been kidnapped by counter-revolutionaries. ▶ The Assembly suspended the king as the head of state, assuming full control of the executive government until the new constitution (which was being drafted) could be enacted. ▶ When 50,000 Parisians rejecting the fiction of the kidnapping called for Louis's deposition (removal from office) at a demonstration at the Champ de Mars, the National Guard, commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette, fired on the crowd, killing around fifty people. 	 ▶ The king's flight was the revolution's second great turning point, as it effectively split the revolution: the National Assembly maintained its support for the constitutional monarchy, while the radical clubs such as the Cordeliers called for the king to be dethroned. ▶ The government's heavy-handed response to the Champ de Mars protest highlighted the conflicting visions of the revolution: a moderate, bourgeois revolution (led by Lafayette and the 'men of 1789') versus a radical popular revolution. ▶ The Crown never regained influence over the affairs of France.
Introduction of popular sovereignty and representative government Constitution of 1791 (September 1791)	➤ The new regime wished to act on the Tennis Court Oath, taken by deputies at Versailles on 20 June 1789.	 France became a constitutional hereditary monarchy. There was a separation of powers, with the king at the helm of the executive and ministers recruited from outside the Assembly. The Legislative Assembly had 745 members, with elections held every two years. Louis XVI retained a 'suspensive veto' (the right to appoint ministers and military commanders). As a result of the 'selfdenying ordinance', a motion put forth by Maximilien Robespierre, no one in the National Constituent Assembly could sit in the new Legislative Assembly. 	 The Crown's powers, duties and obligations were set down in law. The new political system was based on the democratic concept of representation. The active/passive citizen division and a wealth test for deputies was objectionable to the sans-culottes, as they wanted direct democracy. The constitution sowed seeds of further discontent, for example, by excluding women and most working men. After the Champ de Mars massacre (17 July), the 1791 Constitution was effectively obsolete before it was proclaimed.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
Outbreak and course of war Hostility of foreign powers	 ▶ Soon after the king's capture in Varennes, Austria and Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz (August 1791) expressing concern for the king and the situation in France—this was viewed as a provocation. ▶ The royal court may have wished for war to restore the absolute monarchy, either by taking control of the army or by foreign intervention. ▶ Lafayette may have wished to strengthen his declining position to enable him to mediate between the king and the Assembly. 	 ▶ The government declared war on Austria (20 April 1792); Prussia, Britain and other European powers subsequently joined Austria. ▶ France faced many military challenges, including the fact that about half of the 12,000 French officers had emigrated and that the army was poorly trained and equipped. ▶ Robespierre and Danton opposed war and advocated a purge of enemies of the revolution within France. 	 France experienced immediate losses, leading to desertions that destroyed discipline. The military defeats created an atmosphere in which radical solutions were sought by the government, the Assembly and the fearful public. Fear and, at times, paranoia about conspirators and foreigners abounded. War losses fed into the 'second revolution' of 10 August 1792. The introduction of conscription sparked the beginning of the civil war in the Vendée region.
Deposition of Louis XVI (10 August 1792) Danton	 ▶ On 25 July 1792, the Duke of Brunswick of the allied (mainly Austrian—Prussian) army made a declaration (the Brunswick Manifesto), which was 'designed to strike terror into the inhabitants of Paris' and threatened 'exemplary and forever memorable vengeance' against Parisians if they injured the king. ▶ Following fury at the Brunswick Manifesto, as well as agitation by the Cordeliers and Danton, the Paris Commune declared an insurrection against suspected counter-revolutionaries. ▶ Over 20,000 sans-culottes, National Guards and fédéré soldiers attacked the king's residence (Tuileries Palace) and massacred his Swiss guards. 	▶ Louis sought refuge in the Assembly. The Assembly suspended him as the head of state.	 The monarchy effectively ended in France, and a republican form of government emerged. The Assembly voted to dissolve itself and announced elections to a convention 'to assure the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality'. A National Convention was to be elected by universal manhood suffrage. Elections were indirect and occurred in a two-stage process (primary on 27 August, secondary on 2 September).

KEY QUOTATION

	VILWPOINT	KET QUOTATION
Petition to government (1791) HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	The king should abdicate because he attempted to flee the country.	'A monstrous crime was committed; Louis XVI fled; You, Gentlemen [the government] have judged in advance that he was innocent and inviolable This was not the will of the people.'
Francois Furet HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The king's attempted escape from France exposed the falsehood of his support for the constitutional monarchy.	'Louis XVI started to die on 21 June 1791 For his flight tore away the veil of that false constitutional monarchy and once more confronted the Patriot party with the whole problem of the Revolution's future.'
William Doyle HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	Women were part of the revolutionary struggle on both sides and often influenced men to act.	'What the ordinary women of Paris had done during the Revolution—dragging the royal family back to Paris in October 1789, pushing their menfolk to violent extremes in August 1792, a force pushing both revolution and counter-revolution in violent directions when they got the chance.'
William Doyle HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The king's rejection of the achievements and direction of the revolution strengthened the emerging republican sentiments.	'Nobody was surprised when Louis XVI himself attempted to join the emigration in the flight to Varennes It was obvious that Louis XVI had renounced (and indeed denounced) the Revolution and all its works. It was now obvious, too, that there was a substantial republican movement in Paris.'
Peter McPhee HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The war made the division between active and passive citizens irrelevant and hard to maintain.	'The war revitalized the popular revolution. The political and social demands of working people became more insistent and harder to deny once all men were called to volunteer to fight at a time of worsening inflation.'
Jeremy Popkin HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	Women who supported the revolution were banned from active participation in politics but nonetheless kept revolutionary men in check.	'Despite the Convention's ban on women's participation in politics, they frequently attended meetings as spectators, keeping the men under observation and making sure they carried out their responsibilities.'
Le Père Duchesne (1791) HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	The rejection of the revolution by the king should mean rejection of the king by the nation.	'You, my king. You are no longer my king, no longer my king! You are nothing but a cowardly deserter. A king should be the father of the people, not its executioner. Now that the nation has resumed its rights it will not be so bloody stupid as to take back a coward like you.'
Olympa da Gougas	The rights of revolutionary	'Believing that ignorance omission or scorn for the rights of woman

Olympe de Gouges (1791)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The rights of revolutionary women were neglected by the deputies of the National Assembly and later Legislative Assembly.

'Believing that ignorance, omission, or scorn for the rights of woman are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, the women have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman in order that this declaration, constantly exposed before all the members of the society, will ceaselessly remind them of their rights and duties.'

ACTIVE REVISION! Topic 8
Choose an option and complete it here.
 Select, elect: List five key points from this topic. Then, highlight the one you think is most significant and explain why.
Mind map: present one sub-topic or concept as a mind map or other type of diagram.
3. Memory: create a mnemonic, acronym or rhyme to help you remember something from this topic.

TOPIC 9: WAR EMERGENCY AND THE TERROR (SEPTEMBER 1792-MID-1794)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	ОИТСОМЕ
Rise of sans-culottes September Massacres (2–6 September 1792)	 ▶ Verdun fell to the Prussians on 2 September 1792. ▶ When the tocsin (bell) was rung and 60,000 volunteers enlisted to fight at the front, Parisians feared they would be helpless against counter-revolutionary prisoners who might escape and overrun the city. ▶ Some radical revolutionary leaders urged the purge of prisoners held in Paris; hysteria took over the Parisian crowd. 	 More than 1200 prisoners were either sentenced to death in 'trials' or murdered outright by sans-culottes. The Assembly did not intervene to stop the massacres. 	► The moderate deputies saw the sans-culottes as murderers; the sans-culottes saw themselves as defenders of the revolution.
Revolutionary government Declaration of the Republic (22 September 1792)	 The constitutional monarchy failed because of the king's lack of cooperation with the elected representatives of the nation. Louis XVI rejected the principle of popular sovereignty. 	 France was declared a republic by the National Convention. The Convention suspended the Constitution of 1791 until a new constitution could be enacted. The Convention assumed the full executive powers of government in addition to its legislative role. 	 The monarchy was abolished in France. The former king was placed under arrest and was to face trial before the National Convention accused him of treason.
Federalist Revolt and counter- revolution	 ▶ A violent civil war began in the Vendée region of centralwest France in March 1793: the Vendéan rebels rejected the 1790 Civil Constitution of the Clergy (90% of priests were refractory), rejected the <i>levée en masse</i> (February 1793), resented Paris' control of taxation, and opposed the sale of Church lands. ▶ Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, Lyons and other centres became the site of revolts by Federalists (around sixty out of eighty-three departments revolted from April 1793). The Federalists were republicans who opposed the 'direct democracy' of the <i>sans-culottes</i> in Paris and objected to the severity of the repression of the Vendée rebellion. 	► The Committee of Public Safety (created April 1793) ordered the crushing of the rebellion in the Vendée by the means of a scorchedearth policy and suppression of the Federalist Revolt by all means available to the revolutionary armies.	 The Federalist dissent further fuelled the extremism of the Jacobins. The violent suppression of the counter-revolution served to consolidate the revolution. Deep divisions emerged among revolutionaries over how to bring about change and create the new society.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	ОИТСОМЕ
Trial and execution of Louis XVI (December 1792– January 1793)	➤ The new regime sought to deal with the king's attempt to escape from France, his association with the Champ de Mars massacre, and his support of counter-revolution.	 Citizen Louis Capet' (Louis XVI) was tried before the National Convention for having 'violated the sovereignty of the people' and for numerous crimes of 'tyranny'—Louis's claim of inviolability under the 1791 Constitution was rejected. ▶ The Convention was split on the fate of the former king: Girondins argued that he should live, while Jacobins and Cordeliers demanded his death. 	 ▶ Louis was convicted and sentenced to death: he was guillotined on 21 January 1793. ▶ European royal courts were horrified by the execution and broke off diplomatic relations with France. They formed an anti-French coalition, to which France responded by declaring war on Britain and the Dutch Republic on 1 February 1793. ▶ The Convention's factional struggle (Montagnards v. Girondins) intensified.
Revolutionary government	► The government faced several challenges including war with Austria, Prussia, Spain and Britain; a radicalised popular movement (sans-culottes); civil war in the Vendée, political dissent against the radicalism of Paris; and the Federalist Revolt.	 ▶ The declaration that the 'government of France is revolutionary until the peace' suspended the Constitution of 1793. ▶ The National Convention began to adopt the measures later known as 'revolutionary government': ▶ Revolutionary Tribunal (10 March 1793) ▶ Committees of Surveillance (21 March 1793) ▶ Committee of Public Safety (25 March—6 April 1793) ▶ Law of Suspects (17 September 1793) ▶ Law of Revolutionary Government (October 1793) ▶ These pieces of legislation were consolidated into the Law of Revolutionary Government (Law of 14 Frimaire II) enacted on 4 December 1793. 	▶ The changes were an attempt to remove all opposition to the revolution and consolidate the government in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety.

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
The Terror	► The new regime decided to implement harsh measures	► Under the Terror, the government introduced measures such as:	► The Terror consolidated revolutionary change.
	during the war emergency. It also feared political assassinations	▷ representatives-on-mission	► The economic terror
	of revolutionary leaders and increased counter-revolutionary	 Committees of Surveillance to watch citizens and foreigners 	(e.g. Maximum) fulfilled the demands of the sans-culottes.
	violence.	the death penalty for treason or hoarding food	► The Law of 22 Prairial unleashed the so-called
		Law of the Maximum (price controls).	Great Terror—according to Peter McPhee, in the
		► The Law of 22 Prairial Year II (10 June 1794) meant:	four months before the Law, 1251 people
		 the list of political crimes expanded to include 'criticism of patriotism' 	were executed; in the six weeks after its introduction, 1376 people were executed.
		 verdicts of the Revolutionary Tribunal were limited to death or acquittal 	► Convention deputies began to fear for their own security; moderates,
		 trials could be conducted for groups of defendants accused of the same crime 	including friends of Danton, began quietly rejecting Robespierre's
		the right to a public defence was curtailed	talk of a moral revolutionary society built on Terror.
		deputies' immunity from arrest was revoked.	
De-Christianisation campaign	► De-Christianisation was promoted by Hébert and his radical newspaper <i>Le Père Duchesne</i> .	 Followers of Hébert turned several thousand churches, including Notre Dame, into temples of reason. The National Convention did not 	► Hébert's and his followers' actions threatened the unity of the revolutionary
	► The campaign aimed at removing the existence of Christianity from all aspects of public and private life in France.	sanction these actions.	government. • He was arrested together with his followers and guillotined in May 1794.
	► The campaign was related to the imposition of the new calendar.		
	➤ De-Christianisation reached its height in late 1793.		

KEY OUOTATION

Camille Desmoulins (1793)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Freedom of expression is a necessary part of a truly free society. The revolution's progress cannot be justified by the suspension of civil liberties.

'No longer do we have a paper that tells the truth, or at least the whole truth. ... What journalist in France would dare to criticise the blunders of our committees, of the generals, of the Jacobins, of the ministers, and of the Commune? ... Do not tell me that we are in the middle of a revolution and that in a revolution it is necessary to suspend the liberty of the press.'

Maximilien Robespierre (1794)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Terror is needed to protect the revolution.

'We must smother the internal and external enemies of the Republic or perish with them. ... [The policy] ought to be to lead the people by reason and the people's enemies by terror.'

Donald Sutherland

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Louis's death marked the start of the Republic.

'[The king's death] on that cold, dull day in January 1793 [was] the climax of the Revolution as a whole. ... The death of the king was a renewal. His death ... meant that the French could live as republicans. This day, not 22 September 1792, founded the Republic.'

Peter McPhee

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Vendéan rebels saw Paris as being dominated by *sans-culottes*, while the soldiers of the revolutionary armies considered the rebels to be backwards and attached to Catholicism.

'For the republican troops, the [Vendéan] rebels were superstitious and cruel, manipulated in their ignorance by ... priests and nobles. For the rebels, the extent of the reprisals ... reinforced a bloody image of Paris.'

Jeremy Popkin

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The moment the Terror was seen as excessive, the Republic began enjoying military success abroad.

'The impression that the Terror had turned into an irrational and uncontrolled bloodbath was accompanied by an improvement in the military situation. The tide was clearly turning in the republic's favor.'

Donald Sutherland

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Many Federalists supported the revolution.

'Though federalism certainly attracted royalists, it was not on the whole counterrevolutionary. ... The federalist manifestos proclaimed their loyalty to the ... nation and, in most places, to the Republic.'

Simon Schama

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Terror became the government's tool in consolidating the revolution.

'The institutional machinery for the revolutionary dictatorship ... was now set in place, so that the chaotic brutalities of the street mobs would be replaced by the systematic machinery of state punishment.'

Les Révolutions de Paris (1793)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The sans-culottes were true patriots ready to act to defend the revolution.

'The true sans-culotte is a man of nature, or one who has preserved all his energy in the heart of civil society, regenerated by the Revolution. He is a patriot strong in mind and body, who has always shown himself openly and taken a step ahead.'

La patrie en danger (11 July 1792)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The revolution was facing external and internal threats to its existence. Individual citizens should volunteer to join the revolutionary armies.

'A league of kings has been formed in order to destroy [the Revolution], their battalions are advancing, they are numerous, subject to rigorous discipline and trained long ago in the art of war. ... Interior agitation increases the difficulty of our position. ... Make haste, citizens, save liberty and avenge your glory.'

TOPIC 10: THE THERMIDORIAN REACTION AND THE CONSOLIDATION

(MID-1794-26 OCTOBER 1795)

KEY KNOWLEDGE	CHALLENGE	GOVERNMENT RESPONSE	OUTCOME
Fall of Maximilien Robespierre (July 1794)	 The Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security differed about the allocation of responsibility. Robespierre gave a speech on 26 July 1794 (8 Thermidor Year II) in which he denounced a plot directed against him and threatened unnamed deputies. 	 The Convention voted overwhelmingly in favour of Robespierre's arrest. The Convention's troops captured Robespierre and several of his supporters, including Saint-Just; they were guillotined the same day (28 July 1794). 	 ▶ The Reign of Terror gave way to the Thermidorian Reaction. ▶ Robespierre was thereafter blamed for the Terror.
Continuity and change in French society Thermidorian Reaction (from July 1794)	► The Convention wished to punish the Robespierrists and dismantle the machinery of the Terror.	 Within a month of Robespierre's fall, the central institutions of Terror and revolutionary government had been dismantled by the Convention. The Jacobin Club in Paris was closed and symbols of radicalism, including the busts of Marat placed in public spaces after his assassination, were destroyed. Changes were made to the composition of the Committee of Public Safety, the Law of 22 Prairial was repealed, and the members of the Revolutionary Tribunal were arrested. Over the rest of 1794, only forty executions by guillotine were carried out. 	 ➤ Sans-culottes lost their influence. ➤ Some royalists and émigrés returned to France. ➤ Moderate deputies became the new leaders of France.
Constitution of Year III (enacted 22 August 1795)	► A revised constitutional system was needed for the republican France that emerged from the Terror.	 The new constitution was enacted on 22 August 1795. A bicameral legislature (two-chamber parliament) was established, with elections held every year. The lower house was the Council of Five Hundred (membership restricted to men over thirty years of age). The upper house was the Council of Ancients (comprising 250 men over forty years of age). The executive (government) was the Directory of Five. The electoral law restricted voting rights to men of property aged over twenty-one. 	 ▶ The constitution achieved a stable republican government focused on restoring secure living conditions. ▶ France returned to a system in which the ownership of property granted certain rights and privileges.

