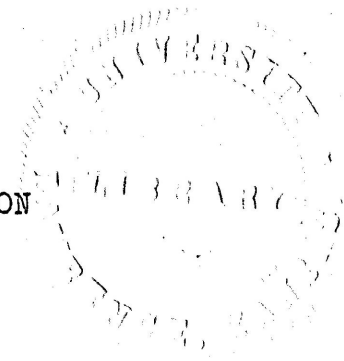


POPULAR PROPAGANDA IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1789-1792

by

Reta Hazel Dielmann



Submitted to the Department of History and the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Approved:

Frank E. Melvin

Department of History

Date 1 June 1920

## CONTENTS

Chapter	page
Introduction	
I Public Opinion during the First French Revolution	
1- Public opinion before the opening of the States General- - - - -	1
a- Influence of Eighteenth century literature- - - - -	1
b- Contribution of the parish priests	2
c- Jefferson's observations as to French public opinion- - - - -	2
d- The pamphlets- - - - -	
2- Opening of the States General and debate over procedure- - - - -	4
a- Effect of the Oath of the Tennis Court on Paris- - - - -	5
b- Effect of the Royal Session- - - - -	6
3- Popular demonstrations in protest against the dismissal of Neckar- - - - -	7
a- Paris insurrection, July 12 to 14- -	7
4- Surrender of privileges- - - - -	8
5- Debate on the constitution- - - - -	8
a- Affair of October 5 and 6- - - - -	10
6- The federations in the provinces- - - - -	11
a- The Fête of the Federation at Paris	12
7- Effect of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy on public opinion- - - - -	12
8- Flight of the king- - - - -	13
a- Republican sentiment- - - - -	13
9- Fête of the acceptance of the Constitution	14

Chapter	page
10- Parties in the Legislative Assembly- - -	15
a- Propaganda instituted by the Girondins- - - - -	15
b- Release of the Chateauxvieux mutineers- - - - -	16
c- The Fête of Liberty- - - - -	17
11- Declaration of War- - - - -	18
12- The king's vetoes and the Fete of the Federation- - - - -	18
II Types of Revolutionary Propaganda- - - - -	24
1- History and tradition- - - - -	24
2- Philosophy- - - - -	25
3- Military achievement- - - - -	25
4- Commemorative	
a- Events of the Revolution- - - - -	26
b- Memorial fêtes- - - - -	27
5- Public instruction- - - - -	27
6- Salons- - - - -	28
7- Cafés- - - - -	28
8- Pamphlets and patriotic clubs- - - - -	30
9- The influence of the orators- - - - -	32
10- Revolutionary journals- - - - -	33
11- The appeal	
a- Logical- - - - -	35
b- Emotional- - - - -	36
III Revolutionary Propaganda in the Theatres	
1- The French theatre at the beginning of the Revolution- - - - -	38
2- Regulations during the Revolution- - - - -	39

3-	Decline in the popularity of the classic plays- - - - -	39
4-	The plays of the Revolution	
a-	The historical plays- - - - -	40
b-	Revolutionary and patriotic plays- -	44
c-	Counter-revolutionary plays- - - - -	44
5-	Effect on public opinion	
a-	Chénier's <u>Charles IX</u> - - - - -	44
b-	<u>Virginie</u> - - - - -	47
c-	<u>Brutus</u> - - - - -	47
6-	Popular demonstrations in the theatres- -	48
IV	The Fêtes of the "First" French Revolution	
1-	Origin of the fêtes- - - - -	52
2-	Plans for the fêtes	
a-	Mirabeau's- - - - -	53
b-	Viénot's report- - - - -	55
3-	Elements of the fêtes	
a-	Symbolism- - - - -	56
b-	Democratic Spirit- - - - -	57
c-	Religious elements- - - - -	58
4-	Kinds of fêtes	
a-	Memorial fêtes- - - - -	58
	Funeral fête of Mirabeau- - - - -	59
	Fête of Voltaire- - - - -	60
	Memorial fête of August 26, 1792	63
b-	Fêtes of the Federation	
	Early fêtes in the provinces- -	64

Demands for a national federation- - - - -	65
Plans for the fête- - - - -	66
Preparations for the fête- - - - -	66
The Fête, celebrated- - - - -	69
The plays in the theatres the night of the Federation- - - - -	70
Fête of the Federation July 14, 1791- - - - -	71
Fête of the Federation July 14, 1792- - - - -	72

### c- Political fêtes

Fête of the acceptance of the Constitution- - - - -	73
The Fête of Liberty- - - - -	74
The Fête of Law- - - - -	75
Fête of the Oath of the Tennis Court June 20, 1792.- - - - -	76
Fête of the Federation July 14, 1792- - - - -	77
Later fêtes of the Revolution- - - - -	79

## V The Contribution of Music and the Graphic Arts to Revolutionary Propaganda

### 1- Music

a- Encouragement to musical composition- - - - -	85
The Conservatory- - - - -	85
The fêtes- - - - -	86
b- Music in the army- - - - -	87
c- Number of songs composed- - - - -	88
d- The songs	
Celebrating events of the Revolution- - - - -	88

<u>Ça ira</u> - - - - -	890
The composition of the Mar- seillaise- - - - -	90
The <u>Carmagnole</u> - - - - -	92
e- <u>La prise de la Bastille</u> - - - - -	92
f- Instrumental music- - - - -	93
2- The graphic arts	
a- The encouragement to art	
Freedom to exhibit in the Louvre- - - - -	93
Prizes and subsidies- - - - -	93
b- Sale of pictures in the Paris shops	94
c- Subjects	
Historical- - - - -	94
Current events- - - - -	94
Pictures of the fetes- - - - -	96
Allegorical pictures- - - - -	96
d- Caricature- - - - -	97
Conclusion- - - - -	101
Bibliography- - - - -	

## INTRODUCTION

The question of the effect of public opinion on the course of history is a pertinent one just now after having emerged from the Great War. Public opinion becomes especially important during great national crises such as war and revolution. The people, however, do not think for themselves; the public mind is slow to act until some outward energy stirs it from its habitual conservatism. At a time when people are bewildered by the devious courses of action open to them, whoever is able to bring the mass of people into some organization has it in his power to direct the revolution. Such leaders must institute the sort of propaganda that will make the strongest appeal to the popular mind. It sometimes happens that people of many shades of belief must be brought into a single party. Hence, the party that can make the most varied appeal will probably gain the most lasting loyalty and the greatest number of adherents.

During the French Revolution there was the greatest activity on the part of both the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the contest for popular approval. The opposing forces were equally uncertain; either might have successfully directed the course of the Revolution. But it was inevitable that the new political leaders would out-wit the already discredited Bourbons; for the popular mind had been trained in that political philosophy of the Eighteenth century which furnished a source of inspiration to the leaders of the Revolution.

It is the purpose of this study to determine how far the development of the French Revolution was affected by propaganda. It will be necessary first of all to take account of the agents and agencies of revolutionary propaganda, to trace its origins and various forms, and finally, to determine how far it met its intended purpose.



## Chapter I

### PUBLIC OPINION DURING THE FIRST FRENCH REVOLUTION 1789-1792

Propaganda of a revolutionary character, when brought to bear upon French thought gave impulse to the creation of public opinion which in turn vitally affected the course of the Revolution. Thus, it is to be seen, that there is an action and interaction of propaganda and public opinion. In each instance public opinion is the effect of propaganda and it becomes in turn a cause for action. Murmurings of discontent, though brief and occasional in all French history began to increase in alarming proportions throughout the Eighteenth century. In fact, open revolution was but narrowly averted again and again. It was a thing not only hoped for by the people but anticipated by the ministers themselves. As early as 1752 the Marquis d'Argenson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed the opinion: "Bit by bit everything is going. Public opinion stirs, it grows, it strengthens, and may bring about a national revolution", Sporadic protest in the form of pamphlets, secretly printed and circulated, resistance to the collection of taxes, and incendiary placards posted in all parts of Paris, came to naught, while the king himself, influenced by the current ideas of "enlightened despotism" sought to quiet agitation by introducing reforms.<sup>1</sup>

The literature of the Eighteenth century, including the works of such writers as Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, and the Encyclopedists undermined the ancient régime in satire and criticism, furnished the principles of political philosophy which created a desire to enjoy all the benefits of a free

country and a regenerated society. Similarly, Revolutionary ideas that could scarcely pass the censorship of the press were freely expressed on the French stage. The plays of Corneille [1606-1684] taught a patriotism not of obedience, but a Roman republican patriotism; Voltaire's [1694-1778] tragedies were filled with praise of love of country;<sup>2</sup> and Napoleon said of Beaumarchais' [1732-1799] Le Mariage de Figaro, "It is the Revolution in action".<sup>3</sup>

The clergy made their contribution, too. Parish priests prepared the way for a new order of things and a new sense of national patriotism in their sermons and daily intercourse with their people. A remarkable discourse entitled "Christian Patriotism" appeared in 1787. The author, a Benedictine monk, attempted to identify existing social ills with original sin and urged a return to civic virtue and to that social equality and fraternity that must have existed in that mythical "age of nature" which was very real to the Eighteenth century imagination. A remonstrance of the clergy in June 1788 reminded the King that his glory was not in his being King of France, but King of the French people.<sup>4</sup>

Thus public opinion which was being created in so many ways led to the series of events which culminated in the summons for the States General. Thomas Jefferson, writing from Paris on March 18, 1789, states, "A complete revolution in this government has, within the space of two years (for it began with the notables of 1787) been effected merely by the force of public opinion, aided indeed by the want of money which the dissipation of the court has brought on".<sup>5</sup>

In 1788 and the early weeks of 1789 the discussions incident to the opening of the States General directed the thought of the whole nation to affairs of public interest and afforded occasion for the expression of opinions on matters of reform. It also aided in preparing men's minds for a great national assembly; for the three orders not infrequently disregarded their distinct social rank and met together to prepare their cahiers. The fraternity attained in these local bodies reflects the attitude of the people in many parts of France toward the outworn social orders and forecasts their union in an assembly that would represent all Frenchmen. Jefferson anticipated such a union of the orders as early as March of 1789. In the letter quoted above he continues: "---- I have hopes that the majority of the nobles are already disposed to join the tiers etat in deciding that the vote shall be by persons. This is the opinion a la mode at present, and mode has acted a wonderful part in the present instance. The court itself is for the tiers etat, as the only agent which can relieve their wants; not by giving money themselves (they are squeezed to the last drop) but by pressing it from the non-contributing orders".<sup>6</sup>

It is evident that public opinion was prepared for Revolution, but it remains to be shown how the course of the Revolution was affected by public opinion and what forces were brought to direct the popular mind. The pamphlets and periodicals that appeared just before the meeting of the States General as for example, Siéyès' The Third Estate, What is it? popularized revolutionary ideas and gave the authors a repu-

tation which secured their election to the States General.<sup>7</sup> The clubs, too, gave impetus to debate on political as well as philosophical subjects. Many of the social clubs which became popular during the Eighties afforded training to the men who were to become the great orators of the National Assembly.<sup>8</sup>

With the assembling of the States General on May 5, 1789, enthusiasm knew no bounds. The arrival of the deputies from all parts of France and the solemn pageantry that attended the opening sessions deeply impressed the populace as well as the deputies themselves. Camille Desmoulins in a letter of May 5, 1789, to his father wrote: "Yesterday was one of the brightest days of my life. One must have been a very bad citizen not to have taken part in the festivity of that sacred day. I think if I had come from Guise to Paris only to see the procession of the Three Orders and the opening of the States General, I should not grudge the pilgrimage".<sup>9</sup>

Public interest and concern in the long debate of May and June 1789, over organization and procedure is evident from the number of cartoons that appeared in contemporary journals; besides, many were printed and circulated on single anonymous sheets. One of these caricatures of the three orders represents a man in the costume of a deputy of the Third Estate extending his hand to a priest, saying, "Shake hands, I knew very well that you would soon be one of us".<sup>10</sup> Another shows a priest standing on one bank of a small stream and a noble on the other. The priest is saying, "Come along, Marquis, follow my example. It is necessary to leap the stream". The States General is represented in one of the cartoons as a mon-

ster with three heads.<sup>11</sup> The Moniteur reprints a picture in which the men of the three orders are seen taking the oath of reconciliation at the altar of their country.<sup>12</sup>

