

American historian G V Taylor:  
"It was not the revolutionaries who made the Revolution but the Revolution that made the revolutionaries".

- Most Cahiers were moderate and showed no indication of a desire to abolish the monarchy.
- Revolutionaries became more confident and ambitious as time passed.

## MONARCHY DESTROYED

Abolished 10 Aug 1792

Restored on 6 April 1814

However: the new monarchy had its power limited by an elected assembly.

\* An elected legislature was one of the permanent changes brought about by Revolution.

## The Church

- Suffered enormously.
- Lost land, wealth, income + financial privilege - never recovered.

## The Constituent Assembly

- Their reforms proved to be the most radical + most lasting of Revolution.
- Dismantled the Ancien Régime and reconstructed according to new principles
  - Abolished Estates
  - Noble / clergy privileges ended

## Impact of the Revolution

### \* END OF ANCIEN REGIME

\* Largely achieved in 2 years - A remarkable achievement.

- Tater monopoly on education was ended with control of poor relief and hospitals.

- The Clergy became - in effect - Civil Servants - Paid by state. Some were better off with this salary.

- Nobility abolished 1790 (But brought back under Napoleon)
- Old 13 Parlements ended
- Financial structure of Ancien Régime abandoned.
- Church was transformed
- Sale of Biens Nationaux changed land ownership.

Replaced by:

- New departments, districts and communes.
- New Courts of Law.
- A centralised treasury.
- Standardisation of weights + measures.
- Meritocracy.

\* 3 Estates were also significantly affected by the Revolution - the extent to which they won + lost is debated.

- Civil Constitution of the Clergy - deeply divided the church. Those who did not accept were persecuted.

- 200 killed in Sept Massacres
- 900 victims of the Terror
- 250,000 left or deported
- many districts were left without a priest + in YR II most churches closed.

- where clergy took the oath there were a lowering of esteem for religion that lasted into 19th.
- Church was separated from state and remained so until 1802 when Napoleon signed a Concordat with the Pope.
- Healed divisions - somewhat but effects were long term.

## The Nobility

- Traditionally viewed as the biggest losers at the Revolution.
- Among leaders of Revolt in 1792.
- lost their feudal dues - up to 60% of their income.
- Lost financial privileges - Paid more tax - 5% of their income before Revolt - 16% after land tax.
- lost positions in church, Army + State - lost ability to leave land to oldest son - had to be divided equally.
- 1790 - Nobility abolished + titles forbidden.
- 16500 left the Country - 8% of Nobles
- 1200 were executed during the terror
- many imprisoned for months.

\* Recent historiography has revised this view.

- Now generally accepted that nobles who stayed in France were not extensively persecuted. Majority retained their lands + did not lose dominant economic position.
- Napoleon's tax list show that nobles were still among wealthiest people in France.
- Under Napoleon many exiled Nobles returned to buy back lands

## Impact of Revolution

Destruction of the Ancien Régime.

- Statistics limited but would seem that nobles recovered 1/4 land lost.
- Political élites in France before and after Revolution were land owners - Nobles (titles) Bourgeoisie who came to be called notables.
- Ruled France upto 1880.
- Some elements of the Ancien Régime remained long into 19th century.

## The Bourgeoisie

- Marx's view (Lefebvre + Soboul) that this was a bourgeoisie revolt.
- Class struggle between Bourgeoisie who were frustrated at rigid position and declining aristocracy.
- Monarchy was bankrupt so needed finances of the growing middle class.
- led to dominance of businessmen.
- British + American historians have challenged this view.
  - Bourgeoisie invested in land not industry
  - few represented in elected assemblies (tradet <sup>industry</sup>) 88 of 648 Constituent Assembly
  - 83 of 749 in Convention
  - Laws were passed that benefited them . . .
- \* Abolition of internal customs barriers, guilds and price controls

- Prohibition of workers associations
- Uniform measure of weights and measurements.

\* But transport was poor so development of a national market was difficult.

- Merchants and Manufacturers were worse off in 1799 than 1789.

### BENEFITS

- Over the course of Revolution the Bourgeoisie were main beneficiaries + provided all leaders after 1791.

- Most reforms were supposed to benefit all French citizens but only bourgeoisie could take full advantage.

\* Workers and peasants could gain little.