KEY OUOTATION

Napoleon Bonaparte (1795)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

France soon returned to normal after the Terror.

'The memory of the Terror is no more than a nightmare. ... Everyone appears determined to make up for what they have suffered.'

Donald Sutherland

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

After the fall of Robespierre, the new leaders of the Republic hoped to consolidate revolution and return to a stable government.

'The Thermidorians hoped to persuade the nation that by forgetting most of the recent past and attempting to reintroduce the rule of law, the nation could make a fresh start.'

Peter McPhee

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Robespierre became a scapegoat for the Terror.

'As soon as [Robespierre] died ... people rushed to vilify [criticise] him.'

Peter McPhee

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

After 1795, wealth once more determined political and social status.

'Property was the basis of the social order.'

Noah Shusterman

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The end of Robespierre's leadership ushered diminished influence of *sans-culottes* and paved the way for a gradual return to the normality of everyday life.

'The deaths of Robespierre and his allies [meant] a return to more moderate policies from the government, and less emphasis on virtue and equality. It would mean less influence from the sans-culottes, and more influence from the wealthier classes. Soon the Convention would dismantle the Revolutionary Tribunal and free the suspects still in prison.'

Peter McPhee

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Constitution of Year III was a dramatically different document to its revolutionary forerunners and closed the revolutionary chapter.

'The constitution [of 1795] marks the end of the Revolution.'

TOPIC 11: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN FRENCH SOCIETY (1774-1789)

	AFTER THE REVOLUTION
Economic conditions	 A single national market and an economy based on private ownership were established. A national decimal system of weights, measures and currency was introduced. Uniform and proportional taxation was implemented. William Doyle contends that the new regime could not take full credit for introducing free trade, as the process had begun under the ancien régime.
Political conditions Elections	 Subjects of the king of France became citizens. After the revolution, sovereignty was vested in the citizens and exercised in elections through manhood suffrage (voting rights). Wealthier citizens had greater electoral rights than others.
Bureaucracy	 Uniform, centralised administration of state was implemented. Departments and communes were introduced, allowing a greater range of people to participate in decision-making.
Law	► A new legal system and reformed administration of justice was introduced, with uniform rights and processes for all citizens.
Social groups Structures	 There was greater social mobility (e.g. ability to change one's social status based on individual achievement). Privilege based on birth was abolished. The Church enjoyed fewer entrenched privileges. Approximately 10% of land changed hands, and land remained the major source of wealth.
Slavery	▶ Twelve years before Britain banned the slave trade (not its practice) and seventy years before the United States ended slavery, the National Convention abolished slavery in France and its colonies on 4 February 1794. Its gradual abolition was proposed originally by Condorcet in 1781.
Bourgeoisie	 Many bourgeois could not elect deputies, as they did not meet the property qualification. The modern state that emerged after the revolution favoured the bourgeoisie, with property owners having greater access to positions as electors and Assembly members than non-property owners.
Parish priests and other clergy	 Economic losses and the removal of a formal public authority resulted in renewed personal spirituality for many. Priests and clergy were targeted by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, with many killed or deported. Revolutionaries attempted to replace the Church with the civil religion of reason in November 1793, but these attempts failed.
Urban workers	 The sans-culottes staged a mass protest demanding food and universal male suffrage in April 1795. This was suppressed by the Convention. Most urban workers could not elect deputies because they did not own property.

	AFTER THE REVOLUTION
Women	▶ Women did not gain the vote after the revolution even though activists such as Théroigne de Méricourt advocated full citizenship for women.
	▶ Olympe de Gouges, a self-proclaimed monarchist, proposed a Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen in 1791. (The document was not introduced, and de Gouges was executed by the Jacobins in 1793 for supporting the Girondins.)
	▶ Women gained the right to divorce on their own initiative: mothers retained custody of all children under the age of seven; fathers gained custody of sons older than that. Both parents were to share the cost of child support. However, women could not remarry for a year after the granting of a divorce.
	▶ Daughters' inheritance rights were made equal to those of sons.
	▶ Majority of women were 'defenders of the faith' and circulated pamphlets opposing the Clerical Oath. They organised clandestine Catholic masses, protected non-juring clergy, and formed illegal prayer groups. Their individual spirituality continued after 1795.
Peasants	▶ Peasants enjoyed an improved standard of living (e.g. increased landholdings, a lower tax burden, higher wages for agricultural labour).
	▶ Profit-oriented farms emerged.
	▶ Peasants could not elect deputies, as they lacked property.
Nobility	► There was no formal recognition of noble status after the revolution.
	▶ Many nobles continued to be part of the landowning elite and derived significant income from rent charged to tenants.

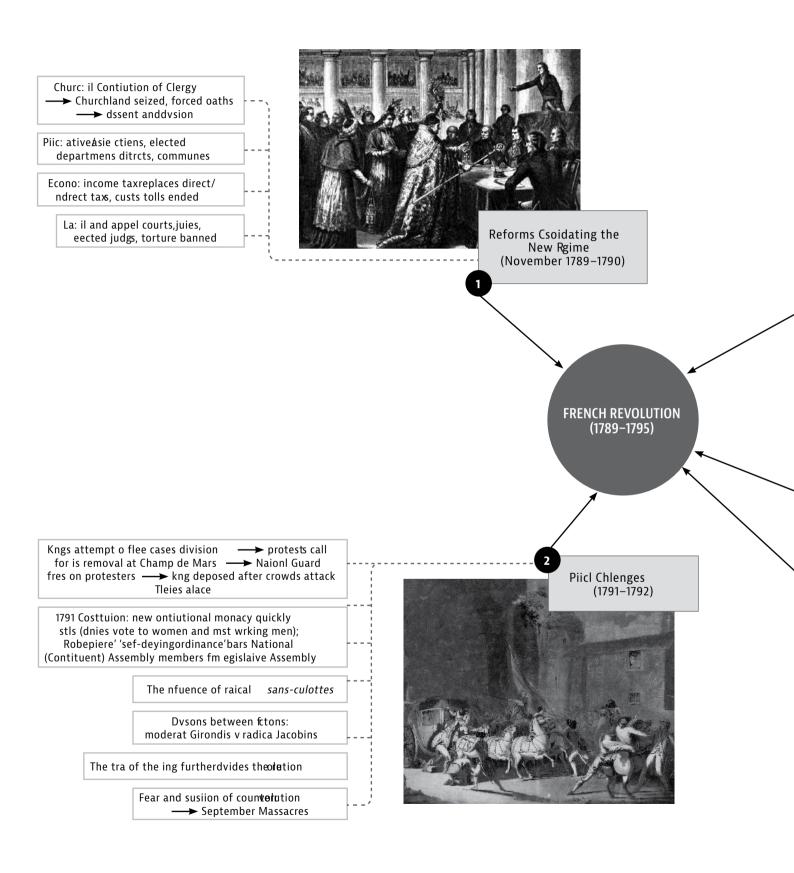
	VIEWPOINT	KEY QUOTATION
Darius von Güttner HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The key achievements of the revolution represented the reforms asked for in the books of grievances.	'The changes introduced by the revolution that stood the test of time were those that reflected the central grievances expressed in the cahiers, among them popular sovereignty, civil equality, careers based on merit and utility, and the end of the last vestiges of feudalism.'
Albert Soboul HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	The revolution signalled the transition of France to a modern society and an economy based on free elections and private ownership.	'[The revolution was profoundly revolutionary in its short and long term outcomes.] "A classic bourgeois revolution, its uncompromising abolition of the feudal system and the seigneurial regime make it the starting-point for capitalist society and the liberal representative system in France".'
William Doyle HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION	Life after the revolution became safer, and it was no longer a requirement to hide one's wealth.	'Rich, fashionable society was on parade again, as in monarchical times, and the well-policed streets were agreed to be a good deal safer Such were the visible fruits of thirteen years of turmoil.'
Anonymous politician (late 1794) HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	After Robespierre's death, vigilante justice was used to settle the injustice of the Terror.	'[The Gilded Youth] consisted of hot-blooded young men who claimed to be pathetic victims of the Terror with a duty to avenge their relatives who had died on the scaffold [They] called for the death of the republicans, whom they called "terrorists".'

ACTIVE REVISION! Topics 9 to 11

Choose an option for each topic and complete it here.

- 1. Select, elect: List five key points from the topic. Then, highlight the one you think is most significant and explain why.
- 2. Mind map: present one sub-topic or concept as a mind map or other type of diagram.
- 3. Memory: create a mnemonic, acronym or rhyme to help you remember something from the topic.

MIND MAP: CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION



66



Expeiences of evolution (1789–1795)

Bourgose: became a dminant grop in Frenc sciety, dspaing the noity

Church and lery: × Churchlands natiolised × prests forced to ake lericl Oath, marry nd/or emigrate √ reneal of Cthoi spituality

Sans-culottes × suppressed afterdemanding fod and rights (1795)

Wome: × excluded from oting and eqal rights

√ gin ivorce nd iheritane rights

Peasant: √ ginlan, √ ginlower taxes and firer wages fr gricltural work

Nobty × forml staus, tax eemtins, igeurial rights removed × hereitary noity abished ✓ reained the wealth base on land

Éigrs: X many suffer povety, lss of land andor execution X many assist foreign powr on osing side

Slavs: ✓ receive heir freedm with qul rights



Reations Aainst the Terror (1794–1795) Terror reachs cliax with Law of 22 Prairial and Great Terror

Reolt of 9 Termdor: Robepierre condemned for Terror → executed, Barère deported

Thermdoran Reatin: Cmmittee oPublic Safetydisarmed, potca prsoners eleaed, Jacobinspurged, poperty rights restored

War and the Terror (1792–1794)



Federlist revolt -> cv war

Kngs exeution --> nternatioal war

Franc v. Autria, Prussia and others reoutin in daner, evée en masse (conscrption)

September Massares: sans-culottes murder counter-evoluionry' prisoners

Vendée reels rejec vil Cnsitution of lergy → cv war

Comittee of ublic Saty launches Terror

→ Law of Suspecs, repræntativeson-msio, survllane, Law of Maximum

The Rign of Terror → Terrr is the order of th day'
→ The Law of Suspects → exections of arie
Antinete, Giodin lede, PhilpeÉgalité, Madame
Rlan, Bl, Barn, Ølympe de Guge Charlotte
Cordy, ntoineLvoisier Héber Dsmoulins, Danton

GUIDE TO ASSESSMENT IN VCE HISTORY: REVOLUTIONS

SCHOOL-ASSESSED COURSEWORK (SAC) TASKS

Fifty per cent of your marks in VCE History: Revolutions are derived from School-Assessed Coursework (SAC) tasks. These are tasks devised by your teacher to assess your level of knowledge and skill, which you will complete throughout the school year.

At the beginning of each Area of Study, your teacher should tell you:

- the date(s) of each SAC
- the format of each SAC
- the time you will receive to complete each SAC, and what materials are permitted
- how each SAC will be assessed
- what is required to achieve full marks on each SAC.

It is helpful to ask your teacher to provide you with sample SAC questions and exemplar responses to past SACs, but they are not necessarily required to do this.

You will complete at least four SACs in VCE History: Revolutions, with one in each of the following formats:

- historical inquiry
- extended responses
- evaluation of historical sources
- essay.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

This SAC will focus on undertaking independent historical inquiry. This means you will use a question to guide an investigation of the past, gather relevant evidence, and use that evidence to develop an argument.

Your teacher may permit you to frame your own inquiry question for this SAC. In this case, you should consult with your teacher to ensure that your question is well-balanced. A question that is too broad will yield a poorly focused report, while a question that is too narrow will prove difficult to research and answer.

Strong questions for **Area of Study 1** will focus on evaluating how a particular idea, individual, popular movement or event contributed to the revolution. For example:

How did	[topic]	contribute to the development of new tensions? shape the development of [revolutionary movement]? contribute to the rise of [revolutionary leader]?
How important was	[topic]	in causing the downfall of the [old regime]? in shaping the development of the revolution? in developing [revolutionary idea]?
To what extent was	[topic]	the main cause of the revolution? responsible for the failure of the [old regime]? responsible for the victory of [revolutionary group]?
To what extent did	[topic]	fulfil their/its revolutionary goals? undermine the ruling government? create the conditions necessary for revolution?

Strong questions for **Area of Study 2** will focus on evaluating how the revolutionary government responded to particular challenges, or on evaluating the degree of change and continuity experienced by a particular group in society. For example:

How effective was		cionary government in achieving its goal of	[topic]?
Evaluate	 the extent of change and continuity in the experiences and responses of the reasons why the revolutionary government was forced to compromise its goal of		[topic].
To what extent did	[topic]	influence the development of the new society? assist the revolutionary government in consolidatin fulfil their/its revolutionary goals? undermine the ruling government? create the conditions necessary for revolution?	g its power?

Your teacher might permit you to access research materials in the lessons leading up to this SAC. Consult with your teacher to determine what resources you are permitted to access. Take dot-point notes in your own words that you can quickly and easily refer to when writing up your inquiry SAC. Ensure that you develop a timeline of key events, and select a range of suitable quotations from primary sources (participants in the action) and historical interpretations (historians' views).

If your teacher permits you to access research materials for this SAC, some useful resources include the following:

- 'Idea of History: Historiography of French Revolution' (http://idea-of-history. blogspot.com/2012/12/the-french-revolution-historiography.html). This website provides an overview of older historical interpretations organised by theme and time period.
- Brown University's Choices Program on the French Revolution (https://choices.edu/curriculum-unit/the-french-revolution/) provides short overviews of the key issues in the revolution.
 - » Why is it important for high school students to understand the French Revolution? (https://choices.edu/video/why-is-it-important-for-highschool-students-to-understand-the-french-revolution/)
 - » What was the role of the king in pre-revolutionary France? (https://choices.edu/video/what-was-the-role-of-the-king-in-pre-revolutionary-france/)
 - » What was the role of the nobility in pre-revolutionary France? (https://choices.edu/video/what-was-the-role-of-the-nobility-in-pre-revolutionary-france/)
- Alpha History provides short essays, primary sources and a detailed timeline of the French Revolution: https://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/.
- You can download Chapter 1 of French Revolution by Darius von Güttner (Nelson Modern History Series): https://vcerevolutions.com/home/the-french-revolution/.
- You can access several ebooks and journal articles using a free State Library of Victoria membership.
 - » Refer to the French Revolution research guide here: https://guides.slv.vic.gov.au/revolutions/france.

The conclusions of your historical inquiry will likely be written up as an extended response, essay or analytical report under exam conditions. Appropriate planning, a clear introduction, clear topic and linking sentences, and a clear conclusion will all help your reader to understand your research findings. General guidance on writing a focused response can be found by consulting p. 71 on writing extended responses and p. 78 on writing essays. You will also need to ask your teacher about their requirements for the SAC.

EXTENDED RESPONSES

This SAC will require you to develop a detailed response to one or more questions. You will be expected to present an argument with two or three supporting discussion points that contain evidence. A suitable response might be between 100 words and 400 words in length, depending on the demands of the question and the time provided.

Below are some examples of what questions on this SAC might look like:

- Explain how the nobility contributed to the development of the revolution by challenging the existing order between 1787 and 4 August 1789. Provide evidence to support your answer.
- Compare the intended and actual outcomes of the convocation of the Estates-General by King Louis XVI.
- Analyse how the outbreak and course of war challenged the government of France between 4 August 1789 and 26 October 1795. Use evidence to support your response.
- Evaluate the significance of the flight to Varennes as a challenge for the new regime. Use evidence to support your response.
- Evaluate the extent of change and continuity in French society from 1774 to 1795.