As the conflict between the three orders grew so serious as to seem impossible of settlement, the king was urged to sanction the union of the Estates as inevitable and place himself at the head of the Revolution.<sup>13</sup> Necker had persuaded the king to adopt this policy, when, just the day before the Royal Session was to have been held the Comte d'Artois came into the cabinet and such a violent contest arose between Necker and him that the Session had to be delayed.<sup>14</sup> In the mean time the deputies of the Third Estate, who on June 17, had declared themselves the National Assembly, on June 20, in the famous oath of the Tennis Court had resolved that the members of the assembly would "take a solemn oath never to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances require, until the constitution of the Kingdom shall be established and fixed on solid foundation".<sup>15</sup>

Arthur Young, who was in Paris at the time, gives an account of the effect of the news of the Oath of the Tennis Court upon Paris. "The Palais Royal was in a flame, the coffee-houses, pamphlet-shops, corridors, and gardens were crowded,—alarm and apprehension sat in every eye,—the reports that were circulated eagerly, tending to show the violent intentions of the court, as if it was bent on the utter extirpation of the French nation, except the party of the queen, are perfectly incredible for their gross absurdity.--- It was, however, curious to remark among the people of another description that the balance of opinions was clearly that the national assembly--had

been too precipitate—and too violent—had taken steps that the mass of the people would not support. From which we may conclude that if the court, having seen the tendency of their late proceedings, shall pursue a firm and politic plan, the popular cause will have little to boast".<sup>15a</sup>

The Third Estate had already gained the support of the people and of the gardes Françaises, as well as the sympathy of many deputies of the other two orders. When the Royal Session convened on June 23, it was too late to affect a reconciliation. Not a cheer, not a Vive le roi! was uttered when the king entered his coach to attend the Session.<sup>16</sup> Necker, who showed his injured feeling by remaining away, became the idol of the people. A great crowd assembled before his house with their standard bearing the words Vive Necker, le sauveur d'un Pays opprimé. That night bonfires and fire works were set off before his house, and the people paraded in the streets and visited the houses of the deputies.<sup>17</sup>

The days following the Royal Session were filled with gloom and suspicion. Riots were frequent, people were excited by orators in the streets and parks and ordered to register in their districts and to arm. Outside the city the disturbances spread to such an alarming degree that it was necessary to take all fire-arms away from the people. Dorset, the English minister to Paris, says in his Despatch of July 2, 1789: "The government has directed that employment be found for as many workmen as possible on the roads near this City, in order to draw them off from joining in the disaffection which is industriously encouraged in the Capital, by open discourse and all

sorts of inflammatory publications".<sup>18</sup> The general unrest was heightened on July 11, by the dismissal of Necker. Revolt long brewing actually broke out on July 12 when, news of the dismissal having reached Paris, the ardent young journalist, Camille Desmoulins, jumped upon a chair in the Palais-Royal gardens and urged the crowd to seize arms for their own defense. In order that they might be distinguished, every patriot wore a green leaf in his hat or buttonhole. The crowd then surged into the streets, invaded the Curtius' wax-works and seized the busts of Necker and of the Duke of Orleans to figure in their parade. The next day the mob burned the barriers as a protest against the restrictions on importation of grain. Then followed the attack on les Invalides and the fall of the Bastille. The demolition of an all but abandoned state prison was not in itself significant. Indeed, several of the cahiers had already suggested tearing it down and erecting a statue on the site.<sup>19</sup> But to the popular mind the capture of the Bastille gave the same assurance that the oath of the Tennis Court had given to the upper classes: an assurance of successful resistance to arbitrary power.

The Paris insurrection of July 12 to 14, was only a phase of a greater uprising in all France which was beyond the control of the Assembly. While the Assembly did not openly encourage the "war on the chateaux" the people took the consequent abolition of privileges on August 4, as a legal sanction of their violence. Jaurès in his Histoire Socialiste considers that this step was necessary in order that the bourgeoisie might get the support of the peasants against the court.<sup>20</sup>

Numerous caricatures which appeared after that famous

night of August 4-5, 1789, show the response of public opinion to the surrender of privileges. In one, "The Burial of Monseigneur Abuse", the deputies are represented carrying the coffin covered with symbols of clerical or feudal power such as the crozier, miter, crown, and charter. In the background are the ruins of a feudal castle.<sup>21</sup> Another shows a representative of each social order standing under an immense mechanic's level, which was a favorite symbol for equality in revolutionary caricature. A clever satire is to be found in another caricature in which the orator in the tribune says, "My dear colleagues, the people are suffering. What are you going to give up for them"? The enthusiastic response comes from the privileged classes who are represented as animals and fowls. "Everything", says Siéyès, represented as a turkey with one claw on a bag of gold. "Everything but my tithes". The owl, high on his castle says, "Everything but my tower". The rabbit, waving his sword over a kneeling peasant says, "Everything but my rights over my vassals".<sup>22</sup> Another sketch ridiculing the attempted modification of the decrees providing for the abolition of privileges is entitled "The Sermon on the Mount", with the verse "Beware of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing".<sup>23</sup> One of the most popular caricatures entitled "Times Passed" represented the peasant crushed under a great stone marked *taille*, *corvée*, and *impôts* while the priest and the noble stand on top of the stone. In another cartoon to show the change affected, the same three figures bear the heavy weight together.<sup>24</sup>

The debate on the constitution which gave rise to the first real political parties in the Assembly evoked new means



of popular appeal. For example, the clubs assumed a new importance in affording opportunity for that association and discussion which brought men of common beliefs into some sort of organization and gave initiative and direction for much of the propaganda of the Revolution. The larger clubs conducted open sessions, published their proceedings and founded a number of revolutionary journals. As a consequence, the number of licenses to news sellers more than doubled in the year 1789. Indeed so many papers were sold after the Council of State removed restrictions on the press, that careful regulations had to be made by the Commune. News sellers were required to register and wear a medal with the inscription, "Publicity is the Safeguard of the People", on one side and "The law and the king" on the other.

The violence of the contest over the constitutional provision concerning the veto power convinced the Paris radicals that the Assembly was dominated by the aristocrats and that the king and Assembly must be removed from Versailles. The influence of newspapers and pamphlets as a means of radical propaganda is well illustrated by the events from August 30, 1789, when the first riots began, till October 5 and 6. Mathiez remarks that all the crowd did was friendly compared with the attitude of the press.<sup>25</sup> Camille Desmoulins in his Discours de la Lanterne which appeared in September urged that the king be brought to Paris where he could be guarded. The Révolutions de Paris for September 23, 1789, declared that the Assembly was dominated by the ministry, the nobles, and clergy and was no longer worthy to represent the nation. The Fouet national

sounded the most violent alarm. "Parisians, open your eyes", the appeal ran, "Throw off your lethargy. The aristocrats surround you on all sides, and you sleep. If you do not hasten, you are going to be the prey to servitude, misery, and desolation. Arise!"<sup>26</sup>

There was nothing unusual about the banquet to the Flanders troops, wild tales about which were used to foment the march of the women to Versailles on October 5. New troops arriving in the capitol were often fêted and banqueted by the body guards; besides, men of the Paris national guards were also in attendance. When the king and queen entered the banquet hall, some one suggested that the orchestra play one of the popular Paris street songs but instead, they struck up the air of Blondel's song, "O Richard, O my King!" from Grétry's popular opera, Richard-coeur-de-Lion. There were cheers and expressions of loyalty to the king, to be sure, but reports were greatly exaggerated for no other purpose than to incite the Paris mob. The story that the tricolor was trampled on was untrue, but it had its effect, nevertheless, by having been published in the Courrier de Versailles. That statement aroused the greatest indignation against the men who had treated that sacred revolutionary emblem with disrespect. Scarcity of food was a pretext rather than a cause of the riot. If bread was what the women wanted, the rioting would have ended the night of October 5; but it was continued the next day in order to take the king and the Assembly to Paris. None of the violence accompanying the riot was intended. The political leaders merely accomplished their end by permitting the mob to act on a motive which concealed their

With the king now virtually a prisoner in the Tuileries, the court party was still further embarrassed in the winter of 1789-90 by the conspiracy of Favras, who was convicted of having attempted to raise troops to oppose the new constitution and of having plotted the assassination of Bailly and Lafayette. To remove the stigma of that conspiracy it seemed imperative for the king to give some proof of sympathy with the Revolution. He went to the Assembly, therefore, on February 4, 1790, and took a solemn oath to support the constitution. This act of the king's gave impetus to the "federations" that had been spontaneously occurring in many parts of France and were destined to become a most potent means of propaganda.

Mutinies in the army and peasant uprisings were causing the gravest alarms. There were rumors of brigands and plots for wholesale massacres, as well as fear that reaction was depriving them of the liberties granted by the decrees of August 4. In the absence of any strong central authority, with the doubt and suspicion of those uncertain times, citizens who called themselves patriots joined in common defense against the enemies of the Revolution. After swearing to support the National Assembly, the constitution, and the laws, these citizens drew up addresses to neighboring cities or communes asking their assistance, or sent an elaborate address to the Assembly affirming their patriotism and devotion to their chosen legislators. On January 19, 1790, three hundred young men representing a hundred and fifty thousand men had assembled at Pontivy and had taken a solemn oath "on the altar of their country and in the

presence of the God of armies to remain united forever by bonds of the most perfect fraternity, to oppose the enemies of the Revolution, to maintain the rights of man, to support the constitution, and at the first signal of war to make the rallying cry, 'To live free or to die'."<sup>28</sup> Lorraine provided the center for one of the greatest of these federations. At Epinal in the Vosges on March 7, 1790, a rally was held where two hundred thousand citizens expressed their loyalty to the Assembly, and the militia renewed their oath to defend the constitution and laws against all enemies even with their last drop of blood.

Local federations grew so rapidly that the Assembly became alarmed lest they get beyond control and decided to divert interest from local to a national celebration which would redound to their own honor. A New Year's address to the Assembly from two hundred electors of Bordeaux had declared the 14th of July the beginning of the New Year, the era of liberty, and had asked that a civic fete be instituted to consecrate the day.<sup>29</sup> Out of this suggestion grew the plans for the first national fête of the Revolution. In the celebration of that fête the French were moved by such a feeling of national unity and fraternity as they had never before experienced. The home coming of the fédérés with the banners of their departments that had been blessed in Paris was made the occasion for further celebration and demonstration of loyalty to the Assembly.<sup>30</sup>

During July and August of 1790, a body of laws known collectively as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy passed the Assembly to take measures of reprisal, and on November 27, they passed a law requiring an oath of all the clergy.<sup>31</sup> The whole

matter called forth the most violent invectives in the journals, as well as a number of caricatures against the priests. Two of these aim to show by striking contrast the destiny of the patriotic and of the non-juring priests. The priest who takes the oath has before him the vision of the bishop's crozier. In the other cartoon the non-juring priest, who is reduced to a mere skeleton, wanders over the desolate country asking, "Where shall I go?"<sup>32</sup>

The secret opposition of the king to the Civil Constitution and the clerical oath, as well as the death of Mirabeau on April 2, 1791, who alone of all men might have been able to reconcile the court with the Revolution, determined the king upon a course of resistance. The people, suspecting such a plot, had been gathering about the Tuileries to prevent the king from leaving the palace. On April 18, when the royal family attempted to set out for Saint-Cloud presumably to celebrate Easter service, the crowd forced the national guards to close the gates so they could not go. The king next planned to join his forces at Montmédy, but through his own blundering the plot was discovered and his flight out short at Varennes. He was brought back and the Assembly temporarily assumed Executive functions. Every effort was made to quiet popular agitation, and after the first demonstrations of disgust and indignation, Paris settled down to normal life again. The Assembly, too, assumed a calm attitude which effectively restored public confidence.<sup>33</sup>

The radicals were not to be silenced for long, however. On July 1, 1791, there appeared on every wall in Paris and even in the Assembly a proclamation written by Thomas Paine, inviting

the French people to seize this opportunity of establishing a Republic.<sup>34</sup> Republican clubs and journals multiplied, and a number of pamphlets against royalty appeared. The most radical of the clubs was the Cordeliers which was founded by a group who had seceded from the Jacobin Club. The Jacobins themselves having lost their more moderate members to the Feuillants, who wished to maintain royal power, tended to become more radical. When they had been silenced in the Assembly, they drew up a petition in their own session of July 16, 1791, for the dethronement of the king.<sup>35</sup> It was their purpose to appeal directly to the people, and to this end they took their petition to the Champ-de-Mars on the 17th to be signed by their own members, and by the people. All might have gone well but for the discovery of two men hiding under the altar. This was taken as an evidence of some deep plot, and such violent rioting ensued that the national guards were called. When the crowd refused to disperse, Bailly gave orders to Lafayette to fire upon them. This constituted the so called Massacre of the Champ-de-Mars.<sup>36</sup> From that time the popularity of Bailly and Lafayette declined, and the Jacobins became all the more determined to overthrow the monarchy. Meanwhile the Assembly, becoming the more conservative, in their haste to close their work, suspended the question of the king's flight, thinking that his acceptance of the constitution would be evidence enough of his loyalty.