- By 1799 they owned 30 - 40 % of French land.

- Voting system benefitted the Bourgeoisie
 

- limited to property owners
- nearly all members were Bourgeoisie

- Lawyers were most prominent beneficiaries - Could access new opportunities. From 700 to 6000 admin jobs - new roles

Some did not benefit  
→ devaluation of currency

- Renters / merchants at the Atlantic Ports, Manufacturers of luxury goods.

\* on balance most bourgeoisie did well out of the Revolution

Impact of Revolution  
- destruction of the Ancien Regime

### PEASANTRY

- A mixed peasantry in France. They experienced both losses and gains.

#### Losses . . .

Rent rose as much as a 1/4

- Conscription to military - lost labour
- Dechristianisation - people attached to the Church.
- Affected by maximum

on grain prices and grain requisitions.

\* led to widespread resistance movement (vercors) Brittany etc

- They did not want return to Ancien Regime but were caught up in Counter-Revolution.

- Resistance was anti-Revolutionary rather than Counter-Revolutionary.

- They wanted stability - their old way of life + removal of 'foreigners' (officials from Paris).

- Resistance led to repression and executions - 60% of victims of the terror were Peasants.

#### Gains . . .

- abolition of tax burden

- Abolition of feudal dues and the tithe.

- Able to buy land - Biens

- mainly richer peasants.

- Gained from inflation - were able to pay off debts.

- Legal system was reformed - much fairer.

- Right to Self Government - esp at municipal level. Peasants filled local councils.
- over 1 million people took part in Councils in 1790 + many more later.
- Self-Governing Commune + Justices of the peace survived into 19th century.

### WAGES

- Poor peasants, day labourers + Sharecroppers among greatest losers.
- Did not benefit from abolition of feudal dues + hard hit by inflation. 1792-1797 - wages did not rise as fast as prices.
- They relied on Cottage industry for survival + often destitute.
- They did benefit from abolition of indirect taxes + gained from deflation 1797-99.
- \* Peasants were affected in different ways but for most gains outweighed losses (esp land owners)

### URBAN WORKERS

- Sans Culottes welcomed the Revolution + helped it succeed
- disappointed by 1st Stage of the Revolution.
  - Abolition of Guilds + Workers Unions stopped their defense of rights.
  - They benefited from maximum but hated free market. They suffered from poor harvests and limited grain supplies.

Impact of the Revolution -  
Destruction of the Ancien Régime

### THE POOR

- The Poor Suffered the most during Revt. In normal times 1/4 relied on Poor relief in large cities.
- As unemployment increased the source of Poor relief - the Church - disappeared, as did hospitals
  - led to death + starvation in Poor harvests 1794-5.

In Rouen the mortality rate doubled in 1795-6. Trebled the year after.

- Responded with direct action + fought against revolution in white Terror.

### ECONOMY

- Marxist Perspective - the Revolution moved France from Feudalism to Capitalism.
- Not all historians agree. Alfred Cobban = claims the opposite "the revolution was not for but against Capitalism". The revolution restricted rather than promoted Capitalism.

\* Foreign Trade declined  
1789 - foreign trade = 25% of GDP. By 1796 it was down to 9%.

- due to slave Revts + war with Britain.

The war had a varying effect on the French economy. Some industries benefited - some lost.

### Benefits

- Iron and Coal expanded due to war.
- Textiles expanded to make uniforms
- Cotton industry gained most.
  - War allowed limitation of English goods in French territories.
    - Short term gain by 1815 - British competition was back.
- Rhine benefited as blockaded Atlantic Ports shifted industry + Trade to Rhine

### Losses

- Suppliers of raw materials were interrupted by war.
- foreign markets were lost due to blockade.
- linen industry dropped by 1/3.

\* By 1799 - industrial production had fallen to 2/3.

\* When currency was withdrawn there was a shortage of cash, interest rates were high + agricultural prices collapsed.

Agriculture stagnated during the Revolution.

Subsistence farming was still common and old methods (oxen + sickles) still used.

\* Revolution held up development of the French economy which grew slowly until 1840's.

Per Capita agricultural production fell + collapsed in 1792-95.

### Impact of the Revolution

#### The Economy

France widened. The death of 1.5 - 2 million people affected the size of domestic market.