 Comment on at least two of the following: how France was governed, how revolutionary ideas influenced society, and/or the rights of a particular social group.

You should ask your teacher about their requirements for this SAC. However, here is some general advice that is likely to help you write an extended response.

WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

- Highlight the key terms of the question and determine exactly
 what it is asking you to do. Refer to the advice on p. 84 on how to
 unpack questions.
- Select three or four discussion points or arguments and write these as a dot-point plan.
- Provide a direct answer to the question in the first sentence.
- Develop your main ideas or themes in short, focused discussion points of 3–5 sentences. It may help to begin each paragraph with a signpost such as 'Firstly' or 'Secondly' to help your reader see the structure of your argument.
- If you are answering a question focused on causes, order your
 discussion points chronologically, beginning with the earliest, and
 concluding with the last. If a time period is provided in the question,
 try to select discussion points that cover the entire period.
- If you are answering a question that requires you to evaluate or compare, order your discussion points by theme. For example, group together examples of change in one paragraph and examples of continuity in another, or group together effects on members of the three estates in one paragraph and effects on the members of the royal family in another.
- Ensure that you include some form of specific **evidence** in each discussion point, such as dates, names, quotations, laws, statistics, and so on.

WHAT YOU SHOULD NOT DO

- This is not an essay, so there is no expectation that you write full introduction and conclusion paragraphs. One or two sentences is sufficient. Rather than trying to outline or summarise your arguments, aim to capture the central argument or big idea explored throughout your response.
- Avoid narrative (retelling the story without any argument) or irrelevant discussion (anything the question does not ask for).

SAMPLE RESPONSE

The following are examples of extended responses that display a high level of knowledge and skill



Analyse the role of the nobility in challenging the existing order and contributing to the development of revolution between 1787 and 4 August 1789. Use evidence to support your response. (10 marks)

Clear, one-sentence **direct response** to the question.

Although the nobility were a relatively small proportion of French society, they played a key role in destabilising the existing order, significantly contributing to the development of revolutionary tensions.

Signposts are used to introduce each main discussion point.

Main discussion points are structured using cause-effect-significance.

Specific evidence such as quotations, dates, laws and events are provided.

ACTIVITY

Use different highlighter colours to identify where the response:

- » provides evidence from own knowledge
- » links to the key terms of the question.

Each discussion point focuses on a single time period or development, building in **chronological order** towards the revolutionary situation. A **range of events** covering the entire timeframe of the question is used.

Specific evidence such as movements, policies, statistics, dates and events are provided.

Conclusion: The student identifies and links to a revolutionary situation.

Firstly, the nobility caused the financial crisis to become a 'political crisis that was only to be resolved by revolution' (Doyle). The Assembly of Notables (February–May 1787) rejected the tax reforms proposed by ministers and was the first body to call for an Estates–General. Further, their demands to see the state's financial situation directly challenged the authority of the king. The nobility indicated their distrust of Louis XVI's ministers—particularly Calonne—and painted Louis XVI as a monarch who endorsed ministerial despotism. Being the 'first revolutionaries' (Schama), the Notables set the precedent for further challenges to the existing order.

Secondly, the nobility of the Paris Parlement launched political challenges at King Louis XVI, who was resultingly seen as a weak monarch. The Paris Parlement also asserted that only an Estates-General had the right to pass fiscal reform (July 1787), and further claimed that it was speaking on behalf of the 'entire nation' when it stated that 'taxes should be consented to by those who had to bear them'. The positioning of the Paris Parlement as the voice of the nation directly contradicted the authority of Louis XVI as the king of France. The Paris Parlement also accused the king of acting illegally (19 November 1787) and introduced new political thinking by issuing the Fundamental Laws of France (3 May 1788), declaring that the parlements held more power than the king ascribed to them. Louis XVI's suspension of the parlements only led to further unrest, such as the Day of Tiles (7 June 1788), mobilising other groups in society against the regime. The Aristocratic Revolt of 1787–1788 meant France's financial crisis remained unresolved, and it forced the king to concede the Estates-General for 1789 (8 August 1788). Thus, the nobility had also paved the way for the Third Estate to gain a political voice by 1789.

Finally, the nobles in the National Assembly (formed 17 June 1789) fundamentally challenged the political and social structure of the nation. Forty-seven liberal nobles including the Duc d'Orléans defied the king by joining the National Assembly (25 June 1789), ignoring the rigid hierarchical class structure of the ancien régime. Further, on the Night of Patriotic Delirium (4 August 1789), the nobility of the National Assembly surrendered their privileges and expressed a desire to end the feudal system that underpinned the old regime, thus developing a revolutionary situation. (421 words)



Explain how the rise of the sans-culottes caused leaders to compromise revolutionary ideals. Use evidence to support your response. (10 marks)

The use of violent, direct democracy by the increasingly powerful sansculottes forced the leaders of the new regime to make social and economic concessions that compromised revolutionary ideals.

Clear, one-sentence **direct response** to the question.

Firstly, the sans-culottes used the threat of violence to force the Convention to bow to popular pressure and implement social changes that compromised revolutionary ideals. Upon invading the Convention (4–5 September 1793), the sans-culottes insisted the government declare that 'terror is the order of the day' (5 September 1793). In passing the Decree of Revolutionary Government (10 October 1793) to appease the violent mob, the Convention suspended the 1793 Constitution and paved the way for the introduction of legislation that compromised many of the ideals stipulated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (DORMAC) (26 August 1789). The Law of Suspects (17 September 1793) and the Law of 22 Prairial (10 June 1794), which led to the Terror (June–July 1794) and the execution of 1594 people in Paris in only six weeks, directly contradicted Articles 7 and 9 of the DORMAC. People were no longer 'presumed innocent until declared guilty', and they were severely limited in their ability to defend themselves in front of the Revolutionary Tribunal—a far cry from the ideals of 1789.

Paragraphs are used to organise the main points in the response.

Each discussion point focuses on a **single point of argument**. The first point focuses on how the *sans-culottes* used violence to force the Convention to adopt policies of the Terror, while later points focus on other compromises made by the leaders to appease the *sans-culottes*.

Secondly, the sans-culottes' demand for the creation of forty requisitioning 'revolutionary armies' (September 1793) was another social change that compromised revolutionary ideals. These armies were made up of sans-culottes who terrorised those in the countryside. Richard Cobb labelled them as 'the village terror' due to the intimidation and violence used by the sans-culottes to pressure peasants suspected of hoarding to give up grain. The requisitioning of grain certainly contradicted the notion of economic liberalism espoused by revolutionary physiocrats, as well as property rights, as outlined in the DORMAC.

Thirdly, the sans-culottes used food riots in Paris (4–5 September 1793) and, again, direct democracy to force the Convention to adopt policies that ignored the ideal of a free market. The arrest of twenty-nine Girondins at the behest of the 'Parisian militants' (McPhee) who invaded the Convention (31 May–2 June 1793) meant that power in the Convention lay with the more radical Montagnards, including Robespierre and Marat. In turn, the Montagnards appeased the sans-culottes by passing the Law of the the Maximum (29 September 1793), which put a cap on the price of basic food and goods. Thus, the compromises by the leaders of the new regime emanated from the demands and threats of violence from the sans-culottes. (418 words)

Discussion is regularly **linked back to the question**. The key words 'sans-culottes' and 'compromise' in the first sentence of this paragraph mirror the question's focus on 'how the rise of the sans-culottes caused leaders to compromise revolutionary ideals'.

A **range of specific evidence** is used to support this discussion point, including events, laws, dates and individuals

ACTIVITY

Use different highlighter colours to identify where the response:

- » provides evidence from own knowledge
- » links to the key terms of the question.

Response ends by linking back to the question.

EVALUATION OF HISTORICAL SOURCES

This SAC will require you to analyse historical sources and use them to construct arguments about the revolution. Your teacher may choose any combination of primary and secondary sources, and any combination of written and visual sources.

For this SAC, teachers often assign questions that are formatted in a similar way to the questions that appear in Section A of the exam. You can find guidance on how to respond to these types of exam questions on p. 91. You will also need to ask your teacher about their requirements for the SAC.

WORKING WITH PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary sources are documents and objects created at the time being studied. These include transcripts of speeches, political manifestos, government reports, decrees, political cartoons and propaganda posters. They provide contemporary **historical perspectives** that give historians direct insight into how the history we are studying was understood by people living at the time. Historians use primary sources as evidence to support their arguments about how and why change occurred in history.

When working with primary sources, it is important to pose intelligent questions that help you to contextualise them and evaluate their usefulness as historical evidence. To prepare for the SAC, you might practise unpacking some sources using the method below.

ASPECT	GUIDING QUESTIONS	
Format	What type of source is this (e.g. speech, poster, cartoon)? How might the source's format affect its context, purpose and reliability?	
Context	When was the source created? What insight does it provide into the period being studied? What people, groups, ideas or events are discussed or depicted in this source? How does this source fit in to the larger history we are studying?	
Perspective	Who created the source? What view of the past does this source present? To what extent might this be influenced by the creator's involvement in the event/development?	
Purpose	Who is the intended audience ? What effect is the author hoping to have on them?	
Strength of evidence	Are the claims or views expressed in this source corroborated by other sources of evidence? To what extent does the source present a compelling argument or viewpoint? What, if anything, would make you doubt its claims/depictions?	

WORKING WITH SECONDARY SOURCES

Secondary sources are texts created by historians after the time being studied. They present **historical interpretations** of how and why change occurred in history. This SAC may require you to analyse and evaluate different interpretations about the revolution.

Your teacher may provide you with one or more extracts from historians that offer interpretations of an aspect of the revolution. You may be required to compare and evaluate different interpretations, or to use an interpretation to help contextualise and interpret one or more primary sources. You should aim to use these interpretations to assist you in forming your own conclusions about the revolution.

When historians differ in their interpretations of history, it is often because of one or more of the following factors:

- Limited evidence: No historian has access to a complete and an objective record. Sometimes educated guesses must be made where gaps appear in the record.
- New evidence: Occasionally, new evidence emerges, thus, changing prior interpretations.
- Different emphases: Some historians tend to focus on structural factors (such as broad political/social/economic conditions), while others focus on the role of individuals.
 Some historians adopt a certain political viewpoint that affects their conclusions. In the context of revolutions, historians may differ over the extent to which leaders were justified in using coercion or force to bring about change.

Some historians comment on several aspects of the revolution, often drawing similar conclusions as they go. For example, one might be generally critical of the revolutionaries, while another is generally supportive. However, **do not get too distracted by the historians themselves**. The key skill you are being asked to use is to analyse how a historical event, group or an idea or individual can be interpreted, and to reach your own conclusion about the revolution. You might prepare for the SAC by identifying historians' interpretations of a key event in your Revolutions textbook, and what evidence can be used to justify these.

SAMPLE RESPONSES

The following are sample responses to three possible types of source-based questions you might receive on this SAC.



List **three** examples of how Source 1 depicts the struggles of the Third Estate. (3 marks)

The student uses **signposts** 'Firstly', 'Secondly' and 'Finally' to identify the main points they have extracted from the source.

All points extracted from the visual source are clearly explained in the student's **own words**.

Firstly, Source 1 depicts the Third Estate carrying the heavy load of the members of the First and Second Estates on his back, suggesting that the burden of sustaining French society lay with the Third Estate. Secondly, the poverty endured by members of the Third Estate is depicted. The clergyman and noble are well-dressed and cheerful, while the peasant's clothes are in tatters and his face is fatigued. Finally, the rabbits eating the cabbage refer to the noble privileges of the Second Estate, such as hunting rights, which resulted in peasants often struggling to produce enough food to survive. (99 words)



Using the sources provided and your own knowledge, explain the critique of privilege that challenged the existing order. (5 marks)

Clear, one-sentence **direct response** to the question.

Specific evidence from the student's own knowledge is provided, such as descriptions of the taxes paid by the Third Estate, and the privileges of the Second Estate.

Quotation from a written source is used to support an argument, and this is clearly marked with a **signpost phrase** ('Sieyès criticised').

Both sources are used, as required by the question. The response ends with a link to Source 2.

The critique of privilege was an attack on the many social, economic and political privileges of the first two orders, emanating from the culture of deference of the ancien régime. Radical members of the First Estate, such as Abbé Sieyès, claimed that due to these privileges, the Third Estate was 'everything, but an everything shackled and oppressed', whereas the first two orders were a 'burden to a nation' (Source 2). The upper estates enjoyed many fiscal immunities, while the Third Estate paid the tithe, the taille, capitation, corvée, feudal dues and manorial banalités. Further, the Third Estate criticised the honorific privileges of the Second Estate such as their right to be tried in special courts and their hunting rights, which often meant that peasants could not clear the farmland of animals that ate their crops (depicted in Source 1). Finally, Sieyès criticised the political privileges of the upper estates, stating that the Third Estate was 'NOTHING' in the 'political order' (Source 2), as they could be easily outvoted at an Estates-General due to the convention of voting by order. (179 words)



Evaluate the contribution of peasants in mobilising society and challenging the existing order by 4 August 1789. In your response, refer to the sources provided and to other views. (10 marks)

While peasants played a vital role in galvanising support for the abolition of the feudal regime through the Great Fear (July–August 1789), the overall contribution of the peasantry to the revolution was limited when compared with other popular movements led by the bourgeoisie and urban workers.

Undoubtedly, peasants were the most 'oppressed' (Source 2) members of the ancien régime, and their resentment towards feudalism, combined with the 'catastrophic harvest of 1788' (Source 3) and resulting 'widespread hunger' (Source 3), drove them to 'violent opposition of government taxation' (Source 3) during the Great Fear. This was the most significant contribution of the peasantry to the revolution. McPhee calls the Great Fear a 'revolutionary confrontation' that, 'after the drawing up of the cahiers de doléances, ... was the second great act of revolution' involving peasants. To appease the rebelling peasants, the deputies of the National Assembly vowed to surrender many of their privileges, and they voiced a desire to abolish the feudal system altogether during the Night of Patriotic Delirium (4 August 1789).

The peasants also played a role, although of lesser significance, in the drawing up of the cahiers de doléances. A clear desire for the abolition of seigneurialism and a hatred of the culture of deference were demonstrated by the peasantry in the cahiers. Such complaints to be presented to the king fundamentally challenged the make-up of the ancien régime. However, local officials often filtered out or 'concealed the real intentions of those tongue-tied and illiterate peasants who voiced their grievances' (Moulin). Thus, despite partaking in the process, the contribution of the peasantry was limited, as the cahiers represented the complaints of 'the town over the country' (Adcock).

It is important to note that the peasants may not have felt confident enough to participate in riots during the Great Fear, had it not been for the example set by the urban workers storming the Bastille (14 July 1789). Further, most peasants were unlikely to have been enlightened thinkers who read What Is the Third Estate? (Source 2), unlike the bourgeoisie or the liberal nobility, who consistently challenged King Louis XVI and his ministers between 1787 and 1789. Instead, peasants were very much preoccupied with their own struggle for food and having to carry the heavy burden of taxation that is alluded to in Source 1, with the peasant shown buckling under the weight of the upper estates. Such demands on the peasantry restricted their ability to challenge the existing order. (411 words)

Clear, one-sentence **direct response** to the question. A clear **judgement** (evaluation) regarding the contribution of peasants in causing the revolution has been provided.

Sources are used as a springboard for the first main discussion point.

Specific evidence such as key events, dates, documents and quotations are used to support the response.

ACTIVITY

Use different highlighter colours to identify where the response:

- » provides evidence from own knowledge
- » links to the sources
- » links to the key terms of the question.

Two relevant historians' views are used as evidence to support the argument.

Response shows **breadth of knowledge** by considering the role of other social groups in the development of the revolution: nobility, urban workers, and the bourgeoisie.

All sources are used to support the response.

Response ends by **linking back to the question**.

ESSAY

This SAC will focus on constructing and sustaining a complex historical argument in essay format. Your teacher will provide you with one or more essay questions, and you will be expected to develop and support a contention in response to it.

For this SAC, teachers often assign questions that are similar to the essay questions in Section B of the exam. You can find guidance on how to respond to these types of exam questions on p. 104. You will also need to ask your teacher about their requirements for the SAC.

HOW TO STRUCTURE AN ESSAY

Introduction

- 1. State your contention (your opinion).
- 2. Outline your arguments (list the 3–4 main points you will explore in your 3–4 body paragraphs).
- 3. Explicitly respond to the question.