The acceptance of the constitution on September 13, 1791, gave occasion for celebrations extending over several days. Popular joy is reflected in the press and the cartoons. A most elaborate allegorical representation, for example, portrays

France as a young woman with the scroll of the constitution in one hand and a torch in the other. In the foreground are an anchor, symbol of hope, and cannon balls, symbols of the force that will defend the constitution. Another picture of the time represents the Republic as a young woman being driven from the hall where Louis XVI is about to accept the constitution.<sup>37</sup>

For a time public confidence seemed to be restored, and it was popularly believed that the Revolution was ended.

The hope of the nation thereafter was to be in the Legislative Assembly. The representatives were men of scientific and literary ability, and most of them had had some experience as local officers in revolutionary districts or communes,<sup>38</sup> but since by the action of the Constituent Assembly none who had been members of that body could be elected to the Legislative, the experiences of the Constituent could not be brought to benefit the new Assembly. This threw the great political contest into the clubs whose leaders executed marked influence upon their respective parties in the Assembly and at the same time upon the masses of the people. On the other hand, by reason of the successive emigrations there was little royalist opposition. Nor was there royalist propaganda, for, in anticipation of foreign war, the king and queen were no longer willing to subsidize counter-revolutionary journals and clubs.<sup>39</sup>

It was not the court alone, however, but the artifices of the Girondin ministry and the threats of Girondin orators in the Assembly that brought about the foreign war. The Rolands and the Girondins, generally, wrote long pamphlets and journals to be distributed at the expense of the State under the pretext

of enlightening the people.<sup>40</sup> The theme of their discourse in salon, cafe, or journal was the glory that a foreign war would bring to France. These men were not statesmen but visionaries who affecting to be Romans imitated Cato or Cicero in a most absurd and pedantic fashion. Oratory, with Vergniaud's philippics and Gaudets' sarcasm, became their great weapon in political controversy and, added to their pamphlets, it constituted a powerful means of propaganda.<sup>41</sup>

In the bitter party contest early 1792, Collot d'Herbois, a leader of the Paris radicals, in order to secure their loyal adherence to the Jacobins, determined to arrange a fête that would win the populace, who delighted in such celebrations. For this purpose he spent the six hundred livres that had been awarded him by the Jacobin Club for his propagandist pamphlet *L'Almanach du Père Gerard*.<sup>42</sup> Suitable heroes for the fete were found in the soldiers of the Swiss mercenary regiment of Chateâuvieux whose mutiny at Nancy in August 1790, had been most effectively, though cruelly, suppressed by the lieutenant general Bouillé. Forty-one of the mutineers had been condemned to the galleys for thirty years. When Bouillé's attempt to assist the king's flight became known, the mutiny was believed to have been caused by the knowledge of Bouillé's relations with the Austrians and the liveliest sympathy was excited for the condemned mercenaries.<sup>43</sup> On June 26, 1791, the Jacobin Club of Paris declared their purpose of favoring clemency toward the mutineers. But despite the general amnesty clause of the Constitution of 1791, owing to the opposition of the Swiss government—by whose action they had been tried and punished—



it was not until December 31, 1791, that amnesty was granted the mutineers and even then not without violent opposition.<sup>44</sup> Amnesty having been obtained Collot-d'Herbois next attempted to have them admitted by the Legislative Assembly to the honors of the session. Again a stormy debate ensued, but on April 9, 1792, the regiment of Chateaufieux were admitted, headed by their champion, Collot-d'Herbois, who delivered an address in which he affirmed the innocence of the regiment and their devotion to the country.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of all its glamour of heroism the Fête of Liberty April 15, was to the conservatives nothing more than a fete of assassins and criminals, and they determined to counter-balance the evil effects of its disorder by an even more brilliant spectacle. The Paris national guards had petitioned the Commune to be permitted to hold a memorial fête in honor of J.-G. Simonneau, the mayor of Étampes, who had been assassinated for refusing to levy a tax on bread.<sup>46</sup> The conservatives seized upon this martyr to the law to furnish their hero, and succeeded in passing a decree providing for a public ceremony to be held the first Sunday in June on the Champ de la Federation.<sup>47</sup> Though the Fête of the Law was a dismal failure, the whole affair indicates an alarming tendency to make such public celebrations an occasion to advance the political fortunes of parties and factions.

The momentous issue in the spring of 1792 was war with Austria. The Girondins were eager for war--were in agreement with the court who looked forward to war with very different hopes of what it would attain. In spite of the most violent opposition from the Jacobins the Girondin ministry, headed by

Dumouriez, succeeded in bringing about a declaration of war on Austria on April 20, 1792. The foreign war did not solve internal problems, but served rather to accentuate them. That first ignominious rout of the patriot army caused the greatest consternation. The priests were blamed for the internal disorders as well as the defeat of the army, and it was determined to deport all those who refused to take the oath of the Civil Constitution.<sup>48</sup> Under the pretext of defending Paris, the Assembly also passed a law on June 8, providing for an armed camp to be established near the city. The king's veto of both these measures on June 19, was the cause of the riot and invasion of the Tuileries next day.<sup>49</sup> It was determined to complain to the Assembly about the inactivity of the army and to intimidate the king and force him to recall his vetoes. The master-insurgent, Santerre, assumed the leadership in uniting the mob and directing them through the streets and the hall of the Assembly. The rioting in the Tuileries bears eloquent testimony as to the disorders of which the Paris mob was capable under radical leaders. Instead of discrediting the king, however, the riot of June 20, caused such a reaction in his favor that the Jacobins had to wait for reinforcements before they were able to overthrow the king. Such allies they were to find in the men who came up from Marseilles and other parts of France for the annual Federation of July 14.

The Assembly had declared the country in danger July 11, and every effort was made to rally all forces to the defense of the country. The fête of July 14, 1792, was, therefore, essentially propagandist. It was eagerly anticipated as an occasion

for showing complete unanimity between the king and the Assembly, to rally all France around the constitution, and to inspire courage to repulse the enemies of the country within and without. It was a most fitting time to insure the loyalty of the national guards by renewing the oath of fidelity to the constitution, the king, and the country.<sup>50</sup>

But the radicals also were seeking to exploit the anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille. While the national guards were preparing to leave for the frontier, it was the scheme of the radicals to maintain a camp of the fédérés despite the veto on the law. So many of these fédérés were little better than brigands themselves that the War department asked the departments to send no more of them, while the Girondins continued secretly to urge them to come into the city.

The arrival of the Marseillaise on July 30, gave the insurgents confidence that now they could overthrow the monarchy. The immediate occasion for starting the movement was the announcement of the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto in Paris on August 4. From that it was evident that the purpose of the coalition was to protect Louis XVI and destroy the Revolution. The first measure of defense seemed to be the dethronement of the king. By August 9, the populace was in a frenzy. Everywhere fanatics were preaching to the crowds.<sup>51</sup> The royal family were induced to take refuge with the Assembly just before the invasion of the Tuileries and the terrible massacre. That affair of August 10, assured the Republic for France. No longer claiming allegiance to the king, a new oath to Liberty and Equality was prescribed for the Assembly and officers and came

to be reechoed by the people everywhere—the oath "to be faithful to the nation and to maintain liberty and equality or to die defending them".<sup>52</sup>

This study closes with the fall of the Legislative Assembly, but the question of special means of propaganda was an increasingly vital one in each of the succeeding stages of the Revolution. Radical minority rule in the revolutionary assemblies made the invention of devices for control over the majority party and the populace imperative. At the same time problems and emergencies which accompanied the foreign war and the trials of the king and queen, and the "suspects" called forth the greatest efforts of men of art and politics to disseminate their principles or vindicate their course. Critical financial and economic problems, as well as the spread of civil war, greatly complicated the task of maintaining a united effort toward repulsing the enemies of the country. But despite the ever increasing need for propaganda in the later development of the Revolution, the period of the first French Revolution furnishes quite adequate materials for a study of typical propaganda, since there was at work during that period all the machinery for propaganda and many of the devices for meeting counter-revolution which were merely utilized and elaborated upon by later parties and leaders.

It is evident from the study thus far that propaganda was employed with deliberate aims in view, that public opinion was responsive <sup>23</sup> to the kinds of propaganda employed, and that certain events of the Revolution were definitely determined by the

people, stimulated to action by the propaganda of revolutionary leaders. This being recognized, it is profitable at this point to inquire into the types of propaganda, the special devices for making effective appeal, and to account for the readiness of response from the people.

- 1- Rocquain, The Revolutionary Spirit Preceding the French Revolution, pp. 63-156.
- 2- Aulard, in La Revolution française, vol. 68, pp. 201, 211.
- 3- Lumière, Le Théâtre Français pendant la Revolution, p. 13.
- 4- Aulard, in La Revolution française, vol. 68, p. 312.
- 5- Jefferson, Writings, Ford Ed. vol. V, p. 86.
- 6- Ibid., vol. V, p. 87.
- 7- Stephens, The French Revolution, vol. I, pp. 98-99.
- 8- Rocquain, p. 156.
- 9- Clarete, Camille Desmoulins and His Wife, p. 40.
- 10- Moniteur, vol. I, p. 72.
- 11- Renouvier, Histoire de l'Art pendant la Révolution, vol. II, p. 482.
- 12- Moniteur, vol. I, p. 108.
- 13- Dumont, The Great Frenchman and the Little Genevese, p. 49.
- 14- Staël Holstein Correspondence, No. 116, from Fling, Source Problems on the French Revolution, pp. 149-150; Dumont, p. 55.
- 15- Fling, Source Problems, p. 22.
- 15a-Young, Travels in France and in Italy, pp. 137-138.
- 16- Dumont, p. 53; Duquesnoy, Journal I, 117-123, in Fling's Source Problems, pp. 145-146; Arthur Young, p. 147.
- 17- Dorset to the Duke of Leeds, June 25, 1789. Camden Society, Despatches from Paris, vol. XIX, p. 222; Duquesnoy, Journal I in Fling's Source Problems, pp. 147-148.

- 18- Dorset to Duke of Leeds July 2, 1789. Despatches from Paris, vol. XIX, p. 229.
- 19- Aulard, in La Rev. fr., vol. 68, pp. 323-325.
- 20- Jaurès, Histoire Socialiste, vol. II, p. 777.
- 21- Moniteur, vol. I, p. 273.
- 22- Ibid., vol. I, p. 276.
- 23- Ibid., vol. I, p. 282.
- 24- Ibid., vol. I, p. 280.
- 25- Mathiez, Étude critique sur les Journées des 5 et 6 octobre 1789, in Revue Historique, vol. 69, p. 41.
- 26- Mathiez, in Revue Historique, vol. 68, p. 264.
- 27- Mathiez, in Revue Historique, vol. 67, pp. 241-281, and vol. 69, pp. 41-66.
- 28- Buchez, at Roux, Historie parlementaire de la Révolution française, vol. IV, pp. 310-311; Aulard, in La Rev. fr., vol. 68, p. 503.
- 29- Buchez et Roux, vol. IV, p. 222.
- 30- Aulard, in La Rev. fr., vol. 69, pp. 55-56.
- 31- Duvergier, Collection Complète des Lois, Décrets, Ordonnances, Réglemens avis du Conseil-d'État, vol. 2, p. 59.
- 32- Henderson, Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution, pp. 153-155.
- 33- Dumont, pp. 188-189; Henderson, p. 179.
- 34- Dumont, pp. 190-191.
- 35- Robinet says "On sait que c'est leur pétition [la pétition des Cordeliers] pour la déchéance du roi après sa tentative de fuite et son arrestation à Varennes, et non point celle rédigée par Brissot, la veille, aux Jacobins, qui fut portée au Champ-de-Mars le 17 juillet, lue et signée sur l'autel de la patrie qui devint le prétexte du massacre ordonné par Bailly et exécuté par Lafayette". See Robinet, Robert, et Le Chapelain, Dictionnaire de la Révolution, title, Cordeliers.