- Not until 1830's + development of the railway did industry really take off + ended the economic Ancien Régime - The Revolution did not end this.

### Military Impact

#### Expansion and organisation of the Army

1789 - Army unrepresentative of the Country.

90% of officers = Nobles  
1/4 = Peasants - the rest were urban workers.  
1/2 were under 25.

During Revolution = Army became less supportive of monarchy.

- National Guard emerged  
Symbolised the Revolution.

- in 1793 - the two forces merged

= Revolutionary enthusiasm and professional military standards created a very powerful + effective force.

- Volunteers exceeded expectations.

1792 = 450,000 men

1794 = 750,000 men

- An impressive + intimidating force.

## Army and Society

- Nature of Army changed
- Came to symbolise the Revolution
  - defended the Revolution
  - influential role in Society
- Adopted meritocracy for roles.
- Rapid and well rewarded positions was an attractive opportunity.
- Class nor age was a barrier to promotion. - Generals were often in their 30's.
- Many Generals were from lower ranks = Napoleon.
- Recruits were often politically active and willing to die for the fatherland.
- Defended the nation well and was popular with the people.

## Military tactics

- Moved away from old infantry line technique to mobile column formation - led to Shock + Mobility.
- Horse artillery was introduced in 1791-2

- use of light infantry was developed.
- Small units of 14-16 men (ordonnances) - lived and fought together - self motivated and self-reliant.
- effective due to good discipline.

- Britain was able to consolidate their Empire.
  - They took land from Allies of France e.g. Netherlands - their biggest Rival.
  - Ceylon
  - Cape (SA)
- Retained until the end of the Empire

## Impact of the Revolution Military + Territory

### Territorial impact

- French Revolutionary war changed the map of Europe.
- They annexed a lot of land but all was lost in 1815.

### Permanent changes

- Austria lost Belgium
- Holy Roman Empire was abolished.
- Germany became more amalgamated - Step to unification

## Ideological impact

- Revolution had an impact on Europe ideologically.

### DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANISM

- arguably - most impact.
- Several British thinkers were inspired and wrote about impact (Paine - Wordsworth - Price)
- As French Army went around Europe they set up republics, ended feudalism, seized church land + abolished privilege.

## DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANISM

They were usually overturned when French left but ideas could not be eradicated.

- Sovereignty of the People
- equality before the law
- freedom from arbitrary arrest
- freedom of speech
- meritocracy.

## CONSERVATISM

- The revolution did turn many in France and Europe against Democratic Republicanism.
- The idea of Conservatism evolved.
- Edmund Burke - first serious promoter.  
in his 'Reflections on Revolution in France'. - he defended tradition, religious faith & law change.
- He argued that revolutions led to chaos and tyranny.
- These ideas inspired many -

## Austrian leader -

Metternich - influential in Europe after 1815.

- Regarded revolution as dangerous + conservative reaction lasted into 19thC.
  - In reaction to this other ideas developed.
- \* Several revolutions (1830/48) in Europe

## Impact of the Revolution - Ideological Impact

## LIBERALISM

- Many principles of the Revolution and DRM were redefined as Liberalism.
- Freedom of thought
- Freedom of action
- Freedom of union

Although these were often ignored in France they created a revolutionary myth - which influenced others.

- Liberalism prominent in the 19th Century.
- Revolution influenced others especially in Russia.

## Jacobinism /marxism /socialism

Jacobins defended the revolution and the rights of ordinary citizens.

- This would influence future generations of left-wing idealists.
- Babeuf - promoted core values of later Socialism
  - universal suffrage
  - equality for all
  - Remove oppression

Jacobinism also promoted the idea of Direct Action.

- 1848 - Karl Marx published the Communist Manifesto - owed much to the Jacobins + what is possible when committed individuals challenge the status quo.
- For marxists this ended feudalism in Europe.

## Nationalism

- The Revolutionary leaders had aspired to Create a Unified nation
- Sovereignty lies in the nation (DEM)
- Symbols such as the tricolore, Marseillaise + Celebrations - fete de la Federation - used to rouse patriotic feeling .
- Army life helped promote loyalty to the Nation .
- Important shift in France but...  
by 1871 - many peasants in South + West still had local rather than national loyalties .
- This aroused national feeling in Italy and Germany who would unify by 1900 .