Body paragraphs (traditionally at least three) using the TEEL model

- **Topic sentence:** Outline your **scope** (what you will discuss) and your **purpose** (why you will discuss it). Try to use at least one key word from the question in this sentence.
- **Evidence:** Give facts, dates, statistics and quotations.
- Explanation/Analysis: Analyse what your facts reveal or suggest. If you are having difficulty with this, try using sentence starters such as 'this shows', 'this suggests', 'this implies' or 'this reveals' to connect your evidence to your explanation.
- Linking sentence: Clarify how this helps answer the question and/or support your contention. Again, try to use at least one key word from the question in this sentence.

Conclusion

- 1. Restate your contention.
- 2. Summarise your arguments.
- 3. Return to the question and explicitly answer it again.

WHAT TO AVOID IN AN ESSAY

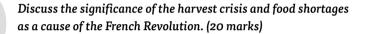
- Do not begin writing without planning. Your essay will score better if you spend 2–3 minutes on planning (and 2–3 minutes less on writing).
- Do not launch straight into your facts or evidence. You must guide the reader through your argument with a clear introduction and clear topic sentences.
- Do not narrate or try to tell the entire story of the revolution. Your goal is to interpret and judge specific causes or consequences of the revolution. Only tell your reader what is absolutely necessary to answer the question. If you are simply describing events in order, it is likely that you have fallen into the trap of telling a story. You can avoid this trap by writing a plan before you start, re-reading the essay question regularly, and ending each paragraph with a strong linking sentence that uses the key terms of the question.

Writing tip: TEEL (or 'TEAL') is an important tool and 'checklist'

While it is often helpful to present your ideas in this order (topic sentence, then evidence, then explanation/analysis, then linking sentences), you should experiment with presenting arguments in a range of ways. Just ensure that all four of these elements are present in your body paragraphs.

- Do not ignore the view/factor presented in the question and discuss something else entirely. It is perfectly appropriate to reject the viewpoint in an essay question, but you should take it seriously and explore it first. Devote at least your first body paragraph to exploring the view/factor presented in the questions before you broaden your discussion to other views/factors. When you begin exploring other evidence in your later paragraphs, ensure that you end each with a linking sentence that justifies how your discussion remains focused on challenging, qualifying or extending beyond the viewpoint in the question.
- Avoid using pre-learnt essays. No matter how you try, you will not make them fit the question properly! Instead, aim to plan and write responses to a range of practice questions. This will help build your confidence in applying your knowledge in a range of ways.

SAMPLE RESPONSE



Poor harvests and resulting food shortages were both a long-term cause and a short-term trigger of the revolution in France. Their significance lay in causing urban workers and peasants to violently rebel against the very foundations of absolute monarchy and feudalism. However, the harvest crisis and food shortages highlighted the more important contributing factor of the financial crisis of the Crown, which ultimately led to revolution in 1789.

Bread was the staple food for urban workers in Paris, so when the price of it skyrocketed in July 1789, they angrily took up arms. Poor harvests and harsh winters periodically brought food shortages and starvation to households of the Third Estate, contributing to dissatisfaction and resentment of the ostentatious displays of privilege by the clergy and nobility. Bad harvests in the 1780s, coupled with a freak storm in July 1788, forced the price of wheat to double. Workers' household spending on bread rose from 50% to 75–80% of their income. As the revolutionary crisis unfolded, by July 1789, grain prices reached their highest level in most of France's regions, adding to subsistence pressures and fuelling animosity towards those in power. By 1789, urban workers were spending up to 90% of their wages on bread. It was in this desperate context that the cahiers de doléances were drawn up in the hope that the Estates-General (summoned for May 1789) would improve living conditions. Arthur Young commented that the financial crisis would not have caused the revolution without the added pressure of the increasing price of bread. Simmering tensions boiled over into outright rebellion by urban workers in Paris, who could not afford to pay for bread. Those who stormed the Bastille (14 July 1789) secured the revolution out of anger, desperation, and fear of starvation.

Introduction

Provides a clear **contention** and **outline** of supporting arguments:

- 1. Harvest crisis and food shortages were key factors in causing the fall of the Bastille.
- 2. Harvest crisis and food shortages were key factors in motivating peasants to rebel.
- 3. Financial crisis was of greater significance as a cause of revolution.

Supporting Argument 1

A clear **topic sentence** outlines the scope of the paragraph (urban workers in Paris + food shortages) and the purpose of the paragraph (how bad harvests and food shortages contributed to a revolutionary situation in Paris).

In this first paragraph, the student has selected examples that support the significance of the factor identified in the question (food shortages; cost of bread and grain).

This paragraph provides **specific evidence** (events, dates, statistics, quotations) and **analyses** the relevance of this evidence to the question.

The paragraph closes with a **linking sentence** that draws the discussion back to the question.

Supporting Argument 2

A clear topic sentence outlines the scope of the paragraph (harvest crisis + peasants) and its purpose (how the harvest crisis caused the peasantry to resort to revolutionary action).

The student continues to explore **examples related to the factor identified in the question**. However, in this paragraph, the student is linking their examples to a different revolutionary situation (Great Fear).

A range of **specific evidence** is provided, including statistics, policies, mass campaigns and quotations.

Paragraph concludes with a **linking sentence** drawing the discussion back to the question.

de famine—a conspiracy theory that nobles were hoarding grain and would leave the poor rural population to starve to death. This fear, when mixed with the pre-existing deep resentment of the fiscal burden that fell on the Third Estate, was the spark that lit the pyre of tensions in France's rural areas. According to historian J.H. Shennan, peasants were 'constantly starved of income', and the cahiers revealed deep-seated hatred of seigneurialism. When confronted with possible starvation on top of this, it is no wonder the peasants took matters into their own hands, searching for and burning manorial rolls in a 'revolutionary confrontation' (McPhee). Importantly, the Great Fear led directly to the Night of Patriotic Delirium (4 August 1789), when members of the National Assembly vowed to end the feudal system altogether—a desire that fundamentally challenged the social, economic and political structure of France, and was a key revolutionary moment.

Similarly, the peasantry's involvement in the revolution during the

Great Fear (July–August 1789) was partly fuelled by fears that the new

harvest would be ransacked by brigands, and that there was a pacte

Supporting Argument 3

A clear topic sentence outlines the scope of the paragraph (financial crisis) and its purpose (to show that the broader financial problems were a more significant cause of revolution).

The student shows **breadth of knowledge** and develops a **balanced argument** by exploring examples beyond the factor identified in the question.

The student is incorporating a **range of examples** that are clearly linked back to the financial crisis (e.g. Assembly of Notables, calling of the Estates-General, Tennis Court Oath), and provides **specific evidence** about each.

The paragraph concludes with a **linking sentence** drawing the discussion back to the question.

ACTIVITY

Use different highlighter colours to identify where the response:

- » provides evidence from own knowledge
- » links to the key terms of the question.

Conclusion

The student clearly restates their **contention**.

The student has provided a **summary of supporting arguments** and how they illustrate the contention.

Final link back to the question.

However, harvest failures were only one part of the dire economic situation that was a major cause of the revolution. By 1786, French debt was estimated at 3.3 billion livres, which required about 165.4 million livres per year in interest payments. In 1786, Calonne estimated that the Crown had a deficit of 112 million livres, almost a quarter of expected income. Members of the Second Estate saw their chance to gain more political power by undermining and guestioning Louis XVI's management of state funds, and the revolt of the Notables (February– May 1787) caused the financial crisis to morph into a political crisis 'that was only to be resolved by revolution' (Doyle). Louis XVI and his ministers mismanaged the Aristocratic Revolt of 1787–1788, resulting in both the financial crisis remaining unresolved and the absolute authority of the king being brought into question. Indeed, the king was forced to call an Estates-General for May 1789 when France finally succumbed to bankruptcy (8 August 1788). It was at the Estates-General that Louis XVI was successfully challenged by members of all three orders in events such as the Tennis Court Oath (20 June 1789), where the 600 deputies vowed not to separate until France had a constitution—a 'momentous act of defiance', according to Adcock. Therefore, while the harvest and food crises galvanised urban workers and the peasantry to take action, a revolutionary situation had already developed, which stemmed from France's pre-existing financial troubles.

The harvest crisis and food shortages certainly provided the impetus for already frustrated members of the Third Estate to take the revolutionary action that secured the gains made by the National Assembly. They were significant factors for this reason. Yet, in terms of causing revolution, it was France's broader economic woes that played a more important role in building tensions and undermining the king to the point that he was perceived as weak enough to be directly challenged during the Estates-General. (802 words)

HOW CAN I ACHIEVE HIGHLY ON SACS AND THE EXAM?

Assessors look for three things when marking student responses: relevance, knowledge and skill.

RFIFVANCE

Assessors will look at how effectively you have responded to each question.

You can maximise the relevance of your responses by focusing carefully on the key terms of the question. Check the guidance on how to unpack questions on p. 84.

Remember that you will *not* receive marks for irrelevant information. For example, if a question asks you to discuss the contributions of popular movements between 1789 and 1795, you will not receive marks for discussing a riot or public disobedience from 1787 and 1788 (as this is outside the timeframe), or actions of the king's ministers (as this is outside the scope of the question).

HISTORICAL KNOWLFDGF

Assessors want to know **how well you understand the key knowledge** specified in the VCE History Study Design. This is achieved through showing your understanding of the key knowledge outlined in the Study Design. Use the revision checklists on pp. 6–9 to check that you understand the key knowledge outcomes.

When developing written arguments, aim to show off your own knowledge by including **evidence**. This might include names, events, dates, statistics, laws, policies, documents or anything else that shows your intimate understanding of the revolution.

A particularly useful form of evidence are **quotations** that illustrate **historical perspectives** (the views of people who experienced the revolution) and **historical interpretations** (the judgements of historians analysing the revolution). If you cannot memorise direct quotations, you can still demonstrate your knowledge by **paraphrasing and describing a person's viewpoint in your own words**.

You can maximise the level of understanding you show through carefully gathering evidence for all key knowledge outcomes and revising it regularly. Some helpful strategies include:

- extending your knowledge each week by **reading** another textbook or history book about the revolution (Ask your teacher for recommendations.)
- creating your own **summary tables** like those contained in this study guide
- creating flashcards that list the key knowledge outcome on one side, and
 useful evidence about it on the other (Test yourself with these every few days.)
- creating annotated **timelines** that list important events, their dates and a short explanation of their significance
- creating mind maps that organise different causes/consequences of the revolution, like those contained at the end of each Area of Study in this study guide.

HISTORICAL SKILLS

Assessors want to see **how well you can use the key skills** specified in the VCE History Study Design. These are listed below.

As a general rule, the best way to develop your skills is by writing responses to practice SAC and exam questions, and seeking feedback from your teacher on how to improve your arguments. You can also develop your skills by actively participating in class discussions, asking questions and justifying your own interpretation of the revolution.

KEY SKILL	STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPING AND DEMONSTRATING THIS SKILL		
Ask and use a range of historical questions to explore the causes/ consequences of the revolution.	 Ask questions in class to help deepen your understanding of the revolution. Ask your teacher for guidance on where you can find information to extend your understanding of the questions explored in class. Read and listen purposefully. Try to fit everything you are learning into answering a bigger question about what caused the revolution to break out, or why the revolutionaries had to compromise their ideals. 		
Evaluate sources for use as evidence.	 ▶ Ask questions about the sources you are given to analyse and discuss in class. Try to find out who created them and when, what they refer to, and how reliable they are. Examples of suitable questions can be found on pp. 74–75, 'working with primary sources' and 'working with secondary sources'. ▶ When responding to source-based questions, ensure that you integrate short, direct quotations from the sources. Briefly explain what you think these quotations reveal or suggest. Use connective phrases like 'this shows' or 'this is supported by' to connect quotations to your own knowledge. 		
Analyse the perspectives of people before, during and after the revolution, and how their perspectives changed and/or remained the same over time.	 Gather quotations from people who lived through the revolution that help show why and how the revolution happened, and how people responded. Integrate these quotations in support of your written arguments. If you cannot remember a suitable quotation, try paraphrasing and explaining a perspective in your own words. At the end of each Area of Study, construct a table that defines the grievances and objectives of each major social group and judges whether these were addressed or achieved. Look for opportunities to connect and compare these perspectives to the views you are given to discuss in source-based questions and essays. 		
Evaluate historical interpretations about the causes/consequences of the revolution.	 Gather quotations from historians that offer judgements of why and how the revolution happened. Integrate these quotations in support of your written arguments. If you cannot remember a suitable quotation, try paraphrasing and explaining an interpretation in your own words. Look for opportunities to connect and compare these interpretations to the views you are given to discuss in source-based questions and essays. 		

KEY SKILL	STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPING AND DEMONSTRATING THIS SKILL			
Analyse the causes/ consequences of the revolution.	▶ Use an argument model to structure your written arguments. In this study guide, we have used the cause-effect-significance model for AOS1 and challenge-response-outcome for AOS2. Ensure you can explain all three steps when writing about a cause/consequence of the revolution.			
	▶ In your writing, use signpost phrases that help signal connections between causes and consequences, such as 'this led to', 'as a result' and 'consequently'.			
	▶ When writing arguments about causes, try to keep your ideas in chronological order. This will help show how one development led to another, or how several causes built gradually towards a crisis.			
Evaluate the extent of continuity and change before, during and after	► At the end of AOS2, construct a table that compares political, social and economic conditions before, during and after the revolution. For each area, offer a judgement of how much it changed/continued.			
the revolution.	▶ When writing arguments about change and continuity, organise your ideas by theme. Start by identifying the area you will discuss, then compare conditions before and after the revolution, then give an explicit judgement of what level of change and/or continuity occurred.			
Evaluate the historical significance of the causes/consequences of the revolution.	 Apply the 'so what?' test to each development you study. Basically, you must be able to justify why it is worth learning about each development: why does it matter, and what does it reveal about the revolution? Use an argument model to structure your arguments. In this study guide, we have used the cause-effect-significance model for AOS1 and challenge-response-outcome for AOS2. The third step in this argument 			
	model is where we establish historical significance—why a development matters and what it reveals.			
	▶ Use evaluative language that signals to your reader how important you consider a development to be, or how you think different developments interacted with one another (e.g. <i>This was of critical importance because</i> , or <i>This combined with existing grievances to cause</i>).			
Construct arguments about the causes/consequences of	► Read and unpack each question carefully before you begin writing a response. See the advice on p. 84 about how to unpack questions.			
the revolution using sources as evidence.	▶ Underline the key terms of the question and use these regularly when writing your response.			
	▶ If a question is worth more than a few marks, write a dot-point plan before you commence. This will help you to select relevant arguments and evidence and present them clearly.			
	► Ensure that your response is clearly structured. Refer to the sections of this text on SAC and exam questions for guidance on how to structure different types of arguments.			
	▶ When responding to source-based questions, ensure that you integrate short, direct quotations from the sources. Briefly explain what you think these quotations reveal or suggest. Use connective phrases like 'this shows' or 'this is supported by' to connect quotations to your own knowledge.			

GENERAL GUIDANCE FOR SACS AND EXAMS

HOW TO USE YOUR READING TIME EFFECTIVELY

Read every question at least twice. Unpack each question methodically. What are your teachers or the examiners looking for, and why?

After you have read the questions, examine the sources thoroughly (where applicable). If time permits, read each written source twice so that you do not miss any subtle nuances or details.

As you read through the questions, develop mental plans for questions with high mark values, like the extended response questions in Section A of the exam and your chosen essay question in Section B of the exam. What will your main points be? What relevant facts or quotations will you use?

HOW TO UNPACK OUESTIONS

Take time to 'listen' to the question before thinking of the answer, rather than assuming you know what the question will be about the first time you read it. It is helpful to:

- read all parts of a question before beginning to answer
- read every question at least twice
- highlight the key terms of the question
- re-read the question after you finish writing each discussion point
- use key words from the question at the start of your response and in each of your main discussion points to help show how you are answering the question.

Well-prepared students often lose marks because they overlook or ignore the requirements of the question. You need to focus on what your teacher or the examiners want you to show, *not* what you want to say.

Command words tell you what historical skill you are expected to show in your answer. Below is a list of the most common instructional verbs, ordered from the lowest value (e.g. 1–2-mark questions) to the highest value (e.g. 20-mark essay questions).

n.b. Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority has published a glossary of command terms commonly used across difference VCE subjects and examinations. You can find it here: https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/assessment/

vce-assessment/Pages/

aspx.