- 36- Oelsner, Fragments de ses Mémoires in the Revue Historique, vol. 70, pp. 72-74. Buchez et Roux, from Journal des débats des Jacobins, No. XXVII, vol. 10, p. 445-449.
- 37- Henderson, p. 197.
- 38- Jaurès, Historie Socialiste, vol. II, p. 791.
- 39- Stephens, French Revolution, vol. II, p. 23.
- 40- Dumont, pp. 235-236.
- 41- Stephens, Orators of the French Revolution, vol. I, p. 27. Madelin, The French Revolution, pp. 213-217.
- 42- Archives Parlementaires, vol. 36, p. 227.
- 43- Jaurès, Histoire Socialiste, vol II, p. 942.
- 44- Duvergier, vol. 4, p. 40. Jaurès, Histoire Socialiste, vol. II, p. 942.
- 45- Arch. Parl., vol. 41. pp. 388-390.
- 46- Procès-verbaux du comité d'instruction publique de l'Assemblée législative, p. 278.
- 47- Duvergier, vol. 4, pp. 149-150.
- 48- Madelin, Fr. Rev., pp. 244-245.
- 49- Oelsner, in Revue Historique, vol. 84, p. 87.
- 50- Com. inst. pub., pp. 353-358; Arch. Parl., vol. 46, pp. 234-235 and 383.
- 51- Thiébault, Mémoires vol. I, p. 111.
- 52- Uzureau, in La Rev. fr., vol. 70, p. 442. Hist. Mss. Dropmore, vol. III, p. 463-464.

## Chapter II

### TYPES OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

A study of the propaganda of the French Revolution discloses a surprising variety of types and modes of popular appeal. This is to be accounted for, partly, in the fact that men of variant tastes instituted propaganda, each naturally appealing to people of his own social class or intellectual level. Men like Desmoulins and Marat, for example, found ready response in the crowd, Siéyès appealed to men of reason, and Brissot and the Rolands to sentimentalists. Moreover, French character, the sensitiveness of French imagination, and the high-keyed emotion accompanying the rapid succession of events made the people so responsive to suggestion that clever politicians learned to strike the popular fancy in such a way as to produce the reaction they wished to obtain, whether to incite the people to action or merely to gain their plaudits.

French history and tradition contributed rich store of themes and material for revolutionary propaganda. Henry IV was made the patron of an occasional fête, the hero of several dramas, and his statue figured in processions and ceremonies. Odes and eulogies, which were the popular literary form of the period were especially well suited for historical themes. Charles V, Henry IV, Fénelon, Racine and innumerable other Frenchmen were honored in this way. A drama, Louis XII, the Father of His People, was written by Rousin, honorary captain of the Parisian national guards, and dedicated to the national guards.

The Revolution attached new meaning to the religious



struggles of French history. The massacre of the Protestants in the reign of Charles IX seemed to portend a new Bartholomew for all patriots. Chénier's tragedy, Charles IX, had phenomenal popularity at a time when there was constant fear of counter-revolution or treachery on the part of the court. The struggle against the clergy revived early victims to religious intolerance. Calas, who had been executed on March 9, 1762, for no other reason than his Protestant faith, was made the hero of a revolutionary drama.<sup>1</sup>

The philosophy that had inspired the Revolution became an instrument for promoting it. New editions of Rousseau's works were issued and offered for sale in the Paris shops. Several plays made Rousseau the central figure either as an historic character or as a spirit that observed and approved the progress of the revolution; and patriotic clubs chose him for their sponser and placed his bust in their halls. Voltaire's tragedies, Brutus, and, The Death of Caesar, were never more popular than during the period of the revolution. Both of these philosophers were honored in the fêtes while Voltaire was given the special honor of burial in the French Pantheon. Defontaine was also made the hero of a play in which he spoke at length upon the principles of his philosophy. Two revolutionary plays Le Réveil d'Epiménide a Paris and Momus combine French history and philosophy with classical history and mythology in a most fanciful manner which appealed to French audiences.

French military victories were employed to stimulate national patriotism. The artist, M.-de Rossel, who in 1786 had been chosen by the king to paint the French naval victories of

the War of the American Revolution had undertaken a series of engravings of his paintings, but the project had been interrupted in 1789, by the Revolution. He petitioned the Assembly on December 5, 1791, for funds to recover his losses and carry out his project, but little attention was given him until April of 1792. At that time the Girondins were seeking every means of creating and promoting the war spirit. M. Quatremère of the committee of public instruction rendered the report favorable to granting M. de Rossel a subsidy just five days after the Assembly had declared war on Austria. In urging the measure he said:

"Peindre les faits les plus insignes de cette guerre mémorable, la première que nous ayons entreprise sous l'étendard de la liberté, honorer notre marine, offrir aux jeunes élèves de l'armée navale de grands exemples à imiter, célébrer par de nobles et touchantes images la mémoire de tant d'illustres défenseurs de la patrie, propager par ses leçons oculaires et la théorie et la pratique d'une science dans laquelle il appartient aussi à la France de ne plus vouloir de rival, telle fut l'entreprise dont M. de Rossel accepta la glorieuse, mais pénible exécution!"<sup>2</sup>

The events of the Revolution itself furnished occasion for many a celebration devised for propagandist ends. The recurrence of the anniversary of each day that marked a goal in the Revolution was celebrated in such a way as to inspire patriotism. National fêtes were planned for such anniversaries as August 4, July 14, June 20, and September 22, while less pretentious festivities commemorated innumerable other events.

Memorial fêtes were given in honor of those who had given their lives in the service of their country. Such a fête was celebrated August 5, 1789, in memory of the men who had been killed in the capture of the Bastille, and again on August 26, 1792, honoring those who had been killed in the storming of the Tuileries on August 10. Monuments were erected at public expense to heroes and martyrs of the Revolution. To this end it was determined on April 4, 1791, to complete the cathedral of Saint-Geneviève and dedicate it as a national Panthéon to great Frenchmen.<sup>3</sup> Mirabeau was buried there April 4, 1792, with great pomp, and Voltaire was given the same honor in a brilliant fête of June 1, 1792. Funeral orations, which make up no small portion of the literature of the period, were sure to appeal to the popular mind or national spirit. Revolutionary songs served also to popularize men who had served the cause of liberty. Thousands of medals were struck in honor of men and events of the Revolution and distributed to the deputies and in the departments.

In the earlier stages of the Revolution the aim of propaganda was to proclaim liberty, but men of more sober mind came to revolt against the disorder attending such free doctrine. By September of 1791, the problem of instruction in Revolutionary principles received serious consideration from the Assembly.<sup>4</sup> A universal compulsory system of elementary education was considered the most effective means for furnishing such instruction. New text books in harmony with changed institutions and numerous catéchismes were written for this purpose. Included in many of the educational reports was a plan

for holding meetings once a week where all men and women could hear the constitution and new laws explained by persons especially trained for that purpose, and receive instruction in civic conduct. Since the church was usually the only large building in a community, the need of a suitable place for such public gatherings was met by constructing arenas in each village where civic fêtes as well as the weekly meetings could be held. A law of June 26, 1792, also provided that each commune must erect an altar to the country on which would be engraved the Declaration of the Rights of Man with the inscription, Le citoyen naît, vit et meurt pour la patrie.<sup>5</sup>

Even before 1789, when political philosophy was not permitted to be discussed in public forum, it was the general topic of interest in the brilliant conversations of the salons where semi-official receptions were the occasion for the discussion of every matter of public interest. The salon of Madame Necker became the rendezvous of the ministerial party, the nobles and English constitutional party gathered at the home of Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, and people of literary and artistic taste were attracted to the salons of Madame de Beauharnais and of Madame Julia Talma. During the height of Girondin power it was in the salon of Madame Roland that policies of government were decided upon and measures against their opponents—even riots—were formulated.<sup>6</sup>

Upon a different level yet quite as significant in its influence was the propaganda conducted in the cafés, which were instituted in France in imitation of the English coffee-houses, and which became so popular that agitated groups were always

gathering there to listen to the harangues of the demagogues. The trees in the garden of the Palais Royal had been cut down porticos, with little shops, cafés, and book-stalls had been built there, and these became the center of the gay and restless life of Paris. A reading room established there in 1782 and provided with pamphlets, newspapers, and journals was the cradle of the first Political Club in France; for, with the opportunity for reading, discussion turned to political questions.<sup>7</sup> The idea spread and the Palais Royal became the rendezvous for ambitious politicians who founded clubs there and explained their doctrines to the crowds which surged through the gardens night and day, eager for news from Versailles. The gardes françaises also visited the Palais Royal where they fraternized with the people and joined in their rioting. Arthur Young, who, seeking to feel the pulse of public sentiment visited the cafes of the Palais Royal during his visit to Paris in 1789, commented upon the evidence of the free expenditure of money which was supposedly furnished by the Duc d'Orleans to enhance his popularity and influence.<sup>8</sup> The book stalls of the Palais—and elsewhere in Paris—were also thronged as the cafés, for the French Revolution, was heralded by the greatest deluge of pamphlet literature ever known in history. Mention has already been made of the pamphlets that appeared before the opening of the States General. Political pamphlets as well as social and religious satires were so greatly in demand that printers more than doubled their rates. Arthur Young wrote on June 9, 1789: "The business going forward at present in the pamphlet shops of Paris is incredible. ---Every hour produces

something new. Thirteen came out to-day, sixteen yesterday, and ninety-two last week. ---Nineteen-twentieths of these productions are in favor of liberty, and commonly violent against the clergy and nobility; I have to-day bespoke many of this description that have reputation; but inquiring for such as had appeared on the other side of the question, to my astonishment I find there are but two or three that have merit enough to be known. Is it not wonderful, that while the press teems with the most levelling and even seditious principles, that if put in execution would over-turn the monarchy, nothing in reply appears, and not the least step is taken by the court to restrain this extreme licentiousness of publication? It is easy to conceive the spirit that must thus be raised among the people. But the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal present yet more singular and astonishing spectacles; they are not only crowded within, but other expectant crowds are at the doors and windows, listening a gorge deployé to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harangue each his little audience: the eagerness with which they are heard, and the thunder of applause they receive for every sentiment of more than common hardness or violence against the present government, cannot easily be imagined."<sup>9</sup>

But in the matter of devising propaganda the clubs and patriotic societies far out-stripped all other revolutionary organizations. The clubs admitted people of all stations and thus served to break down social barriers. The sister societies in all parts of France, the intercourse and exchange of addresses established congenial relations and sympathy which profoundly affected the attitude of remote parts of the coun-

try when great crises demanded unanimity of opinion. The Ja-<sup>31</sup>  
cobin Club, or Society of the Friends of the Constitution, was  
the most powerful of these clubs with twenty-four hundred as-  
sociate societies throughout France and with correspondents in  
other lands. A law of October 21, 1790, affirmed the right of  
people to assemble and found societies but, at the same time,  
charging them to observe the laws.<sup>10</sup>

After the Jacobins the most powerful club was the Cord-  
eliers or Club of the Rights of Man. They tended to become  
more radical till they were cut short in their activities by  
the affair of the Champ-de-Mars of July 17, 1791. The arrests  
that followed that event forced them to discontinue their ses-  
sions.

In May of 1790, the Club of 1789 was founded by a group  
who considered the Jacobins too radical. They declared their  
purpose of spreading the true principles of liberty. The lead-  
ers in this club were the Abbé Siéyès, Bailly, Lafayette, and  
Mirabeau. With the growth of the Jacobins, the Club of 1789  
under the name of Feuillants became the refuge of reactionaries.  
The club declined with the decline in the popularity of its  
leaders. The death of Mirabeau April 2, 1791, was a loss from  
which it never recovered. Finally all the things it stood for  
were lost with the event of August 10, 1792, and the club en-  
tirely disappeared.

A more reactionary faction of the Club of 1789 founded  
the Club, Les Amis de la Constitution monarchique. They sought  
to win the populace by distributing bread at a minimum price  
in districts where food was scarce, but the people were not long

to be deceived by such means and more loyally adhered to the radicals. The emblem of the club was a pair of scales exactly balanced, with the cap of liberty in one pan and the crown in the other. This club was associated in its operations with two other counter-revolutionary clubs, Les Amis de la paix and Les Amis du Roi.<sup>11</sup> The revolutionary clubs came to dominate political parties in the revolutionary assemblies. They were particularly active during the Legislative Assembly where there was little party organization. It is interesting to note the opinion of a contemporary Englishman on the influence of the clubs in France. Francis Moore wrote from Paris on August 4, 1791: "You will also remark the dangerous influence which the Clubocratie have acquired--in all parts of the kingdom. This great engine of the Revolution which was without much difficulty put in motion, no power in the constitution will be found competent to stop. Any such attempt indeed would be no less dangerous than unsuccessful, and the authors of that system who have triumphed in its success, must now also submit to the inconveniences attendant upon it, which will probably be felt more and more every day, till at length the Clubocratie become as odious as those of the Aristo and Demo".<sup>12</sup>

It was the associations in revolutionary clubs that inspired the orators of the Assembly and gave them training. Public questions were discussed and debated in the clubs and policies determined upon before the question arose in the Assembly. The orators rarely learned the art of debate. Their speeches were long harangues addressed from the tribune to the whole nation. Many speeches were given by the orators solely



to advance their own popularity. Mirabeau was able to sway the whole Assembly by the power of his oratory, the logic of his argument, and the wisdom of his course. Barnave and Maury in the Constituent also attained some power of debate. The Girondin orators have already been considered in another connection. Oratory as a means of propaganda, however, was not confined to the cafés, the salons, and the Revolutionary Assemblies. The funeral orations and eulogies pronounced at memorial services or in the fêtes inspired Frenchmen with a love of their country and admiration for its great men.<sup>13</sup>

The Revolutionary journals, also, by reason of their wide circulation and great popularity had vital influence on public opinion. It is significant in considering the journals as a means of propaganda to note the large number of men in political life who either founded journals or contributed to them. These papers of the day echoed every range of revolutionary sentiment. The most radical of all was Marat's l'Ami du Peuple which ran from September 12, 1789, until July 14, 1793. No one was safe from the abusive attacks of Marat's pen. He had to remain in hiding much of the time and often print the numbers on mere scraps of paper. The most reactionary paper was Les Actes des Apôtres founded by Peltiér in November of 1789, and continued until November of 1791. In this paper are to be found most of the counter-revolutionary caricatures and a large number of the counter-revolutionary songs. On the other hand, Les Révolutions de Paris reflects the contemporary opinion of the patriots. Mirabeau founded the Journal des États-Généraux which was immediately suppressed. Dorset remarked of

it: "The Journal of the États-Généraux so much calculated to inflame the minds of the People was suppressed on Friday last by an Order from Council. M. de Mirabeau is universally acknowledged to be the Author, and it is supposed that the Bookseller who published it has already received 12000 Subscriptions".<sup>14</sup> The Journal reappeared under the title Courrier de Provence but Mirabeau left a large part of the work of editing it to his two Swiss associates Dumont and Duroveray.

Brissot announced his paper Le Patriote française for April 10, 1789, but he was so closely watched by the police that he was not able to print more than a single issue before the opening of the States General. Both Barere's Le Point du Jour and Loustallot's Les Révolutions de Paris enjoyed great popularity. Camille Desmoulins' Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant was one of the most radical of the Revolutionary journals. It was chiefly distinguished for its violent opposition to the Actes des Apôtres.<sup>15</sup>

Although freedom of the press was guaranteed by an Order in Council in the year 1789, some regulation was made necessary by the number and violence of the journals. A decree of July 31, 1790, made libel high treason. At the time of one of the most heated party contests of the Revolution, a sedition law was directed against the opponents of the government. This law enacted July 18, 1791, just the day after the affair of the Champ-de-Mars, provided that all persons who provoke murder, pillage, arson or advise disobedience to law whether by placards, handbills, or published writings will be regarded as disturbers of the public peace and liable to arrest and punishment.<sup>16</sup>

In the first instance it might seem that the primary purpose of revolutionary propaganda was to appeal to popular emotions and prejudices, but there was a logical argument for attempting and carrying through the Revolution, and thinking men made the most of it. The early debates in the Assembly especially were intended to convince the hearers, since the absence of political parties left the Assembly open to conviction. No less logical were the occasional addresses of the Assembly to the French people or to the army, though there were, perhaps, as many that attempted a mere emotional appeal. On the whole, the logical appeal was primarily for the liberal upper classes and bourgeoisie.

The liberal nobles were eager for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy somewhat after the plan of the English Parliamentary system secured by the Revolution of 1688. The experience of those men who had served in the American War for independence stimulated their desire for a country liberated from absolutism. To these men a large number of pamphlets on subjects of political philosophy were addressed. Economics and politics were the subjects of their serious consideration in their clubs or favorite salons. The natural conservatism of the clergy was broken down, too, by those abbés who became imbued with the philosophy of the salons. To the middle class, whose prosperity had given them leisure for culture and philosophy, liberty and equality of privileges were the watch words of a propaganda to arouse their deepest resentment against a society that blocked their rising to the social scale which their wealth and ability merited.

When the upper classes were not able to effect a peaceful revolution, they had to call upon the mob, who by the strength of their numbers quelled the opposition of the conservatives. To such people the argument of a constitutional monarchy would have had no effect. The revolutionary leaders directed their appeal to the most primitive instinct of self-preservation. People did not think for themselves—they never do—but they acted upon the suggestion of their leaders, and the excitement of the time made them responsive to suggestion.

With such varied classes and interests revolutionary propaganda had to develop on unusual versatility. With all the possible means of propaganda, the arts furnished the greatest source both as to quantity of material and variety of appeal. Certain of these merit special study: dramatic art, as it was employed in the revolutionary theatres and fêtes, music, and the graphic arts. Apparently too much emphasis could not be placed upon the fact that civic virtue is best secured by portrayed example. The theatre, therefore, became a most important means of propaganda.

- 1- Boursin et Challamel, title Calos.
- 2- Com. inst. pub., p. 173.
- 3- Arch. Parl., vol. 24, p. 543, Moniteur, vol. 8, p. 31.
- 4- Arch. Parl., Sessions of September 10 and 11, 1791, vol. 30, pp. 447-563.
- 5- Duvergier, vol. 4, p. 230.
- 6- Stephens, Fr. Rev., vol. I, pp. 106-107.
- 7- Lowell, Eve of the Fr. Rev., pp. 332-333. Taine, Fr. Rev., vol. I, pp. 88-89. Boursin et Challamel, title, Palais Royal. Moniteur, vol. 4, p. 15.

- 8- Arthur Young, pp. 148-149.
- 9- Ibid., pp. 124-125.
- 10- Duvergier, vol. I, p. 423.
- 11- Miles to Mr. Pye, Jan. 30, 1791, Miles, Correspondence on the Fr. Rev., vol. I, p. 205.
- 12- Francis Moore to J. B. Burges, Hist. Mss., Dropmore, vol. 3, p. 153.
- 13- Stephens, Orators, vol. I, pp. 11-25.
- 14- Dorset to the Duke of Leeds, May 14, 1789. Despatches from Paris, p. 197; Fling, Source Problems, p. 74.
- 15- Boursin et Challamel, title, Journal.
- 16- Duvergier, vol. 3, p. 114.

### Chapter III

#### REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA IN THE THEATRES

At the beginning of the Revolution, the theatre was the one institution in France best prepared to become an instrument of revolutionary propaganda. Revolutionary principles had, in fact, been expressed with impunity on the French stage long before such sentiments dared be uttered in public forum. The growth of the revolutionary spirit may, indeed, be traced by the popularity of the plays that expressed sentiments of patriotism, liberty and political philosophy. Beaumarchais' Le Mariage de Figaro which is the embodiment of the revolutionary spirit was played sixty-seven times in the year 1784.<sup>1</sup> It was the most famous satirical piece of the reign of Louis XVI. The hero, Figaro, is full of liberal ideas and takes occasion to tell the court and nobility what the people of the streets think of them. With sparkling wit in his dialogue or soliloquy he attacked the government and social customs. The play was so popular that people dined in the theatre to keep their places for the performance.<sup>2</sup> Before the Revolution plays were permitted or suppressed according to the caprice of the sovereign, but in the reign of Louis XVI certain of the political and social satires had become so popular with Parisian theatre-goers and even with the nobles, themselves, that Louis XVI was constrained to yield to public opinion and give the theatres a degree of freedom even against his own judgment.

With the beginning of the Revolution censorship of the theatre was looked upon as a mark of despotism, and numerous pamphlets were written in defense of liberty of presentation.<sup>3</sup>

Their argument lay in the possible use of the theatre as a means of patriotic propaganda. Freedom of presentation would furnish impetus to men of talent to write plays for the glory of France. Public spirit and loyalty could be fostered in the theatre which would become a school of morals and patriotism and a means of spreading principles of liberty and equality among all people. Chapelier presented arguments of a similar character before the Assembly in his report from the Committee of Constitution.<sup>4</sup>

Freedom of presentation was secured in the law of January 19, 1791, which provided that any person could erect a new theatre and present any public spectacle, provided only, that he made a declaration to the municipal authority. No municipal tax could be levied upon any public performance. One or more municipal officers were to be in attendances at the spectacles, but the national guards could not enter unless public safety was endangered and then only upon the express requisition of the civil officers.<sup>5</sup>

With such broad privileges of presentation many patriotic and revolutionary plays came into vogue, and there was a marked decline in the popularity of works of the great masters of French drama. A study of the number of presentations of the Comédie-Française may furnish a striking example of this fact. In most cases there were fewer presentations of the plays of Corneille, Racine, Molière, Beaumarchais, and even of Voltaire in the decade of the Revolution than in either the preceding or the following decade, and in many instances that number was less than any other similar period of time between 1680 and 1900.<sup>6</sup> The accompanying table illustrates this point.

## Number of presentations during the decade--

	Of the Revolution	Preceding the Revolution	Following the Revolution
Molière	225	671	744
Corneille	49	149	357
Voltaire	157	521	326
Beaumarchais	30	208	133

This comparison is especially significant in consideration of the fact that the classics were given preference over all other plays by the Comédie-Française.

Voltaire's Brutus furnishes a striking exception by reason of its distinctly revolutionary character. It enjoyed fifteen presentations: more than in any previous save two, 1741-1750, and 1760-1770, but it was never again produced by the Comédie-Française. As much might be expected from Beaumarchais' Le Mariage de Figaro, but it was produced only five times during the Revolution, while it was produced one hundred eleven times in the preceding decade and thirty in that following.

It is significant to notice the most popular plays of each of the succeeding years with which we are concerned. In 1789 Chénier's Charles IX was produced twenty-two times in the Comédie-Française, the next year fourteen times and not again till 1799. It was surpassed only by Manteufel's Auguste et Theodore which was presented twenty-nine times. In 1790 Le Réveil d'Épiménide a Paris was produced twenty-six times. In 1791 Harny's La Liberté conquise leads with the same number of presentations.<sup>7</sup>



It is well at this point to look into the plays in order to account, if possible, for their popularity and their influence on public opinion. During two of the four years under consideration the plays most frequently produced had scene and setting in the events of the Revolution of those years. Revéil d'Epiménide à Paris<sup>8</sup> by Carbon-Flins recounts the experience of Epimenide who has the wonderful faculty of falling asleep for a hundred years and waking without having grown old. In 1790 he visits Paris and hears, in the course of the play, the story of the great events and achievements of the Revolution: how the Bastille had been destroyed, the king had left his château at Versailles and to live in Paris, the parlements had lost their powers, and French law had been revised by an assembly of sages so that thought, speech and the press were free, criminal procedure was reformed, and men could choose to follow any craft or art at will. Epiménide having seen all the great revolutions of the world, and having last seen the world as it was in 1690, admired this greatest of all revolutions, and in long philosophical reflections heartily approved the course it was taking.<sup>9</sup> The play was applauded from beginning to end.

La Liberté conquise, or le Despotisme renverse by Harny is laid in a frontier village where the people revolt against arbitrary power and amidst the rolling of drums swear in a most solemn manner to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. Except for the persons and place of action the play faithfully recounts the events of July 12, 13, and 14, 1789. The people received it with the greatest joy, drank deep of its philosophy and on August 10, 1792, re-enacted its scenes in the

invasion of the Tuileries.<sup>10</sup>

Theatre programs showed a very large number of plays with patriotic or revolutionary themes. Among others Le Patriotisme des Françaises; Les Français dans l'île de la Liberté; Trois ans de l'Histoire de France; La Prise de la Bastille, by Parrein; La conspiration manquée, or Paris suave; and Le Club des Bonnes Gens, by Cousin-Jacques, are significant. Augustin et Bayard was also a loyalty play. The opera, Nicodème dans la Lune, or La Révolution pacifique by Cousin Jacques glorified the moderate revolution. It was presented more than a hundred times in the year 1791. When the fédérés came to Paris for the annual federation in 1792, they demanded the production of one of the patriotic plays, Three Years of the History of France, which was presented in response to their request on July 13. The theatre programs show a large number of patriotic plays on all the fête days.