GlossaryofCommandTerms.

COMMAND WORDS			
Identify	Extract or list the most relevant information.		
Describe	Give an account of the main features of a concept or source.		
Outline Provide a summary of the most relevant or essential points. Compare Discuss similarities and differences between two concepts or sources.			
			Explain Provide a methodical commentary on how or why something occurred. Break your response in steps. Offer commentary on causes, responses and outcomes. Break a concept into its components—for example, the different causes of a revolution—and of them in a connected manner.
Evaluate	Present a judgement. Discuss strengths/merits and weaknesses/limitations and use these to support an overall opinion.		
Discuss	Present a fluent and coherent viewpoint or interpretation on a topic. Organise your justifications or reasons into separate discussion points. Support with evidence.		
To what extent	Present a judgement as to how much you agree with a proposition. Weigh up evidence for and against the idea in the question and use these to support an overall opinion.		

Scope words define what aspect of history you should discuss. Below are common examples.

SCOPE WORDS				
Explain how	Focus on the <i>manner</i> in which this happened. Describe details/processes.			
Causes/reasons/explain why	Focus on <i>why</i> it happened. Examine the causes <i>before and leading up to</i> this. Avoid simply describing what happened, or what happened afterwards.			
Outcomes/effects/impact/ how this affected	Focus on <i>results</i> . Examine the developments <i>afterwards</i> and <i>resulting</i> from this. Avoid simply describing what happened, or what happened before.			
Focus on what this reveals about the broader revolutionary process. Does it help us understand why a government was later overthrown? Does it reveal why the revolution failed to achieve its ideals? Consider how this affected other people, groups or events. Avoid simply describing what hap or what the consequences were.				
Challenged/threatened	Focus on explaining how and why this created problems.			
Contributed to development of revolution	Focus on how this reduced the authority and support of the government, or how this increased the power and support of revolutionary groups.			
Consolidated power	Focus on how this strengthened the government or reduced opposition.			
Compromised ideals	Focus on how and why the revolutionary government chose to abandon or modify its original goals.			
Political conditions	Focus on government and groups who want to change the government.			
Economic conditions	Focus on workplace conditions, ownership of wealth, and supply of goods.			
Social conditions	Focus on different groups in society, their grievances and their rights.			

SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

These often contain additional requirements:

- If a question asks you to use a named source, you must use quotations or details from that source to support your response and to achieve the highest marks.
- If a question asks you to 'use evidence' or use 'your own knowledge', you must extend beyond the ideas contained in the source and include other facts you have learnt to achieve the highest marks.

TWO-PART QUESTIONS

Some questions will contain two key knowledge outcomes or two scope words. When this happens, you effectively need to answer *two separate questions* to achieve full marks. It is usually easy to spot these questions, as the word 'and' will appear in between two key knowledge or scope words.

SAMPLE QUESTION	WHAT YOU NEED TO DO TO ACHIEVE FULL MARKS			
Explain how the policies of Terror changed political	• Explain how the Terror changed political conditions (e.g. by suppressing dissent and eliminating such groups as the Hébertists and the Indulgents).			
and economic conditions.	• Explain how the Terror changed economic conditions (e.g. the Maximum fulfilled the demands of the sans-culottes but limited availability of food on the market, as producers were forced to sell below cost).			
Explain the causes and outcomes of the	• Explain the causes of the declaration of war on Austria (e.g. the belief that a foreign war would force the French to declare themselves for or against the revolution).			
declaration of war on Austria.	• Explain the outcomes of the declaration of war on Austria (e.g. France was fighting on multiple fronts against major powers such as Spain and Britain, in addition to Austria and Prussia).			

TIMEFRAMES IN OUESTIONS

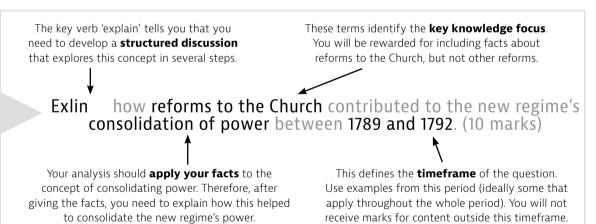
Some questions will restrict you to discussing developments during a certain timeframe. In this case, you should ignore developments that occur before or after the nominated timeframe, as these will not earn any marks. In these cases, questions usually provide *inclusive* definitions of timeframes—if a question says 'by 1788', that means you can discuss events during the year 1788, as well as before the year 1788.

The dates chosen in the question will usually correspond to major events that provide logical starting and ending points for your response.

You will find it easier to tackle these types of questions if you create an annotated timeline, like the ones located earlier in this study guide, to help you revise the key developments of the French Revolution.

SAMPLE QUESTION	WHAT YOU NEED TO DO TO ACHIEVE FULL MARKS		
Explain the contribution of Maximilien Robespierre in the creation of the new society between 1789 and 1794. Use evidence to support your response.	 Typically, questions about the contribution of Maximilien Robespierre are focused on his rise to prominence and leadership after 1789. While this question asks you to explore events between 1789 and 1794, Robespierre is not listed in the key knowledge for AOS1. Therefore, you would not be expected to discuss events before 4 August 1789 (the start of AOS2). 		
Explain how reforms to the Church contributed to the new regime's consolidation of power between 1789 and 1792.	 Reform of the Church relates to the laws that divided France: Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790) and the Clerical Oath (27 November 1790). Introduction of these laws had wideranging consequences that affected the population before the abolition of the monarchy in France in 1792. 		

Below is an example of how you can unpack a question.



HOW TO MANAGE YOUR TIME

Bring a watch into all SACs and the exam and place it at the top of your table. Regularly check your watch to ensure that you do not spend too long on one question, thereby leaving you with insufficient time to complete the rest.

TIME MANAGEMENT IN SACS

Try to divide your time equally between questions. For example, if you are completing a 100-minute SAC with questions totalling 50 marks, then for every 1 mark allocated to a question, you should devote two minutes of writing time. A 5-mark question would be allocated ten minutes, while a 20-mark question would be allocated forty minutes.

TIME MANAGEMENT IN THE EXAM

The simplest approach is to allocate forty minutes to each question in Section A, and forty minutes to the essay. From the forty minutes allocated to each Section A question, reserve about fifteen minutes for the extended response.

You can also try to divide your time exactly between the questions. The final exam has 120 minutes of writing time to complete questions totalling 70 marks. Therefore, for every 1 mark allocated to a question, you should devote about 1.7 minutes of writing time. This works out to:

- about three minutes for a 2-mark question
- about eight minutes for a 5-mark question
- about seventeen minutes for a 10-mark extended response in Section A
- about thirty-five minutes for the 20-mark essay in Section B.

AIM FOR GOOD, NOT PERFECT, RESPONSES

Resist the temptation to keep adding to a response or to aim for a perfect response. Once you have used up the time you have allocated to a question, move on to the next question.

Remember that incomplete answers still earn marks. You are likely to achieve higher marks by giving an incomplete answer to *every* question on an assessment than you will if you give detailed responses to a *few* questions, thereby running out of time and forcing you to leave entire questions blank.

IF YOU HAVE TIME LEFT

Start by re-reading the examination booklet to verify that you have answered all of the questions. Sometimes students forget to answer a question when they answer the questions out of order, or when they skip a question with the intention of returning to it later.

If you are certain that you have answered all of the questions, you should then review your responses to see which would benefit from additional detail. Look for opportunities to add an extra date or fact, to add an extra quotation that shows your understanding of a source, or to add a final sentence that helps link your discussion back to the question.

IF YOU RUN OUT OF TIME

If you lose track of time and have only a few minutes left, ensure that you put at least one sentence in response to each remaining question. A single relevant sentence will earn a single mark, and one mark may be enough to make a difference when determining your final study score for VCE History: Revolutions.

IF YOU WANT TO WRITE FASTER

Practice, practice! Each practice question you tackle will give you greater experience in selecting relevant evidence, planning your arguments, articulating your ideas, and getting them down on paper. In particular, make sure you write your practice responses by hand, under time limits, and with minimal reliance on your notes. This will help simulate the conditions you will be working under in your SACs and exams.

TIPS FOR HISTORICAL WRITING

BEGINNING YOUR RESPONSE

Do not make your reader guess where you are going, and do not hide your answer at the bottom of the page—put the answer to the question in your first sentence!

A good opening sentence will give a **direct, concise and complete answer** that matches exactly what the question is asking. Everything you write after the first sentence should simply be backing up, or elaborating on, your original opening sentence.

A good strategy is to try flipping the question into a statement, and then filling in your reasons, justifications or outcomes.

QUESTION	STATEMENT	
'France's involvement in the American War of Independence caused a chain of events that made revolution a certainty.' To what extent do you agree with this view?	To a large extent , Louis XVI's decision to support the American War of Independence was one of the most significant actions in the chain of events that transformed France's financial crisis into a revolution .	
'The ideals that inspired the revolutionaries to break free from the traditions of the old regime were rarely achieved in the new society.' Discuss.	The ideals of the Enlightenment that inspired revolutionaries, such as were not fully achieved in the new society because of the controversial path taken by the revolution to achieve them However, to say they were rarely achieved is misleading, as	

However, you want to be careful that you do not just repeat the question. Make sure you add to the question. Consider the following student responses to the question, 'Explain how the Terror contributed to the consolidation of the power of radicals in France during 1793'.

OPENING SENTENCE	EFFECTIVENESS OF SENTENCE	
The Terror helped radical leaders such as Robespierre to consolidate their power significantly during 1793.	This is a typical, but weak, opening sentence. It simply repeats the question and provides no indication of where the response is going.	
The Terror gave radicals such as the Montagnards/Jacobins an opportunity to consolidate their control of revolutionary government and its institutions, enabling them to respond to the more extreme demands of the sans-culottes.	This is a strong opening sentence. The student has identified two main themes that they will analyse in their response.	
During the radical years of the revolution (1793–1794), the Jacobins used the Terror to consolidate their power, not only by creating revolutionary institutions and legislations—such as the Decree on Revolutionary Government—but also by generating fear and suspicion of counter-revolutionaries, to the point that few questioned the actions of the Committee of Public Safety.	This is a strong opening sentence. The student has identified the examples they will examine in their response, and how these are relevant to the question.	

LINKING BACK TO THE OUESTION

When writing longer arguments, many students go 'off topic' or forget what question they are answering. A good strategy is to re-read the question at the end of each paragraph or argument you are making, and then insert a linking sentence that connects your evidence to the key terms of the question. Remember, if it is in the question, then it needs to be in your answer!

QUESTION	LINKING SENTENCE	
Using Sources 2 and 3 and your own knowledge, explain how the storming and capture of the Bastille affected the power of King Louis XVI.	As a result of the storming and capture of the Bastille , and faced with the refusal of some of his troops stationed in Paris to follow his orders, the king realised that he could no longer exercise his absolute power but would have to share power with the National Assembly.	
Evaluate the significance of the Aristocratic Revolt of 1787–1788 in contributing to the outbreak of revolution. Use evidence to support your response.	Therefore, the Aristocratic Revolt contributed to the outbreak of the revolution by challenging the very foundation of the absolute power of the monarch: his right to legislate freely and without restraint.	

TEEL PARAGRAPHS

The TEEL (or 'TEAL') paragraph model can be helpful in answering longer questions. A 5-mark question might comprise a single TEEL paragraph, a 10-mark extended response might comprise 2–4 short TEEL paragraphs, and an essay will need three TEEL paragraphs after the introduction and before the conclusion.

There are four steps in writing a TEEL paragraph:

- **Topic sentence:** Outline your **scope** (what you will discuss) and your **purpose** (why you will discuss it). Try to use at least one key word from the question in this sentence.
- **Evidence:** Give facts, dates, statistics, quotations, and so on.
- Explanation/Analysis: Analyse what your facts reveal or suggest. If you are having difficulty with this, try using sentence starters such as 'this shows', 'this suggests', 'this implies' or 'this reveals' to connect your evidence to your explanation.
- **Linking sentence:** Clarify how this helps answer the question and/or support your contention. Again, try to use at least one key word from the question in this sentence.

Below is an example of a TEEL paragraph that forms part of a response to the question:

'Explain how reforms to the Church contributed to the radicalisation of the revolution between 1789 and 174.'

Wth the enactment of theCvil Costtution of the Clergy (12 Jul 1790), the matter of ligion became the cotenious issuetat divide France. Although the Declaration of th Rights of Man and of h Citizen (26 Augus 1789) affirmed that no one can be punshed on account of hi pinos, icluding hi eligousvews, it was the proceding egilation that causd te rift in Frech society. After pacing the land belonging to the Church at te'disposal of te ation' (2 Novmber 1789), the Naional Assembly moved to reorganise the Church by reducing the number of bishops from 135 to eighty-three (making each diocese correspond to a département). This lowed citizens o elect bishops and parish priests, and introduced lergy's wages from the state budget. This radical restructure was foreshadowed by the earlier abolition of monastic orders (Febuary 1790), which closed all but those involved in education and care for the por and sick, and gave the frst majo incntive to emergent counte-revolution.

- Topic sentence
- Evidence
- Explanation
- · Linking sentence

SIGNPOSTING

To make it easy for a reader to follow your arguments, you should make active use of **signposts**. These are words and phrases that indicate the purpose of key sentences in your response.

Signposting the start of a new discussion point

- Firstly,
- Secondly,
- · Additionally,
- · Further,

Signposting a cause-effect relationship

- · As a result, ...
- This led to ...
- This caused ...
- · Consequently, ...

Signposting analysis of significance

- This shows ...
- This reveals ...
- This demonstrates ...
- Therefore, ...

Signposting introduction of a quotation

- Depicted in Source 1 by ...
- Reflects the view ...
- Source 1 discusses the idea that ...

THE EXAMINATION

Fifty per cent of your marks in VCE History: Revolutions are derived from the exam. The examination paper is set by the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA), and follows a specification that can be found on the VCAA website (https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au).

You will receive fifteen minutes of reading time and two hours of writing time to complete the exam.

STRUCTURE OF THE EXAM

EXAM SECTION	DESCRIPTION	MARK VALUE	SUGGESTED TIME ALLOCATION
Section A Source Analysis	This section contains four questions, worth 25 marks each: Q1 American Revolution Q2 French Revolution Q3 Russian Revolution Q4 Chinese Revolution You must answer both questions that relate to the two revolutions you studied. Each question will comprise four or five parts, worth a total of 25 marks. One part will be an extended response worth 8–10 marks. Each question will require you to read and discuss 3–4 sources, totalling about 600–700 words (including all descriptions, etc.).	50 marks	40–42 minutes for each question (80–85 minutes total)
Section B Essay	 This section contains four essay questions, worth 20 marks each: Q1 American Revolution Q2 French Revolution Q3 Russian Revolution Q4 Chinese Revolution You must choose one question to answer. You only need to write an essay about one of the revolutions you have studied. 	20 marks	35–40 minutes

SHOULD YOU DECIDE IN ADVANCE WHICH OUESTION TO ANSWER IN SECTION B?

Preparing for VCE exams can be stressful, so many students look for ways to reduce the amount of preparation they do.

Some students say it is helpful to decide in advance which revolution they plan to write about in Section B of the exam. The advantage of this approach is that you can invest additional time into revising and writing practice essays on one revolution. This approach is recommended if you are worried that you have not left enough time to revise and prepare for the exam, as it reduces how much work is needed to attain a strong result.

The other option is to decide during reading time which revolution you plan to write about in Section B. This approach is recommended by VCAA and gives you more flexibility. After you have read the exam paper, you can choose the question you are better prepared for, or which you think will be easier. This approach is recommended for students who want to achieve the best possible results, and for students who are willing to prepare by revising both revolutions as thoroughly as possible and writing practice essays about both revolutions.

PRACTICE EXAM QUESTIONS

This guide contains practice questions on the French Revolution. The real exam will contain questions on both revolutions you have studied. You can find practice questions and guidance for your other revolution by purchasing the relevant Exam and Study Guide from HTAV: https://www.htavshop.com.au/.

You can find full VCE History: Revolutions examination papers on the VCAA website (https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/curriculum/vce/vce-study-designs/revolutions/Pages/index.aspx). Note that you should refer only to exam papers from 2022 onwards, including the 2022 Sample Examination paper.

EXAM SECTION A (SOURCE ANALYSIS)

Section A of the exam will contain four questions, one on each of the four revolutions in VCE History: Revolutions. **You must answer two** of these questions.

Each question will require you to analyse 3–4 historical sources and to use these to support your responses. This may include a combination of primary, secondary, written and visual sources.

Each question will be worth a total of 25 marks and will have four or five parts labelled (a), (b), (c), (d) and possibly (e). Some of the questions may be relatively simple, such as a 1–2-mark question that simply asks you to identify key features of a source. One of the questions will be an extended response worth 8–10 marks.

About half of the marks in this question will relate to key knowledge from AOS1, and about half will relate to key knowledge from AOS2. Some questions may ask you to draw on key knowledge from both.

You should allocate about 40-42 minutes to each source analysis question.

Page 94 contains one example of what this exam question might look like. The following pages then contain detailed explanations of how you can unpack and respond to each part of the question.

Note: In the actual exam, sources will be presented in a separate sources book.

SECTION A

France

Sources 5–8 relate to Question 2.

Source 5

The engraving below, first published in 1789, shows the members of the privileged orders (the clergy and nobility) standing on top of a rock that is crushing a member of the Third Estate.



Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6944013t.

The caption 'Le temps passe les plus utiles étoient foulés aux pieds' translates to 'In the past the most useful were trampled underfoot'.

The rock bears the names of taxes (taille, impôts, corvées) paid almost exclusively by the Third Estate.

Source 6

The Paris Parlement issued the Fundamental Laws on 3 May 1788 in protest against the actions and demands of King Louis XVI in 1787, with regard to the registration of loans and new tax laws.

The court, with all the chambers assembled and the peers present, sufficiently warned by public knowledge and disreputable fact of the coup d'état¹ which threatens the nation by striking at the magistrature² ... and leaves the nation no other resource but a precise declaration by the court of the principles it is charged with maintaining ...

Declares that France is a monarchy governed by the king in accordance with the laws. That of these laws several are fundamental and that these include:

- the right of the reigning house to succeed to the throne in the male line according to order of birth with the exclusion of females and their descendants
- the right of the nation to grant taxation freely in an Estates-General regularly convened and of fixed structure
- the customs and taxes of the provinces
- the irremovability of magistrates³
- the right of the courts in each province to verify the king's legislation and to proceed to its registration only in so far as it is conformable to the basic laws of the province as well as the Fundamental Laws of the state
- · the right of every citizen, whatever their offence, to appear only before their peers as defined by law
- the right, without which all the others are of no avail, to appear before the competent judge immediately after arrest, no matter on whose orders.

The said court protests against any future violation of the above principles.

Source: Adapted from Darius von Güttner, French Revolution: The Basics (London: Taylor and Francis, 2022), 34.

***coup d'état** – takeover ***amagistrature** – the office or function of a magistrate ***amagistrate** – judge

Source 7

A historical interpretation, first published in 2022, of the enactment of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy reforming the Catholic Church in France.

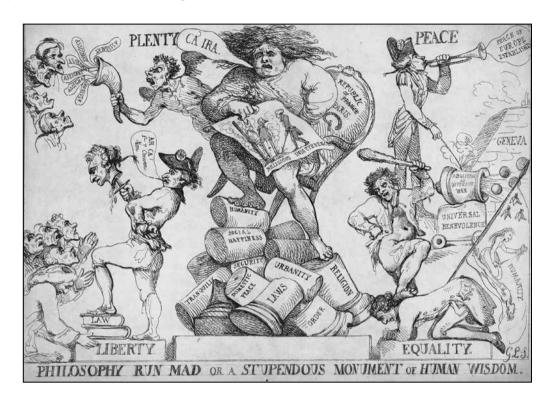
The Civil Constitution of the Clergy restructured the Church's administration in France. ... The National Assembly did not consult with Church leaders about the reforms because the majority of deputies saw it as civil reform only and did not plan to interfere with the spiritual set-up of the Church. In their eyes, the legislation was a continuation of the Assembly's wholesale reform of the ancien régime. ... Such an extensive intervention of the National Assembly into the operation of the Church meant the legislation became divisive¹ even before it received royal assent. In the long term it alienated devout Catholics, including the king, even though Louis XVI initially endorsed it. ... For Catholics, the governance of the Church was centred on the pope's supreme and universal authority as the Vicar of Christ, and his sovereign jurisdiction over appointment of bishops. The election of parish priests and bishops made it possible for French citizens who were not Catholics, such as Protestants, Jews and atheists, to participate in the appointment process. The deputies saw the Catholic Church as outdated, but unknowingly added religion to the litany² of causes of political and social unrest.

Source: Adapted from Darius von Güttner, French Revolution: The Basics (London: Taylor and Francis, 2022), 95–96.

¹ **divisive** – causing disagreement ² **litany** – a list

Source 8

The drawing below is titled Philosophy Run Mad or a Stupendous Monument of Human Wisdom. It was published in 1792 after the revolutionary government declared that 'no institutions alien to the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were to be recognised'.



Philosophy Run Mad or a Stupendous Monument of Human Wisdom, by Thomas Rowlandson, 1792.

In the image, Liberty, Equality, Peace and Plenty (Wealth) are presented as the foundation of the French new society in contrast to the events of the revolutionary wars and the Terror. At the back of the chair are the words 'Republic of Paris', with the word 'France' crossed out. The chair stands on a pile of fragments of columns inscribed with the words 'humanity', 'social happiness', 'tranquilly', 'security', 'domestic peace', 'laws', 'urbanity', 'order' and 'religion'.

Question 2 (25 marks)

a.	Identify two features of Source 5	that show the critique o	f privilege in the ancien ré	gime. (2 marks)
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- b. Using Source 6 and your own knowledge, explain how the critique of absolute authority challenged the existing order. (5 marks)
- c. Using Source 7, outline three consequences of reforms to the Church. (3 marks)
- d. Using Source 7, Source 8 and your own knowledge, explain the causes of counter-revolution. (5 marks)
- e. Evaluate the extent to which changes and continuities in social conditions allowed for revolutionary ideals to be achieved. Use the sources provided and other evidence to support your response. (10 marks)

HOW TO ANSWER COMPREHENSION OUESTIONS

Some exam questions will require you to closely read and interpret a historical source. They will be worth only a few marks (e.g. 1–4 marks), and you should be able to complete them very quickly. These questions will likely use verbs like *identify*, *describe* or *outline*.

Aim to answer these questions quickly and concisely. A good target is to write one full sentence for each 1 mark allocated to the question. Even if you know more about this topic, you should not waste time adding extra detail. You should instead invest your time and energy into other, more valuable questions.

For example, if you were given a 2-mark question, 'Identify two features of Source 1 that show the critique of privilege in the ancien régime', there is no point giving three or four features, and there is no point giving detailed facts from your own knowledge. You just need two sentences, with two clearly explained quotations from Source 1.

The following are examples of how to unpack and respond to the two comprehension sub-questions given on p. 94.



a) Identify two features of Source 5 that show the critique of privilege in the ancien régime. (2 marks)

UNPACKING THE OUESTION

- The verb 'identify' indicates that you just need to select the features of the source. You do not need to offer any detailed explanations or analysis.
- The scope of the question is 'the critique of privilege in the ancien régime', so you need to look for clues or symbols that suggest criticism of political, economic and social inequality.
- The question requires you to find 'two features', and it is worth 2 marks. This suggests that you need to develop a response of at least two full sentences identifying two different features to get full marks.
- The question only requires you to use Source 5. Do not waste any time discussing other sources or introducing facts from your own knowledge.

UNPACKING THE SOURCE

- Start by reading the description of the source. In this case, the description
 contains a translation of the text written on the engraving. You can quote these
 translations and use them to answer the question.
- Then, closely examine the image. What sorts of people can you see? (Consider their ages, how they are dressed, what social class they are from, etc. Clothing is usually a good indicator of these features.) What are they doing? What evidence is there to indicate their place within the society of the ancien régime?
- Finally, select two features of the image you plan to discuss. Translations and captions can be quoted, while features of visual sources must be described and briefly explained.

Writing tip: Signpost where you use evidence from the source

Make it obvious to your reader how you are using the sources to answer the question. When using written sources, copy distinctive phrases from the source and enclose these in 'quotation marks'. When using visual sources, describe precise features and explain what they represent. Introduce your evidence from the source with a phrase like 'Source 1 states that' or 'Source 1 shows'. Alternatively, you might put (Source 1) in brackets immediately after a quotation from a written source.

ANSWERING THE OUESTION

Any two of the following would be sufficient for full marks:

- Source 5 depicts the social inequality of the ancien régime through the clergy and nobility holding a dominant position by standing on top of the man representing the Third Estate. This reflects the unfair social hierarchy of pre-revolutionary France.
- The rock that crushes the man on the ground (he represents the Third Estate) has the names of three taxes (taille, impôts, corvées) written on it (Source 5). This symbolises the burden or weight of the taxes on the Third Estate, which was a key grievance of the Third Estate.
- Source 5 shows two privileged (tax-exempt) orders (the clergy and nobility) adding to the weight of the taxes levied on the Third Estate. They are shown standing on top of a stone, representing the tax burden that crushes the Third Estate.
- Dressed in the robes of their estate at the top of Source 5, the clergy and nobility literally 'trample' under their feet the commoner who is already burdened by the taxes (taille, impôts, corvées) from which the others are exempted.



c) Using Source 7, outline three consequences of reforms to the Church. (3 marks)

UNPACKING THE QUESTION

- The key knowledge outcome assessed by this question are the reforms of the Church.
- The scope of the question are consequences of the reforms.
- The verb 'outline' means you should provide a general description of the essential features of this topic, without closely analysing evidence or providing background detail.
- The question only requires you to use Source 7 and is not worth many marks. It should be possible to answer this using just the information from the source.
- The question requires you to outline 'three consequences' and is worth 3 marks. This suggests that you need to develop a response of at least three full sentences outlining three different consequences to get full marks.

UNPACKING THE SOURCE

- Start by reading the description of the source. This will tell you that this is a secondary source (a historian's interpretation published in 2022) that provides commentary about the introduction of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (the legislation that reorganised the structures of the Church in France).
- Quickly skim the source to get a general understanding of what it is about.
 - » The law aimed to restructure the Church's management because it represented an institution of the ancien régime, according to the historian.
 - » The Church was not consulted about the reform, as the historian claims the majority of deputies wanted to reform the administration and not the religious nature of the Church.

- » The historian's assessment is that the reform was a wideranging interference into the functioning of the Church and, as such, became contentious. It resulted in turning loyal Catholics (and the king) into counter-revolutionaries.
- » The historian explains that the Catholic Church is based on the premise that the Pope is the head of the Church, and he alone appoints the bishops. This meant that elections of clergy to various Church offices was incompatible with the Catholic belief.
- » In the end, the historian suggests the unintended consequence of the reform was that religion became one of the causes of political and social unrest.
- Then, closely re-read the source. This will ensure that you have not missed
 anything and will allow you to select useful quotations. Underline or highlight
 three short quotations that support your response to the question about the
 consequences of Church reforms. Look for quotations of less than ten words
 in length.

ANSWERING THE QUESTION

Any three of the following would be sufficient to gain full marks:

- An important but unintended consequence of the reforms to the Church, such
 as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, is that they contributed to 'political and
 social unrest' in the new society.
- The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790) 'restructured the **Church's** administration in France' (Source 7).
- The most contentious **result** of **this reform** was that the Pope was no longer seen to have 'sovereign jurisdiction over appointment of bishops', as it was now 'French citizens', and even those 'who were not Catholics', who could participate in the 'election of parish priests and bishops', rather than the Pope.
- In the long term, this also served to alienate devout Catholics and the king, with the **legislation** becoming 'divisive'.

HOW TO ANSWER EXPLANATION OUESTIONS

Some exam questions will require you to develop a detailed explanation of a particular historical development, and to use both the source and evidence from your own knowledge in your response.

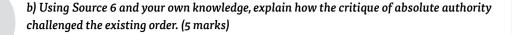
These questions will likely use verbs like *explain* and will be worth a few more marks (e.g. 4–6 marks). You should write at least as many sentences as the mark value of the question, and aim to fill or exceed the allocated writing space.

The best responses to these questions will move smoothly back and forth between evidence from the sources and evidence from your own knowledge. Treat the source like a 'springboard': use evidence from it to launch into your response, then dive into exploring other developments you know about in great depth. End your response by returning to the source with a second (or third) short quotation that helps sum up your answer and clarifies how you are answering the question.

The following are examples of how to unpack and respond to the two explanation sub-questions given on p. 94.

Writing tip: Use the key terms of the question

Before writing your response, make sure you underline the words that identify the key knowledge focus and scope of the question. To keep your response focused, you should use these words regularly—each time you make a new point or argument. In this case, the key words you want to repeat are 'result' or 'consequence', as well as 'Church', 'reform' and 'legislation'. Look at each of the dot points to the left. Notice how they all use these words (or synonyms for them).



UNPACKING THE OUESTION

- The key knowledge outcome assessed by this question is the critique of absolute authority.
- The verb 'explain' means you need to give a step-by-step explanation of a historical process.
- The scope of the question is how the critique of absolute authority challenged the existing order, so you should focus on providing a summary of the ideas that challenged the unrestrained power of Louis XVI.
- The question instructs you to use Source 6. You will need to select 1–2 feature(s)/quotation(s).
- The question instructs you to use 'your own knowledge'. This means you need to extend beyond the points in the sources and include other points. To get full marks, you will need some specific evidence (such as laws, facts, dates, statistics, quotations, etc.).

UNPACKING THE SOURCES

- This will tell you that this is a primary source—a set of key legal ideas that exist in France according to the Paris Parlement (nobility). This proclamation made in the leading high court in France is addressed to the French public at large, but it challenges the king's powers directly. The date of the source (3 May 1788) indicates that it was produced during the period of the revolt of the Notables known as the Aristocratic Revolt, which united the nobility of the sword (Assembly of Notables) and the nobility of the robe (parlements) in their challenge of the absolute authority of the king. The source was produced about three months before the king's agreement to convoke the Estates-General, and before his recall of Jacques Necker to head the ministry. This demonstrates the pressure put on the monarchy to summon the institution dormant since 1614.
- Quickly skim the source to get a general understanding of what it is about.
 - » This seems to be a list of things that magistrates say limit the king's absolute power. You will want to discuss that aspect, as it challenges the ancien régime's foundations.
 - » Magistrates stress that the attempt to abolish the *parlements* forces them to declare the key constitutional principles that govern the monarchy in France, which supposedly bound even the king. Thus, his powers are not absolute.
 - » Magistrates claim that they are charged with maintaining these fundamental tenets of law, which challenges the power of the monarch to legislate at will.
 - » Magistrates reiterate that the king rules in accordance with the laws, which reminds the public that the king, who is sovereign, is also subject to the law.
 - » Clearly, they position themselves as guardians of the public order in France, which suggests that they do not accept the unlimited and absolute exercise of the king's authority.
 - you will want to identify the motives of the magistrates and highlight that this is a continuation of their push to gain a greater role in the politics of France, as well as part of the Aristocratic Revolt.
 - » Use key 'new language' used in the document, such as 'nation' and 'citizens'.
- Then, closely re-read the source. This will ensure that you have not missed anything and will allow you to select useful quotations. Underline or highlight three short quotations that reveal a way the magistrates criticised and challenged Louis XVI. Look for quotations of less than ten words in length.

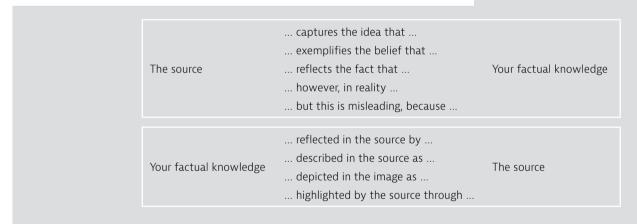
GATHERING EVIDENCE FROM YOUR OWN KNOWLEDGE

- The nobles were the first group to challenge and critique the king's
 absolute authority by demanding an Estates-General to decide on fiscal
 reforms, rather than simply accepting the will of the king. This is evident
 in Source 6, when the magistrates assert 'the right of the nation to grant
 taxation freely in an Estates General'.
- By drawing on the idea of the 'nation', the magistrates also critique the king's position as sovereign. Traditionally, the king embodied the nation and, as such, his decisions went unquestioned. The magistrates now challenged this by calling for a meeting of all three orders and asserting that it was their 'right' to do so. Succumbing to such demands would make the sovereign king look weak.
- The magistrates and the king had previously butted heads in 1787, with the king exiling (15 August) and then recalling magistrates (15 September) of the Paris Parlement who challenged his authority by demanding an Estates-General. By refusing to register much-needed loans and issuing public protests, such as Source 6, the magistrates attempted to destabilise the king's position and weaken his absolute power.
- The way that Louis XVI responded to criticisms such as Source 6—by
 'parading a show of royal authority but then shrinking from enforcing it'
 (Schama)—only hardened the resolve of the nobles and other sections of
 society to continue to critique and challenge the king.