Theatre advertisements also announced patriotic songs or ballets. The Marseillaise, the Carmagnole, Ça ira, military and pastoral music had a favorite place on the programs. Pantomimes enacting historical or revolutionary scenes also frequently appear. Among the most popular of these were La Fête de la Liberté, La Fête du Grenadier, Héros Americain, and L'Enlèvement d'Europe.

Des Dangers de l'Opinion by Laya, a romance showing how society is bound by prejudice appeared in 1790 and became one of the popular plays of that year.<sup>11</sup> In Monvel's Le chêne patriotique a village scene of the Fête of the Federation of 1790 is enacted. The good cure of the village has his people

plant a tree to consecrate the day of liberty. The marriage of the son of a lord to the daughter of a prosperous peasant is solemnized to assure the destruction of class prejudice and the establishment of principles of equality.<sup>12</sup>

A heroic pageant, the Journaliste des Ombres, or Momus aux Champs-Élysées by Audé, also, has for its setting the Fete of July 14. Momus, an exile from heaven wished to remain on earth but the Revolution frightened him out of France, the inquisition drove him from Spain, and slavery disgusted him with Italy. Momus left the earth for the infernal regions where he learned from J.-J. Rousseau that man had recovered his rights and his liberty and from Saint-Pierre that his project for universal peace was to be revived. Voltaire, Calas, and Franklin also appeared on the scene. The whole affair ended with a fête conducted by Joan of Arc at the altar of liberty.<sup>13</sup>

Two plays with Mirabeau for the hero appeared in May 1791 just two months after his death. Mirabeau a son lit de Mort is nothing more than a tableau in which the interest of this statesman in public affairs is shown even to his last moments. L'Ombre de Mirabeau recounts Mirabeau's meeting with Voltaire, Rousseau, Cicero and Demosthenes. The King of Prussia appears on the scene to defend despotism but the play ends with the crowning of Brutus, enemy of kings and of arbitrary power.<sup>14</sup>

Some of the revolutionary plays were merely satirical representations to bring men in public life into ridicule. It was a favorite device to address characters in the court party by plays on the word aristocrat. The Count of Artois received the name aristocrane, Broglie, aristocroc, and the archbishop

of Paris, aristocrosse. In the plays the parodies were but thinly disguised. Every one knew who were meant and took great delight in the ridicule.<sup>15</sup> Other plays had the deliberate purpose of creating enthusiasm for the revolution. These might be based on revolutionary events, which were greatly idealized and given an exaggerated heroism, or were constructed on some phase of political philosophy. Style in the drama was lacking, plots were often weak, and the whole play taken up with long drawn out harangue on some revolutionary principle.

The counter revolutionary party returned the satire in kind. Their plays had one source of strength, that is, the monarchy. The tradition and brilliancy of the monarchy could not but bring applause when presented in their most favorable light. It required a real revolution in the taste of theatre-goers to reject the royalist plays for the mushroom productions of the revolutionary stage. Grétry's opera Richard-coeur-de-Lion which contained the famous song by Blondel, "O, Richard! O, my king!" long remained a favorite among the royalists..

Both the patriots and aristocrats made large use of the historical drama as a means of propaganda. Chénier's Charles IX is the most notable historical drama of the Revolution. The vivid representation of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and the interest taken in it by Catherine de Medici and her son served to discredit the monarchy, especially the queen. It was first presented on November 4, 1789, just two days after Talleyrand's famous speech before the Assembly<sup>17</sup> on the confiscation of church property and tended to crystallize popu-

lar resentment against the church. Gouverneur Morris remarked of it: "It is a very extraordinary piece to be represented in a Catholic country. A cardinal, who excites the king to violate his oaths and murder his subjects, then in a meeting of assassins consecrates their daggers, absolves them from their crimes, and promises everlasting felicity, all this with the solemnities of the established religion. A murmur of honor runs through the audience. There are several observations calculated for the present times, and, I think, this piece, if it runs through the provinces, as it probably will, must give a fatal blow to the Catholic religion."<sup>18</sup>

Ferrière says in his Memoires: "The performance of this tragedy brought a fatal change in the character of the Parisian people. They came forth drunken with vengeance and tormented with a thirst for blood. When, at the end of the fourth act, a tolling bell announces the moment of the massacre, one heard them groan dismally or else cry out furiously: "Silence! Silence!" as though they feared that the sound of the death-bell would not penetrate deeply enough into their hearts and they thus lose some of the sensations of hatred it was intended to encourage."<sup>19</sup>

Camille Desmoulins said of Charles IX, "That play advanced our cause more than the October days".<sup>20</sup> The powerful and lasting impression made upon the popular mind is also to be seen in the allusions to it found in the speeches of the Girondin orators of the Legislative Assembly during the final crisis of the First Revolution. For example, Vergniaud in his speech on the Situation of France on July 3, 1792, said: "The

king has refused to sanction your decree on the religious troubles.<sup>21</sup> I do not know whether the sombre spirit of the Medici and of the Cardinal of Lorraine dwell still under the vaults of the palace of the Tuileries, whether the sanguinary hypocrisy of the Jesuits returns in the soul of such scoundrels, burning to see the Saint Bartholomew renewed. I do not know if the heart of the king is troubled by the ideas of fanatics which are suggested to him, and his conscience misled by the religious terrors which surround him." Vergniaud continues with a warning that Paris must defend herself, that the king has opposed the plan for establishing a camp outside the city. He urges the declaration of the country in danger and points to the coming fête of the federation as the occasion for rallying all forces of France to renew their oath.<sup>22</sup> This speech preparatory to the Fête of the Federation and those other events of that momentous month had its logical culmination in the attack on the Tuileries of August 10, and the fall of the monarchy.

But Charles IX was not the only historical play with a strong Revolutionary bias. The Dutch revolt and the devotion of William of Orange to his country became the theme of Lemièrre's patriotic play Barnevelt. It had been suppressed in 1766 because of its too liberal ideas, but it was well received when again presented.<sup>23</sup> Barneveltdt did not attain the popularity, however, of Lemièrre's Guillaume Tell. French people had, hitherto, shown little sympathy for the struggle of an insignificant number of mountain folk against arbitrary power. The French Revolution, however, and the achievement of French liberty excited new interest in the heroism of Tell.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand certain of the historical plays, Le Siége de Calais, Louis IX en Egypte, and Le Partie de chasse d'Henri IV, were royalist in sentiment. Bouilly's opera, Pierre-le-Grand was very popular in 1790. The favorite stanzas were those sung by Lefort, the friend and minister of the king, in which he relates to the peasants the history of the tsar, and the stanzas at the end of the piece which contained a eulogy to Louis XVI. The Moniteur for January 17, 1790, says, the piece which contained a eulogy "The transports which that last stanza excites prove how the king becomes every day more dear to his people".<sup>25</sup>

But modern history could not compete with classical themes in popular interest. Just as French political philosophy idealized the Roman Republic, so French dramatists drew upon the wealth of Roman history for a portrayal of their ideal of civic virtue and furnished by visual presentation of the Roman Revolution a precedent for their own. La Harpe's comedy, Virginie, which was produced for the first time on January 1, 1790, was played twenty-three times during the year. The theme celebrated the overthrow of the decemvirs and the establishment of Roman liberty. The dramatist of the Revolution did not let historic facts stand in the way of his purpose. For instance, when Rome struggled against Hannibal's opposing forces, the reference was frequently made to kings, tyrants, and aristocrats, though both Carthage and Rome were republics.

Most notable among the plays with Roman themes was Voltaire's Brutus. Parisian audiences received it with the wildest enthusiasm. During the performance they frequently brought the bust of Brutus or of Voltaire on the stage where it was

crowned with the civic wreath or given the cap of liberty.<sup>26</sup> When Brutus was played on November 18, 1790, Mirabeau was proclaimed the protector of the people by the audience.<sup>27</sup> Popular demonstrations were so frequent and so violent that the municipal government warned the public not to bring arms, clubs, or swords into the theatre when Brutus was played.<sup>28</sup>

When Rousseau à ses dernier moments was presented at the Theatre Italien, the bust of Rousseau was brought onto the stage and crowned by artists while the orchestra played the overture to Le Devin du village which had been composed in his honor. All this brought most enthusiastic applause.<sup>29</sup> At a performance of Harny's La Liberté conquise the audience called for the author and gave him the civic crown. Perhaps no other revolutionary play was so popular with Parisian audiences as was this.<sup>30</sup>

A presentation of Iphigénie en Aulide at the Opera became the scene of popular demonstration of another sort. The aristocrats had applauded the chorus, Chantons, célébrons notre reine and had asked to have it repeated. Whereupon the patriots shouted, "No!" Lainez who was playing the role of Achilles tried to calm the stormy debate by explaining that all good Frenchmen ought to love their king and queen. For this speech a crown of laurel was thrown to Lainez from the boxes amidst resounding cheers from the aristocrats. This aristocratic triumph was short-lived, however, for the following Sunday the patriots gathered their forces, attended the theatre and compelled Lainez to throw his crown of laurel on the floor and trample it under his feet. He obeyed, much to the satisfaction of the audience.<sup>31</sup>

There were violent anti-royalist manifestations in the



Theatre Italien when Madame Dugazon addressed her song, "How I love my mistress", to the Queen. Cries arose from the audience, "No mistress! No master! Liberty!"<sup>32</sup> On another occasion when Marton sang: J'aime ma maîtresse à la fureur, turning toward the Queen's box, the people in the boxes joined in the singing, whereupon a cry rose from the patriots: "Long live the nation". The response came: "To the door with the Jacobins! Out with them! We want only honest men here." Words led to blows. The Jacobins were armed with daggers and put a half dozen of the aristocrats out. The next week the royalists tried to avenge their defeat in the Théâtre du Vaudeville where a satire against the author of Caius Gracchus was playing. When the verse "Veut régenter de rois" was reached the patriots registered their disapproval by cries of "Down with the couplet!" The boxes responded: "Down with the Jacobins". The argument was finished with canes and sabres.<sup>33</sup>

Oelsner, a German traveller who observed the events of the Revolution with the greatest interest, expressed the deepest disgust for the rioting in the theatres. "The theatres have become arenas," he said, "and the most peaceful men in the world may be called upon to play the role of gladiator."<sup>34</sup> In fact popular sentiment against the aristocrats became so violent that applause of royalist plays from the boxes was sure to produce a riot. The audiences grew more and more to demand only patriotic plays. They interrupted the performance with patriotic songs such as Ça ira or demanded that some favorite song be sung by the actors.

The whole political contest of the Revolution was, in fact,

taken into the theatres. There enthusiasm reached its highest pitch. The response of the audience was the surest index to public opinion, because all Paris went to the theatres and demanded there the sort of plays that expressed their sentiments. The people registered their protest to the dismissal of Necker by closing the theatres, and again on the day of Mirabeau's death they forced the suspension of all public performances. The theatre was, indeed, a school for revolutionary principles. The plays furnished both the motive for action, and plan, and the Paris crowds made ready response to the lessons, in their actions and attitude toward the passing events of the Revolution.

- 1- Lumière, p. 20.
- 2- Lowell, Eve of the Fr. Rev., pp. 326-330.
- 3- M.-J. Chénier, Liberty of the Theatre, June 15, 1789. La Harpe, Discourse on the Liberty of the Theatre. Millin, Sur la liberté du théâtre, Moniteur, vol. 5, p. 475. Chapelier, and others.
- 4- January 13, 1791. Arch. Parl., vol. 22, pp. 210-214. Buchez et Roux, vol. 8, pp. 322-335.
- 5- Duvergier, vol. II, p. 151.
- 6- Joannidès, La Comédie-Française de 1680 a 1900, Tables XII, XIV, XVIII, and XX.
- 7- Ibid., Table chronologique des pieces, years 1789-1792.
- 8- The programs of spectacles published in the Moniteur announce thirteen presentations of this play for the month of January 1790, alone. Moniteur, vol. 3.
- 9- Moniteur, vol. 3, p. 27.
- 10- Lunel, p. 80. Moniteur, vol. 7, p. 55.
- 11- Moniteur, vol. 3, p. 169.

- 12- Moniteur, vol. 5, p. 76.
- 13- Ibid., vol. 5, p. 156.
- 14- Ibid., vol. 8, pp. 468, 498.
- 15- Lunel, p. 33.
- 16- Richard-coeur-de-Lion was first presented in 1771.
- 17- Arch. Parl., vol. 9, pp. 649-652.
- 18- Morris, Diary and Letters, vol. I, pp. 223-224.
- 19- Henderson, p. 120.
- 20- Lieby, Étude sur le Théâtre de Marie-Joseph Chénier, p. 48.
- 21- The decree against the non-juring priests.
- 22- Stephens, Orators, vol. I, pp. 302-316.
- 23- Moniteur, vol. 5, p. 36.
- 24- Ibid., vol. 5, p. 292.
- 25- Ibid., vol. 3, p. 138.
- 26- Bapst, p. 504.
- 27- Vaissière, letter from Madame de Valtre to De Givry, p. 217.
- 28- Boursin et Challamel, title, théâtres.
- 29- Buffenoir, in La Rev. fr., vol. 70, pp. 513-514.
- 30- Lunel, pp. 80-81.
- 31- Buchez et Roux, vol. 8, p. 276, from La Révolution de Paris, No. LXXIV.
- 32- Lunel, p. 79.
- 33- Oelsner, in Revue Historique, vol. 87, p. 91.
- 34- Ibid.

## Chapter IV

### THE FETES OF THE "FIRST" FRENCH REVOLUTION

It was not in the theaters alone that revolutionary propaganda employed the dramatic appeal. Centuries of admiration for ritualism had trained the French mind in an appreciation of pageantry, - solemn and at the same time dramatic. The church had used this to teach great religious truths: but few modifications, however, were required to make patriotic fêtes of the religious ceremonies. In fact, the first revolutionary fêtes consisted of the time-honored Te Deum for the country as well as the king and of an oath at the church altar to support and defend the nation, the law, and the king. The new songs of liberty were often set to the music of church hymns. It was but a short step from these simple beginnings to the typical Revolutionary fêtes. Remove the altar from the church to a military field, substitute the voice of the whole mass of people for the trained choir, rob the ceremony of none of its solemnity or mysticism, but simply add to it the dance, revolutionary songs, and the roar of cannon, and the fête of the Revolution is achieved.

As a means of propaganda nothing was more openly discussed or more carefully and elaborately planned than the civic and military fêtes. Great hopes were placed in the effectiveness of this appeal to the great mass of people. Almost every committee in the National Assembly at some time became involved in the plans for fêtes, though it was the special task of the Committee of Public Instruction to devise means

for instruction in the great principles of the Revolution as well as in the elements of education. Talleyrand-Perigord in his report on public instruction, September 10, 1791, included a plan for fetes in imitation of the Greeks who celebrated their great national holidays with games.<sup>1</sup> Henry Lariviere on February 25, 1792, again cited the precedent of the Greeks in urging the importance of public spectacles as a means of instruction in public morals.<sup>2</sup> Precedent was likewise furnished by the Hebrews and Romans who devised public ceremonies—feasts and fasts, spectacles and triumphs—for the purpose of celebrating great events of their history and of teaching civic conduct.<sup>3</sup>

Mirabeau was most hopeful of the benefits to be derived from civic fetes.<sup>4</sup> Nothing would more surely secure happiness for all people. The celebrations would foster sentiments of patriotism and fraternity. They would constantly remind the people of great events that had ushered in the new era and cultivate a love of liberty and law. Chénier and Condorcet were scarcely less ardent in their claims for the fêtes as a means of civic and moral education.<sup>5</sup> Mirabeau urged the institution of fêtes for the purpose of inspiring the artistic genius of the French people. Each new ceremony, he argued, required the co-operation of writers, artists, sculptors, and musicians. No higher calling could come to the youth of France than to devote their talent to the spread of revolutionary doctrines.

Mirabeau's plan as presented to the Constituent Assembly

was to arrange a cycle of fêtes running through the year centering about the great revolutionary events. There would be four military and four civic fêtes a year with one great national fête on the 14th of July when every citizen should renew his oath to maintain the unity of the country. The four civic fêtes, the Fête of the Constitution, the Fête of the Abolition of the Orders, Fête of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen, and the Fête of Armament, to commemorate the heroic courage with which the national guards defended the cradle of liberty, were to be held at the four seasons of the year in every department, canton, and commune where local officers would be charged with the task of executing the plans. This would be an occasion for eulogizing those who had been distinguished in the service of their country, and for distributing prizes to students of the colleges and academies. On fête days such comedies and tragedies as would foster enthusiasm for liberty and the public force to protect it ought to be given at public expense in the theaters. The four military fêtes would be the Fête of the Revolution, the Fête of the Coalition, commemorating the conduct of the troops during the summer of 1789, the Fête of Regeneration, to celebrate the reorganization of the army, and the Fête of the Military Oath. <sup>6</sup> Martial music would have prominent place in such a celebration.

It is significant that Mirabeau's report was made upon the eve of the establishment of the Constitution of 1791 wherein the importance of civic fêtes is recognized by the provision that there shall be established national fêtes in order to preserve the memory of the French Revolution to foster fraternity

among the citizens, and to attach them to the constitution,  
 the country, and the laws.

The tendency to emphasize the military element in the fêtes is shown in the report of Viénot before the Committee of Public Instruction on January 20, 1792, at a time when public feeling against Austria was tense and just three months before war was actually declared. Viénot's plan was for a distinctly military triumph. The general would enter the city in a chariot decorated with all the attributes of victory. If circumstances did not permit all his army to accompany him, at least all the regiments would be represented. The general would wear a mantle of the national colors over his uniform. He would be given a sword bearing the inscription, "Given by the country," and if the Legislative Assembly considered him worthy, it might confer upon him the civic crown. Cannon and flags taken from the enemy would figure in the triumph. Officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves by valor in battle or in siege would be rewarded by medals, wreaths, or rings. A painting would be placed in the French Panthéon in honor of the triumph, and a triumphal arch bearing the names of all the regiments would be erected at public expense.

In May of the same year Danton presented a memoir showing how aerostatics could be employed to propagate principles of liberty. The balloon was a recent invention and one of the marvels of science, and it did come to have an important place in the celebrations. A contemporary caricature entitled Bombe nationale shows the patriot army drawn up on the bank of the Rhine river sending a balloon surmounted by an immense cap of

liberty across the river to drop caps and tricolor cockades  
10  
on the Austrian army.

In one way or another nearly all the elements of these various plans were carried out in the celebrations. The purpose of instruction in civic conduct was never neglected whatever the occasion or character of the fête may have been. The oath to live free or die was an essential part of the ceremony. It was required of soldiers and civil officers and echoed by the crowd with resounding cheers.

Nature and the arts and crafts had an important place in certain fêtes of the seasons. Every implement of artist or laborer was laid on the altar of the country to symbolize the devotion felt in the humblest service to society. Industry and especially agriculture, which to the eighteenth century economist was the fundamental industry, was encouraged in the fêtes. Fête days were frequently made occasion for exhibitions of the products of art and industry, and rewards were given to the most deserving.

Their symbolism is an out-standing feature of the French revolutionary fêtes. The vagueness and idealism of the political philosophy of the time made allegory and symbolism a most appropriate means of instruction in morals and patriotism. Force, Virtue, Justice, and Truth were personified. A large number of allegorical characters were, likewise, employed: Liberty appeared wearing a cap or carrying it on a pike, Equality carried a balance or a carpenter's level, the Law upheld the Roman fasces as a symbol of authority. All of these had significant roles in the pageants. The Revolution employed



many other emblems: the open eye, which was the emblem of the Jacobin Club, stood for vigilance, the anchor for hope, the extinguished torch for peace, the sword for justice, and the snake—forming a perfect circle—for unity, while a bundle of arms, the pike, thunderbolts, or cannon balls symbolized the force that would maintain the Revolution. <sup>11</sup> The table of the laws, the constitution, or the Declaration of the Rights of Man were engraved on the altar at which the oath was taken, or engraved on tablets of stone or written in an open book and carried in the procession.

The force of Revolutionary symbolism had taken such hold on men's minds that when by a decree of July 12, 1792, every deputy was required to wear a medal, a lively debate ensued on the propriety of wearing it suspended by a chain, since chains symbolized servitude. The affair was settled by substituting a tricolor ribbon. It is not difficult to imagine how seriously these symbols were taken. There was constant reference to the fact that any emblem of liberty brought confusion upon the enemies of the Revolution.

An explanation of the effectiveness of the fêtes as a means of propaganda is to be found in the great enjoyment the people derived from them. For the ceremony itself was not only pleasing to observe, but large numbers of people actually participated in it. An honored place in the procession was given to soldiers, civil and military officers, veterans of the army, children, students, and widows of martyrs of the Revolution. Noblemen devoted to the cause of the Revolution took their place with the humblest French peasants. Never had

French society realized social equality as it did in the fêtes. In no better way could class distinctions and barriers have been completely obliterated. Banquets frequently followed the ceremonies. Sometimes the crowds were entertained by dancing, illuminations in the parks, or patriotic plays given in the theater at public expense.

While the fêtes of the Revolution never departed so far from their origin in church ritualism as to lose entirely their religious elements, nevertheless, changes quickly crept in. In the earlier fêtes, for example, the minister to the Protestant congregation, as well as the mayor and other officers, took his place along with the village priest. The sacraments of marriage and baptism next became civic ceremonies performed along with the other ceremonies of the fête. The succeeding fêtes, however, tended to become more and more pagan, until eventually all Christian characteristics were abandoned in the worship of Reason and of the Supreme Being.

Although the Assembly customarily participated in the regular church festivals, the celebration of the Fête-Dieu (Corpus Christi) of June 23, 1791, was especially brilliant and more peculiarly revolutionary than religious. When the Assembly appeared in the procession they were greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. The crowd danced and sang Ça ira and other revolutionary songs. After the ceremony the crowd (four thousand had participated in the fête) marched through the hall of the National Assembly and swore fidelity to the law and the nation.

Semi-religious, in origin, were the memorial fêtes which

came to be the appropriate means of honoring those Frenchmen who had rendered special service to their country. The first of these was celebrated August 5, 1789, in honor of the men who had lost their lives in the storming of the Bastille. It consisted of a solemn service and funeral oration by the Abbé Fauchet. The artist Prieur, who devoted his pen to making hasty sketches of events of the Revolution, celebrated this day with a picture of the crowd eagerly listening to the Abbé's address.