ANSWERING THE OUESTION

Writing tip: The best responses will smoothly integrate quotations from the sources and meaningfully connect these to your argument. For example, 'The magistrates became increasingly bold in their challenges to Louis XVI's power, which is evident in Source 6, as they go so far as to assert that it was "the right of the courts ... to verify the king's legislation", seemingly ignoring the king's absolute authority'.

Practise starting a sentence with a quotation, and ending it with an explanation of what the quotation refers to. Then, practise starting a sentence with your own fact, and ending with a quotation that backs this up. You can see examples of both strategies in the sample response below. Try using some of these connective phrases in your own writing:



SAMPLE RESPONSE, WITH CONNECTIVE PHRASES HIGHLIGHTED

Public criticism and defiance of Louis XVI served to weaken his position as an unquestionable monarch. In Source 6, the magistrates assert that they had the right 'to verify the king's legislation', suggesting that the king could not legislate at will. This was misleading, as in reality Louis XVI was entitled to do so. The Paris Parlement had previously challenged the existing order by calling the king's actions 'illegal' (19 November 1787). Louis's 'catastrophic' (Doyle) response that the registration of loans was 'legal because I will it' made him appear to be a despot, thus, destabilising his own position. Criticisms of the use of royal power throughout 1787–1789 ultimately weakened the king to the extent that his position as absolute monarch was successfully challenged during the Estates-General of 1789. (130 words)

d) Using Source 7, Source 8 and your own knowledge, explain the causes of counter-revolution. (5 marks)

UNPACKING THE QUESTION

- The key knowledge outcome assessed by this question is counter-revolution (the emergence of opposition to the revolution).
- The verb 'explain' means you need to give a step-by-step explanation of a historical process.
- The scope of the question is how and why the counter-revolution ideas and actions developed, which means you need to examine causes of political divisions over the aims of the revolution.
- The question instructs you to use Sources 7 and 8. You will need to select 1–2 feature(s)/quotation(s) from each. If you just use one source, you will not be able to achieve full marks, no matter how good your response is.
- The question instructs you to use 'your own knowledge'. This means you need to
 extend beyond the points in the sources and include other points. To get full marks,
 you will need some specific evidence (such as laws, facts, dates, battles, statistics,
 quotations, etc.).

UNPACKING THE SOURCES

- We already examined Source 7 on the previous pages. However, this question has a different focus. So, you need to re-examine the sources through the lens of opposition to the revolution and explain the development of counter-revolutionary ideas.
- This question also requires examination of Source 8.
- Look for a way to link each source to the causes of revolution.

	What the source shows	How this links to the rise of counter-revolution
Source 7	 Source 7 can be used to discuss how the reforms to the Church were an important contributing factor to the emergence of counter-revolution. Darius von Güttner notes that the 'legislation became divisive' and caused 'political and social unrest'. Source 7 can be used to discuss how reforms to the Church 'alienated' the king as well as 'devout Catholics'. 	 The changes to the Church were a key factor in causing the counter-revolution in the Vendée (March–December 1793), as this was a particularly devout and traditional region of France. The Assembly alienated the king to the point that he attempted to flee and was consequently imprisoned. His attempted flight from France was used against him at his trial in December 1792, and his resulting execution in January 1793 was also a contributing factor to the Vendée rebellion.
Source 8	 Source 8 shows one broken pillar of the old regime, labelled 'religion'. The figure at the centre of the image holds a poster that says 'religious interference', and it shows members of the Church being burnt at the stake. The bottom right-hand side of Source 8 depicts the nobility as being oppressed under the foot of a sans-culotte. 	 The many criticisms evident in Source 8 help to explain why the nobility and peasantry rebelled against the new regime. Reforms to the Church, such as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, were seen by some as dismantling a key pillar of French society. In particular, the changes alienated peasants in the Vendée region. The abolition of noble titles and confiscation of émigré property produced such consternation and animosity towards the new government that the émigrés formed armies and attempted to invade France to restore the monarchy.

GATHERING EVIDENCE FROM YOUR OWN KNOWLEDGE

Now, reflect on what you have learnt about the emergence of counter-revolution in France. Gather 2–4 facts and determine how they help explain why counter-revolution occurred.

Point	Evidence to support this point	Analysis of how this led to the rise of counter-revolution
Causes of the Vendée rebellion	The Vendée rebellion of 1793 and the resurgence in March 1794 both stemmed from hatred of the changes to the Church, the execution of Louis XVI (21 January 1793), and the levée en masse (February 1793).	Peasants resented the enforcement of conscription, which took young men away from their land during harvest and was seen as the government targeting those who had opposed the new regime. They also disliked the government measures against local clergy, who traditionally supported the poorer members of society. The execution of Louis XVI in January 1793 was intensely unpopular among the peasantry in the Vendée region, who were supporters of the monarchy and who had surprisingly been better off under the old regime. McPhee notes that 'the Revolution brought the peasants of the Vendée no obvious benefits'.
Causes of the (failed) royalist invasion of 1795	The Assembly and Convention targeted the 100,000 émigrés with harsh legislation in 1792 that confiscated their property and ordered their arrest if they returned.	Attacks by the Convention on émigrés caused these former nobles to develop intense animosity towards the new regime. This led to the formation of an émigré army of some 4000, who launched a royalist invasion in 1795 alongside defeated Vendéen rebels and Chouans (some 22,000 in total).

ANSWERING THE OUESTION

Planning tip: Some students find it difficult to strike a balance between using sources and using their own knowledge. A helpful strategy for building balanced answers is to develop a plan, or to brainstorm in two columns. On the left, put the ideas or facts you have gained from the source. On the right, record what other ideas you can use to help show off the breadth and depth of your knowledge.

You *do not* need a perfectly even balance of ideas, but you do need to have multiple ideas in each column.

From the source

- Legislation introduced to reform the Church 'became divisive' to the point that it caused 'political and social unrest' (Source 7), such as the Vendée rebellion and royalist invasions.
- The changes to the Church caused the pillar of 'domestic peace' to crumble (Source 8).
- Source 8 depicts nobles suffering under the new government. A sans-culotte is seen poised to beat a noble with a cudgel, and nobles are seen to be pleading for their lives on the left. The attacks on the nobility caused them to retaliate through counter-revolution.

From my knowledge

- Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1789).
- McPhee calls the Civil Constitution the 'moment which fatally fractured the revolution'.
- Nationalisation of Church land (November 1789).
- · Vendée rebellion (March-December 1793).
- Execution of Louis XVI and military levée (February 1793) were both very unpopular among peasants in the Vendée region.
- Peasants in the Vendée region were actually better off under the old system.
- Laws that targeted émigrés in 1792 included the confiscation of émigré property and the threat of arrest should émigrés return to France.
- Émigré armies that wanted to restore the monarchy formed in 1795.

SAMPLE RESPONSE

Fundamental social changes in France were the main causes of the end of 'domestic peace' (Source 8) in France. Firstly, Church reforms caused 'political and social unrest' (Source 7), as 'religious interference' (Source 8) by the government was disliked by many loyal Catholics. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790) divided the French population and was the 'moment which fatally fractured the revolution' (McPhee). Counter-revolution in the Vendée (March–December 1793) by a devout population who resented the reforms was an unintended consequence. The execution of Louis XVI (21 January 1793), as well as the imposition of conscription through the military levée (February 1793), were other contributing factors. Secondly, émigré armies that attempted to forcefully restore the monarchy in 1795 wanted to regain their privilege. Émigrés, having lost their noble titles, had their property confiscated and faced the threat of arrest if they returned to France as of 1792. This cause of counter-revolution is alluded to in Source 8, which shows a group of nobles on the left being threatened with violence in the name of the 'law'. (180 words)

Writing tip: Incorporating viewpoints

The best responses on the final exam will incorporate **historical perspectives** (viewpoints from people who lived at the time) and **historical interpretations** (arguments made by historians). This will show how your own viewpoint of the past relates to other possible viewpoints, such as those contained in the sources you are discussing.

In your extended response and your essay, you can help your writing stand out by selecting relevant viewpoints, integrating these smoothly into your writing, and illustrating them with direct quotations from the historian or historical figure you are discussing.

Below are some examples of connective phrases that may be helpful in discussing viewpoints.

Introducing evidence from historians

- This evidence supports the interpretation of historian Jane Smith that ...
- An alternative explanation is provided by historian Jane Smith ...
- In contrast, historian Jane Smith argues that ...
- However, historian Jane Smith rejects this claim, arguing instead that ...

Referring to sources

- Source 1 provides insight into ...
- This is supported by Lenin's argument in Source 1 that ...
- This idea is **accurately captured** in Source 1, which **depicts** ...
- This interpretation is present in both sources, which imply that ...
- Both sources **stress the importance** of ...
- The sources present contrasting views of ...

Look at how the sample response on the next page integrates a range of references to the sources and to other perspectives.

HOW TO ANSWER EXTENDED RESPONSE QUESTIONS

One of the questions in Section A will be an extended response worth 8–10 marks. This is over 10% of your exam grade, so it is worth investing a little more time and thought into this question. Allocate about fifteen minutes of writing time to this question and aim to write at least 250 words (about one page of handwriting).

Below is an explanation of how to unpack and respond to the extended response sub-question given on p. 94.



e) Evaluate the extent to which changes and continuities in social conditions allowed for revolutionary ideals to be achieved. Use the sources provided and other evidence to support your response. (10 marks)

UNPACKING THE OUESTION

- The verb 'evaluate' means you need to give a judgement.
- The focus of this question is twofold:
 - » What were the changes and continuities in social conditions?
 - » Did these conditions allow for the achievement of revolutionary ideals?
- Before you plan your response, you should start by identifying what you believe their ideals are. Source 8 is a good starting point; it refers to key ideals such as 'liberty' and 'equality'.
- The question instructs you to use 'the sources provided'. It does not specify which sources, but the safest approach is to take one quotation or idea from each of the three sources.
- The question instructs you to use 'your own knowledge'. This means you need to extend beyond the points in the sources and include other points. To get full marks, you will need some specific evidence (such as laws, facts, dates, battles, statistics, quotations, etc.).

USING THE SOURCES

- Source 5 can be used to springboard into a discussion about changes in social hierarchy. It demonstrates very clearly the social structure of the ancien régime and can be contrasted with aspects of Source 8, which show the new social order.
- Source 6 is not directly related to the question, but it does provide an opportunity to explain how social conditions of the new society (e.g. lack of bread) caused the revolutionary ideal of a constitutional monarchy to be abandoned. After the storming of the Tuileries, France was no longer a 'monarchy governed by the king in accordance with the laws', but a republic.
- Source 7 is very useful in discussing an important social change: reforms to the Church. A key argument in a response about social change would be about how reforms to the Church actually caused problems that led to the abandonment of revolutionary ideals (e.g. inflation from the failure of assignats leads to the introduction of the Law of the Maximum).

• Source 8 focuses on how some revolutionary ideals were compromised. As the central feature of the source is the poster showing 'religious indifference', it can, therefore, be linked to the revolutionary ideal of religious tolerance. The extent to which this ideal was achieved is questioned in this source.

ANSWERING THE OUESTION

- Start with a general contention in your opening sentence. This should give an overall judgement of the extent that social changes and continuities caused revolutionaries to compromise their ideals.
- Select 3–4 different ideals you plan to explore in detail and write a paragraph giving a judgement of each.
- Aim to show off the breadth and depth of knowledge by including a range of facts and viewpoints from your own knowledge.

SAMPLE RESPONSE

Key social changes meant that revolutionary ideals such as 'equality' (Source 8) were broadly achieved in the new society. However, other social changes and continuities led to several revolutionary ideals being compromised, including a free market, federalism and religious tolerance.

Source 8 is critical of the social shifts that France underwent after the revolution. Changes such as the August Decrees (4–11 August 1789) moved France towards the end of feudalism, and the eradication of noble titles (19 June 1790) allowed for the ideal of 'equality' (Source 8) to be achieved in the new society. Source 8 contrasts with Source 5, demonstrating the fundamental change in social hierarchy that occurred. The cartoonist criticises the changes by depicting the Third Estate, who are oppressed in Source 5, as having more power than others in Source 8. This highlights that the ideal of true social equality has not been achieved in its entirety. However, equality before the law was achieved through Clause 3 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (26 August 1789), which limited the king's position to the rule of law, enabling France to become 'a monarchy governed by the king in accordance with the laws' (Source 6).

Access to food and the price of bread were significant social continuities that forced the compromise of revolutionary ideals. The international war (beginning April 1792) put immense pressure on food supply, which coincided with a drought that reduced grain supply to Paris by three-quarters in mid-August 1793. The sans-culottes—desperate for food and higher

wages—threatened violence by invading the Convention (4–5 September 1793), forcing the deputies to adopt the Law of the Maximum (29 September 1793). In doing so, they compromised the revolutionary ideal of a free market, which was supposed to generate 'plenty' (Source 8) of wealth.

Federalism was also compromised due to the actions of the sans-culottes. The eighty-three departments that were created (February 1790) to streamline government soon had very little autonomy. Representatives-on-mission, who ensured that the will of the Convention in Paris was being carried out in the departments, certainly limited self-rule for the regions. This can be likened to the centralisation of power under Louis XVI in the ancien régime. Girondins despised the control that the sans-culottes exerted over the Convention, believing that France was a 'republic of Paris' (Source 8) due to the Convention appeasing the hungry sans-culottes.

Finally, the 'extensive intervention ... into the operation of the Church' (Source 7) seemed to contradict the ideal of religious tolerance, as outlined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 June 1790), the nationalisation of Church land (November 1789), and the Clerical Oath (27 November 1790) 'alienated devout Catholics' (Source 7) and contributed to causing counter-revolutionary revolts such as the Vendée rebellion. McPhee concludes that 'the Revolution had created a secular state', where the Assembly limited religious tolerance. (489 words)

EXAM SECTION B (ESSAY)

Section B of the exam will contain four essay questions, one on each of the four revolutions in History: Revolutions. You will only answer one of these essay questions, which is worth 20 marks.

You should allocate about 35–40 minutes to the essay question. Strong essay responses tend to be at least 700 words, or two and a half pages in length.

The essay question may focus on:

- causes of the revolution (just AOS1)
- consequences of the revolution (just AOS2)
- continuity and change over the course of the revolution (both Areas of Study).

Below are three examples of what this exam question might look like. The following pages contain explanations and examples of how you can unpack and respond to each.

Example 1: **Causes** of revolution (1774–4 August 1789)

SECTION B

France

Question 2: Essay (20 marks)

Evaluate the significance of Jacques Necker in challenging the power of the existing order and causing revolution. Use evidence to support your response.

Example 2: **Consequences** of revolution (5 August 1789–1795)

SECTION B

France

Question 2: Essay (20 marks)

To what extent did the new regime compromise revolutionary ideals when implementing revolutionary government and the Terror? Use evidence to support your response.

Example 3: **Continuity and change** (1774–1795)

SECTION B

France

Question 2: Essay (20 marks)

Evaluate the extent of continuity and change in the everyday lives of peasants and the nobility between 1774 and 1795. Use evidence to support your response.

HOW TO ANSWER AN ESSAY OUESTION FOCUSED ON CAUSES OF REVOLUTION



Evaluate the significance of Jacques Necker in challenging the power of the existing order and causing revolution. Use evidence to support your response.

UNPACKING THE OUESTION

- The command word 'evaluate' means you need to present a judgement about the role played by Jacques Necker in causing the revolution.
- The prompt asks specifically about how Necker caused the revolution. Discuss the strengths and limitations of his influence in challenging the existing order.
- Your discussion needs to link to the causes of the French Revolution. That means
 you need to establish how each development you choose to discuss helped cause a
 revolutionary situation by weakening the government, strengthening opposition
 forces, or bringing about a crisis of authority.
- Since no timeframe is provided in the question, you are expected to select a range of developments from across AOS1. However, the question is focused on the role of 'Jacques Necker in challenging the power of the existing order', so the discussion would focus on the events he was involved in or to which he can be linked: War of Independence, calling and regulation of the Estates-General, storming of the Bastille.

FORMING AN EVALUATION

- Before you can plan your response, you need to form your own evaluation. This is your judgement, as a historian, about how important you consider the different causes of the revolution to be.
- In a short essay like this, you will only have time to explore 2–4 different causes. One of these is already chosen for you in the question, but you get to choose the others.

Cause	How did this contribute to the French Revolution?	How important was this in causing the French Revolution?
Necker's role as finance minister		
Dismissal of Necker in July 1789		
Another factor of your choice		

FORMING A BALANCED ARGUMENT

- The strongest essays will distinguish between **different types of causes**. The essay question will likely only identify one type of cause. It is up to you to identify the others. For example, you might argue that the question only focuses on long-term causes, when we must also look at short-term causes and catalysts to explain the revolution.
 - » Long-term causes are tensions that gradually build up because of inequality and poor government, such as France's poor financial situation, which led to economic collapse and bankruptcy.
 - » **Short-term causes** are the events that heighten and worsen discontent, and discontent and desire for change, such as the calling and regulation of the Estates-General.
 - » **Catalysts** or **triggers** are the moments that unleash public anger and create crises, such as the dismissal of Necker by Louis XVI on 11 July 1789.
- The strongest essays will show that a revolution is the product of **very specific conditions**. The question will likely only identify one of these possible conditions. It is up to you to identify other necessary conditions. For example, you might argue that a revolution will only occur when four conditions are met:
 - » The public becomes discontented due to inequality and poor government, such as the social hierarchy of the ancien régime that burdened the Third Estate with taxes, and the ineffective fiscal regulation.
 - » Revolutionary ideas challenge the existing order and provide possible solutions, such as the critique of absolute authority.
 - » Revolutionary leaders harness public anger and turn it against the government and/or existing leaders whose actions cause revolutionary sentiment to brew, such as Jacques Necker and Louis XVI.
 - » Popular movements refuse to acknowledge the government's authority, such as the storming of the Bastille.

SAMPLE RESPONSE

The actions of Jacques Necker certainly contributed to undermining the existing order. As finance minister, he highlighted France's unequal and ineffective fiscal system and destabilised public perception of the monarchy by publishing the Compte rendu au roi (February 1781). He gave poor advice to Louis XVI regarding the regulation of the Estates-General, and his ultimate dismissal was a trigger for the storming of the Bastille. However, when considering the actions of key individuals, those of Louis XVI—specifically his mishandling of a precarious political situation—were of greater significance in causing revolution in France.

As finance minister, Necker added further burden to France's struggling financial situation, which consequently led to bankruptcy and the calling of the Estates-General. Necker financed France's participation in the War of Independence (from 1778) entirely through 520 million livres of loans. This was despite previous finance minister Turgot's warning that 'the first gunshot will drive the state to bankruptcy'. By 1786, France had a deficit of 112 million livres, with Calonne noting at the time that 'all the funds were empty'. Historian Donald Sutherland highlights this precarious position as a major force that 'broke the back of the monarchy'. The situation prompted Louis XVI to call an Assembly of Notables (February–May 1787) that began the Aristocratic Revolt, which Doyle argues was the 'beginning of a political crisis that was only to be resolved by revolution'. Nigel Aston concurs

Evaluate the significance of Jacques Necker in challenging the power of the existing order and causing revolution. Use evidence to support your response.

with this assessment, arguing that the revolution of 1789 was 'the product of the medium term political and financial crises ... and the destabilising efforts to resolve them'. Indeed, the political crisis emerged from attempts to handle the financial crisis, and Necker's actions as finance minister certainly added to the latter.

Necker's Compte rendu was also a significant factor in challenging the existing order. The rather dishonest account of the state's finances had a twofold effect in contributing to the revolution. Firstly, the Compte rendu made Necker—the only non-noble minister—a popular figure particularly among the Third Estate, with over 20,000 copies of his publication sold in the first week. His popularity was such that after Louis XVI dismissed Necker on 11 July 1789, the already heightened tensions in Paris boiled over into a revolutionary situation with the storming of the Bastille (14 July 1789). Even the British ambassador at the time understood the significance of Necker's removal, writing that 'the populace will not easily forgive the removal of M. Necker'. Secondly, Necker's false claim that France had a surplus of ten million livres rather than a deficit of seventy million livres was one reason why the Assembly of Notables rejected the reforms that Calonne and Brienne put forward, triggering the calling of the Estates-General. Calonne noted that Necker had the support of a 'powerful and fanatical sect' in the Assembly of Notables who disliked Calonne challenging the Compte rendu. Schama's view that the Compte rendu 'led the French monarchy down the primrose path to perdition' has strong standing.

However, while Jacques Necker's actions were important in furthering the financial crisis, it was Louis XVI's mishandling of the resulting political crisis that is of greater significance as a cause of the revolution. The king's decision to reinvigorate the parlements in 1774 was his first major error, as the Paris Parlement would later emerge as an obstructive force that undermined the king during the Aristocratic Revolt. The Paris Parlement tested Louis XVI's authority on multiple occasions between 1786 and 1788, issuing remonstrances, refusing to register loans, and even feeling so empowered as to declare to the king that they were the 'voice of the people of Paris'. Such a declaration directly challenged Louis's power as sovereign. Schama criticises the king's use of his own authority to deal with the revolt, stating he did 'the worst possible thing by parading a show of royal authority but then shrinking from enforcing it'. Indeed, the king vacillated between asserting his authority using lettres de cachet and appeasing the Paris Parlement by promising to hold an Estates-General in 1792 (15 September 1787). When the Duc d'Orléans declared the king's actions as illegal (19 November 1787), Louis XVI's response of 'it is legal because I will it' was 'catastrophic' (Doyle). From that point it was 'open war' (Doyle) between the monarchy and the parlements. With the groundwork laid, Mirabeau felt bold enough to openly defy the king by stating that the National Assembly would not disperse as the king had ordered, and would 'only be driven out by bayonets' (23 June 1789). The king showed weakness in meeting the demands of the National Assembly, instructing the three orders to meet in common and vote by head on 27 June 1789. Finally, Louis XVI's refusal to remove troops around Paris in July 1789 contributed to creating a situation so tense that his dismissal of Necker 'tipped food-rioting and protest into violent rebellion' (McPhee) with the storming of the Bastille.

Necker certainly played a significant role in the development of the revolution. His Compte rendu caused further financial and political problems for the king, while Necker's surge in popularity meant a revolutionary situation arose on his dismissal, as urban workers in Paris responded with 'an instantaneous wave of panic and fury' (Schama). However, it was the inability of Louis XVI to navigate the political crisis, and other poor decisions made by the monarch, which were of greater significance. Ultimately, Louis XVI's own actions saw his authority wane to the extent that it was successfully challenged in 1789. (913 words)

HOW TO ANSWER AN ESSAY QUESTION FOCUSED ON CONTINUITY AND CHANGE



Evaluate the extent of continuity and change in the everyday lives of peasants and the nobility between 1774 and 1795. Use evidence to support your response.

UNPACKING THE OUESTION

- The instructional term 'evaluate' asks you to give a judgement.
- The scope of this question is continuity and change. That is, you need to focus on judging what aspects of life changed as a result of the revolution, and what aspects remained similar.
- Since this question spans both AOS1 and AOS2, you will need to try and select relevant evidence from across the entire period you have studied.
- The key knowledge of this question are the conditions of everyday life for peasants and the nobility. Note that this is a two-part question: you must discuss both peasants and the nobility to gain high marks.

ASSESSING CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

• To help establish continuity and change, create a table that compares conditions for different groups before, during and after the revolution. Below is an example of how you could do this with peasants and the nobility—but you could equally apply the same concept to how France was governed, to the impact of war on the revolution, or to other social groups such as women, the bourgeoisie or urban workers.

	Conditions before the revolution	Experiments to change this during the revolution	Conditions after the revolution	Change or continuity?
Social conditions of peasants and nobility	 Peasants were part of the Third Estate and, as such, were not as privileged as the upper two orders. The culture of deference and seigneurialism disadvantaged peasants. Most peasants were illiterate and uneducated. Most peasants were Catholic. Nobles were part of the Second Estate and enjoyed privileges that reflected their place in the social hierarchy. Some educated nobles engaged with Enlightenment ideas (e.g. Lafayette and Duc d'Orléans). 	 The August Decrees of 1789 abolished seigneurialism. Abolition of the nobility (19 June 1790) removed all noble titles and honorific distinctions. Key reform to the Church affecting nobility: Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790). Reforms to the Church meant sons of nobility had career paths blocked. Reforms to the Church were resented by peasants in particularly traditional areas (e.g. Vendée). Forced grain requisitioning and conscription (decreed 24 February 1793) negatively affected peasants. Richard Cobb calls the forty grain requisitioning 'revolutionary armies' created in 1793 'the village terror'. Changes to the justice system meant peasants would be considered equal to everyone else under the law. 	 Peasants continued to face the challenge of poor harvests—1794 'arguably the worst harvest of the century' (McPhee). Nobility were the 'greatest losers from the Revolution' (Doyle). Nobility lost their privileges due to the removal of the culture of deference. 	 Change: Profound change in everyday lives of peasants and nobility. Peasants gained social standing. Nobility lost social standing and prestige. Continuity: Many peasants remained illiterate, uneducated and poor. Challenges remained for peasants in terms of generating enough food.

	Conditions before the revolution	Experiments to change this during the revolution	Conditions after the revolution	Change or continuity?
Political conditions of peasants and nobility	 The nobility had political power as magistrates in the parlements. Peasants had no political representation. Only political input peasants could have would be through cahiers de doléances before an Estates-General (the last one was in 1614), and even then, their grievances were often filtered out in the process. 	 Peasants remained politically stunted. Many did not qualify as 'active' citizens and could not vote. The 1793 Constitution that would have given universal male suffrage was never implemented. Nobles who remained in France became targets for revolutionary violence (e.g. September Massacres, the Terror [1200 deaths]) 	 The Constitution of 1795 returned to the ideals of 1791 with 'active' citizens, thus, excluding poor peasants. Some richer tenant farmers who owned property at a rental equivalent of 150–200 days could be electors, but they were far and few between. McPhee states that the Constitution of 1795 was 'a return to the provisions of '91'. 	 Change: Some wealthier peasants gained political power. Émigrés and relatives of émigrés were excluded from choosing deputies. Continuity: Most peasants remained without political power. Wealthy former nobles maintained political power, according to the 1795 Constitution.
Economic conditions of peasants and nobility	 Peasants were often the poorest of society in the ancien régime due to seigneurialism. They often paid 20–25% of their income to their lord. Peasants paid the tithe, the taille, seigneurial dues and banalités, and the capitation. Peasants also had to undertake the corvée. The nobility were exempt from most taxes (paid roughly 5% of their income). 	 Some peasants benefited from the sale of Church and émigré land. Law of the Maximum (29 September 1793) was hated by peasants, as they were forced to sell their grain below the cost of production. Abolition of the feudal system meant the nobility lost their feudal dues, which ranged from 5–63% of their income. 	 By 1795, inflation was so high that some peasants could profit from higher prices paid for their produce. The war also had an economic impact on peasants. The shortage of men in the countryside meant peasants could bargain for higher wages. McPhee believes landowning for peasants rose from approximately 33% before the revolution to 41%. This was an improvement, but not a complete transformation. Nobility paid more tax (around 12% from 1789). 	 Change: Peasants were able to improve their financial position and no longer had as much of a tax burden. Nobility lost substantial income and paid more tax. Continuity: The majority of peasants remained the poorest of society. Wealthy nobles were able to retain their wealth.

SAMPLE PLAN

Introduction

• Contention: The everyday lives of peasants and the nobility changed significantly during the revolution. Peasants experienced some important social and economic gains from the abolition of feudalism, but did remain politically stunted by 1795, while the nobility were 'the greatest losers from the Revolution' (Doyle), having lost many of their privileges.

Body paragraph 1: Social conditions

- Argument: the most significant change for both peasants and the nobility was the abolition of seigneurialism.
- Before the revolution, the culture of deference and the feudal system meant that peasants, as the bottom rung of the Third Estate, were poorly treated. Conversely, the nobility enjoyed a plethora of social privileges as members of the Second Estate.
- The abolition of feudalism profoundly changed the social structure of France. The August Decrees (4–11 August 1789), the abolition of noble titles (19 June 1790), and the eventual total abolition of seigneurialism in 1793 eradicated the three estates. The resulting revolutionary aim of equality under the law was beneficial for peasants, but nobles were forced to give up their prestige and social privileges. For example, nobles would not be able to be tried in special seigneurial courts, which were replaced with a justice of the peace, and they could no longer buy venalities. Therefore, McPhee rightly asserts that 'the abolition of the seigneurial system was the single most significant social change brought by the Revolution'.
- Had this change not coincided with a time of conflict, peasants may have seen further benefits such as better access to education. However, with the international war, the priority of the government shifted. Resultingly, peasants continued to experience hardships such as forced conscription (24 February 1793) and, often, violent grain requisitioning by the forty 'revolutionary armies' created in September 1793. The latter was so intense that Richard Cobb labelled it the 'village terror'. Further, peasants who outwardly opposed changes to France, such as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790), became targets of representatives-on-mission during the Vendée uprising (March–December 1793), and experienced brutal repression.
- By 1795, peasants had gained social standing, but their biggest challenge of food production was still a problem. The decline of the nobility's prestige and the end of all their associated privileges meant they experienced the most significant social change.

Body paragraph 2: Economic conditions of peasants and nobility

- Argument: in terms of their economic conditions, some peasants did benefit from the revolution, whereas the nobility lost property and income.
- In the ancien régime, most peasants lived in poverty, having to give up much of their produce to their lord in the form of seigneurial dues and banalités—often 20–25% of their income. They also paid the tithe to the Church, the taille and the capitation, and had to undertake the corvée, which could have taken them away from farms during harvest. Conversely, the nobility were exempt from most taxes, only paying some 5% of their income.
- The abolition of the feudal system meant the nobility lost between 5% and 63% of their income, and from 1789, they paid more tax (around 12%). The confiscation and sale of émigré land was another negative consequence of the revolution for the nobility.

• Some peasants benefited from the sale of Church and émigré land. McPhee believes landowning for peasants rose from approximately 33% before the revolution to 41%. Although this was an improvement, it was not a complete transformation. Other peasants were able to capitalise on the dire economic situation by 1795; inflation was so high that some peasants could profit from higher prices paid for produce. Meanwhile, the war meant a shortage of men in the countryside, so peasants could bargain for higher wages. Although the Law of the Maximum (29 September 1793) was hated by peasants, as they were forced to sell their grain below the cost of production, this was repealed in 1795. Nevertheless, most peasants remained poor, and those in the west of France were actually worse off under the new regime.

Body paragraph 3: Political conditions of peasants and nobility

- Argument: By 1795, wealthy nobles still enjoyed having political power. In theory, peasants gained political power, but this was very limited in reality.
- Prior to 1789, peasants had no political power, while the noble magistrates in the parlements and in the Assembly of Notables (February–May 1787) exercised their political power against the king and his ministers during the Aristocratic Revolt. The only political input peasants could have would be through cahiers de doléances, created before an Estates-General (the last one had been held in 1614). Even the cahiers produced in 1789 showed peasant grievances were often filtered out. Indeed, Adcock asserts that 'millions of peasants had stated their grievances to Louis, but he would never hear them'.
- In principle, the revolution changed this political imbalance. By 1795, peasants could technically stand for election as a deputy, but those able to vote for deputies were the wealthier citizens—including former nobles—who would naturally vote for deputies who represented their interests. The Constitution of 1793, which would have provided for universal male suffrage, was never implemented, and the Constitution of 1795 (22 August) returned to the ideals of 1791 with 'active' and 'passive' citizens, thus, excluding poor peasants. Some richer tenant farmers who owned property at a rental equivalent of 150–200 days could be electors, but they were few and far between.
- During the revolution, the nobility who remained in France increasingly became seen as political threats to the state, as did the émigrés who fled. Therefore, nobles were targeted through legislation and violence. The September Massacres (2–7 September 1792) and the Terror, in which 1200 nobles were guillotined, demonstrate this. However, by 1795, wealthy former nobles maintained political power, according to the 1795 Constitution. The biggest change politically for the nobility was that former émigrés and relatives of émigrés were excluded from choosing deputies.

Conclusion

- Summarise the arguments and main points from the body of the essay.
- Restate the contention: The revolution saw the lives of peasants and nobility change
 dramatically. The nobility held onto some political power but lost their economic and
 social privileges. Peasants benefited from the end of seigneurialism but still lacked a
 political voice.