13

Two memorial fêtes distinguished the year 1791. The first was in honor of Mirabeau who died April 2. During his illness the street in which he lived was crowded with people eager to get some news of his condition. The loss of this great statesman was deeply mourned. The popular song Ça ira was replaced in the streets that day by the cry Il n'est pas. The people effaced the name of the street Chaussee-d'Antin where he had lived and wrote in its place, Rue de Mirabeau, le Patriote. The municipal officers of Paris and of Versailles decreed that eight days of mourning should be observed. All theaters were closed. The Society of the Friends of the Constitution determined to assist in the burial rites, to resume mourning on April second every year, and to have a marble bust of Mirabeau made with those memorable words of the day of the royal session engraved at its base. On April 4, 1791, Mirabeau was buried with the most spectacular ceremonies of any funeral in France to the time of Napoleon. A battalion of cavalry headed the funeral procession followed by veterans, the national guards,

and drummers. At the sound of muffled drums a deep silence fell upon the crowd. Clergy preceded the remains of Mirabeau carried by the devoted battalion of Grange-Bateliere of which Mirabeau had been commander. The flag of the battalion floated over the coffin. The National Assembly with the officers of Paris, the Society of Friends of the Constitution, the ministers of the king, the Society of 1789, and other clubs and patriotic societies made up the rest of the procession. Immense crowds thronged the streets where the procession was to pass. Everywhere there were signs of the deepest grief. After three hours march they arrived at the church of Saint-Eustache where Cerutti delivered a solemn discourse, recounting the services of Mirabeau as statesman and legislator. The procession then reformed in the same order and took the remains to be placed by the side of Descartes in the French Panthéon.<sup>14</sup>

Scarcely less magnificent was the national fête on the occasion of the removal of the body of Voltaire from Romilly to the Panthéon. This was the first philosophical fête to attract the artists. David designed the hearse, and painters and sculptors appeared in the procession dressed in Roman costume.<sup>15</sup> The immediate occasion for planning the memorial fete was a popular demonstration in the theater at a performance of Voltaire's tragedy Brutus. The greatest admiration was shown for the Roman hero and the French philosopher. On this occasion, when the bust of Voltaire was brought onto the stage, a nephew of Voltaire rose amidst deafening cheers and asked that the body of his distinguished uncle be returned to the city that had refused him burial.<sup>16</sup> The Assembly passed a law to this

effect June 1, 1791, and charged Charon of the Paris Commune with the task of completing the plans. The day before the funeral fête a number of municipal officers went to the border of the department to receive the body of Voltaire. The hearse that brought the sarcophagus was covered with branches of laurel and oak, intertwined with roses, myrtle and wild flowers. Delegations of the national guards and many patriotic societies made up the procession which conducted the remains to the site of the Bastille. There, on a platform that marked the old tower where Voltaire had once been imprisoned, the sarcophagus was left for a day and a night. The great crowds that witnessed the ceremony, after a profound silence, burst into applause. It was a truly impressive sight. The ruins of the old fortress had been entirely covered with green branches and wild flowers. One of the rocks had the inscription: "Receive in this place where despotism imprisoned you, Voltaire, the honor that your country renders you."<sup>17</sup>

The burial in the Panthéon was made a most memorable occasion. People from all parts of France, as well as many foreigners, thronged the streets. The procession was headed by a battallion of cavalry, drummers, and recruits of the national guards. Deputations from the colleges and patriotic societies followed carrying banners with various devices. Citizens of Varennes and Nancy accompanied the portraits of Voltaire, Rousseau, Mirabeau, and Desilles. Palloy led a number of workers who carried the chains and cannon balls they had taken when they demolished the Bastille. Citizens of the suburb of Saint-Antoine accompanied by a young woman who had taken part

in that seige marched under the flag of the Bastille. Citizens carrying the cap of liberty on a pike had on their banner the words: "Of this iron liberty is born." The delegation from the theaters accompanied the statue of Voltaire which wore a laurel wreath. Next came the members of the academies and men of letters carrying the seventy volumes of Voltaire's works. Numerous artists, musicians, and municipal officers marched before the sarcophagus which was drawn by twelve gray horses, four abreast.<sup>17</sup>

The theaters of Paris were hung with festoons and garlands of flowers. When the procession stopped before the Opera, authors crowned the bust of Voltaire and sang a hymn in his honor. At the house of M. Charles Villette, where Voltaire's heart was kept, an inscription over the door read: "His spirit is departed, but his heart is here." While the procession stopped Madame Villette took a wreath of roses from the garlands in front of the house and placed it on the statue of Voltaire. After singing a hymn to Voltaire, written by Chénier and set to music by Gossec, the funeral procession moved on to the Theatre de la Nation. Gossec had selected a fragment of Voltaire's opera Samson, in which Samson urged the Israelites to throw off the yoke of the Philistines and be free, and had set it to music for this occasion. After this was sung the procession finally arrived at the Panthéon.<sup>17</sup>

The fête was witnessed by immense crowds that thronged the streets and watched the procession from the roofs or windows. Everywhere there was enthusiastic applause from the populace,

whose ardor was not so easily dampened as that of Gouverneur Morris whose only comment on the fête is: "It is very poor,<sup>18</sup> and not at all bettered by the rain."

The funeral fêtes for Mirabeau and Voltaire were given as a nation's homage to her great men, but Paris was to witness a memorial fête of quite a different nature. On August 26, 1792, the ceremony in honor of the brave men who had lost their lives on August 10, was plainly intended to fan popular feeling against Louis XVI. Three hundred and fifty thousand men were under arms in Paris. Rumors of disaster, defeat, and treason at the front disquieted the crowds that had gathered for the celebration.<sup>19</sup> A pyramid erected in honor of the victims of August 10, in front of the Tuileries bore the inscription: "Silence, they are at rest!" M. J. Chénier delivered the funeral oration, copies of which were afterwards printed and distributed to the eighty-three departments. A group of women in mourning carried a petition for the dethronement of the king. A huge sarcophagus containing the bodies of the slain was accompanied by patriots whose swords were intertwined with oak leaves. Many revolutionary symbols were used. The image of Liberty as well as the image of Law figured in the ceremony, It was on this occasion that the chorus sang Gossec's terrible hymn, Vengeance, Vengeance Eternal. Indeed, the whole fête failed of its proper memorial effect. There was more display of feelings of vengeance against the monarchy than of grief for the slain. But obviously such was the intended effect.<sup>20</sup>

While many fêtes of Paris had the most far-reaching con-

sequences, there was none more significant than the Fêtes of the Federation, not only for their effect on Paris but also by reason of their national character. It has already been pointed out that the first Fête of the Federation had its origin in the spontaneous federations that took place in all parts of France early in the year 1790. Since an oath to remain faithful to the Assembly, the constitution, and the king and to defend the country against all her enemies was an essential feature of these federations, something of formal ceremony always accompanied the administering of the oath. There is a notable similarity in the ceremony of all these voluntary federations, in whatever part of France they may have occurred, and it is most significant to note the elements of the great national fete that were common to the earlier celebrations.

At Valence on January 31, 1790, between twenty and thirty thousand spectators witnessed the administering of the oath to the national guards. Nine thousand of the guards marched through the gate over which the inscription: Vive la nation, la loi, et le roi! had been placed. The oath was taken at an altar whose four pillars were marked Justice, Liberty, Vir-<sup>21</sup>tue, and Truth respectively. In this early fête are found the features that mark all typical revolutionary fêtes: the procession, the gate in this instance (although in many other fetes there was an arch instead), the altar which was ever present, and the element of symbolism in its four pillars.

At Draguignau on May 30, eight thousand soldiers joined in celebrating such a fête. At Lyons on the same day fifty



thousand men assembled in battle formation at the foot of a pile of rocks fifty feet high at the summit of which stood a colossal figure of Liberty with a pike in one hand, surmounted by a phrygian cap, and a civic crown in the other. <sup>22</sup>

Addresses asking for a national celebration had been sent up from many of the departments but the demands became more insistent until, by June of 1790, federation was the word on everybody's lips. The Commune of Paris took the initiative in formulating the plans for the national federation. One June 5, Bailly appeared before the Assembly with a delegation and proposed a national fête. Charon, President of the Commune, then delivered a most stirring patriotic address from the citizens of Paris to all the French people. "Ten months has passed since that memorable day when from the walls of the Bastille there arose a sudden cry: Men of France, we are brothers. We are free; we are brothers; we have one country. ... Our brothers of Brittany and Anjou said: 'We are not Bretons, we are not Anjevins.' We say: 'We are not Parisians, we are all French!' ... You swore to be united by indissoluble bonds of a sacred fraternity, to defend even to death, the constitution of the state, the decrees of the National Assembly, and the legitimate authority of our kings. Like you we took that solemn oath; we will make these federations a national confederation. What a beautiful day of alliance of all the French that will be! A fraternal people, the regenerators of the country, a citizen king, all rallied for an oath at the altar of the country. What a new and imposing spectacle for the nations. ... It was on the 14th day of July that we won

our liberty, on the 14th of July we shall swear to protect it. At the same hour, on the same day over all France a cry will resound: Long live the nation, the law, and the king! That will be the rallying cry of the friends of the country and a terror to its enemies."<sup>23</sup>

In response to the request of the delegation that the Assembly determine the mode of representation at the fête, a decree was introduced by Talleyrand, the bishop of Autun, and promptly passed by the Assembly, providing that each district should elect one man for every two hundred to represent them at the federation and should bear the expense of sending the deputies. Each regiment of infantry and artillery should send the officer who had been longest in the service. The King's regiment and the Swiss guards should send double the number of delegates allotted to the others.<sup>24</sup> Two laws of the preceding month had fixed the date and place of the federation.<sup>25</sup> The plans were finally completed in the law of July 11, 1790. The king would take command of the national guards. The President of the Assembly would accompany the king and sit at his right. The oath of February 4 was prescribed for the deputies and the king's oath fixed by the law. "I, citizen, King of the French, swear to the nation to employ all the power delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state in maintaining the constitution and providing for the execution of the laws."<sup>26</sup>

The most elaborate preparations were made for the Federation. Alexandre de Lometh thinking it was not fitting to

have the eyes of visitors offended by the sight of statues of royalty moved that all such emblems of servitude should be destroyed. The motion was amended by Prieur to provide that only the inscriptions be effaced and replaced by recitals of heroic actions.<sup>27</sup> Men and women of all stations of life set to work at the almost insuperable task of preparing the great amphitheatre on the Champ-de-Mars. Camille Desmoulins described the field as an "ant-hill of a hundred and fifty thousand workmen, trundling wheelbarrows and digging the ground in a workshop forty thousand yards in width and whose length went clean beyond sight."<sup>28</sup> A contemporary print shows Louis XVI himself with pick in hand, helping with the work.<sup>29</sup> Many pictures were sketched on the spot and reprinted in the journals of the day. Men came from neighboring parishes led by their mayor and priest. Students, artists, and actors joined the workmen. The greatest enthusiasm and the best of good humor prevailed. Groups of workmen marched to work with music or drums, carrying banners with various inscriptions: Live free or die; For the country, it costs us nothing; The slaves of despotism are surrounded by the children of liberty. Franklin's expression Ca ira was suggested by La Fayette to the street-singer Ladre as the theme of a song for the workmen. Ladre promptly composed the words to the new country dance called Carillon national by Becourt.<sup>31</sup> In the evening the laborers marched through the streets of Paris singing their revolutionary songs, or gathered in cafes to drink the health of the nation:

A bridge of boats was built on the river by which one

approached the Champ-de-Mars. At the entrance of the field was the triumphal arch with three great passages. The facade on the side facing the river bore four inscriptions in French: "The country or the law can alone arm us, we will die to defend it and live to love it;" "dedicated to the works of the Constitution we will complete it;" "the poor under that defender need no longer fear that the oppressor will rob them of their heritage;" and, "everything offers us a good omen, everything encourages our desires; you have removed agitation far from us and fulfilled our wishes." The south facade had four other inscriptions: "We no longer fear you, subjected tyrants, you who oppressed us in a hundred different ways;" "The rights of man were disregarded for centuries, they have been re-established for all humanity;" "The king of a free people is the only powerful king;" and, "If you cherish the liberty you now have, show yourselves worthy to preserve it." The king's pavillion, decorated with blue and gold flags, was provided with a throne for himself and places for the president of the Assembly, the queen, the dauphin and the princesses of the royal family. Special places in the amphitheatre were reserved for the invited guests and for the fédérés from the provinces.

In the center of the field was the altar, rising to a height of more than twenty-five feet. The four flights of stairs leading from the four sides up to the altar each led to a platform on which incense was kept burning. One facade of the altar bore the inscriptions: "Mortals are equal; it is virtue alone which makes their difference;" and, "The law in

every state ought to be universal; mortals, whoever they may be, are equal before it." On the opposite face were angels sounding trumpets with the inscription: "Think of three sacred words which will guarantee this decree. The nation, the law, and the king. You are the nation; the law is your will; the king is guardian of the law." On the side of the altar facing the Seine was the figure of Liberty with all the attributes of abundance and agriculture. On the side facing the throne was carved the oath of federation.

At six o'clock in the morning the civil and military fédérés assembled on the boulevard of the Temple and formed that long procession which lasted four hours. The immense crowds cheered as the procession passed on the way to the field of federation. The crowd lost none of its enthusiasm in spite of the rain which continued to fall till four o'clock in the afternoon.

When the procession reached the field and all the deputations had gone to their assigned places there was a salute of cannon. Then the deputies brought their banners to the altar to be blessed, and the bishop of Autun celebrated mass. La Fayette took his oath at the altar, then the President of the Assembly and all the civil and military fédérés. When at length the king took his oath, cries of "Long live the nation, the king, the National Assembly" rose from all sides. A solemn Te Deum closed the fête. Nothing disturbed the general tranquility but the prolonged applause and the cries of "Long live the nation," "Long live the king." Never had there been such enthusiasm. The patriotism and devotion of the French people was un-

questioned. The great principles of the Revolution were secured in the sanction of the king and the solemn oath of all his people.  
32

In all parts of France on that day and at the very hour the voice of the people was raised in solemn vow to sustain the Constitution with all their power. The plans of the fêtes were essentially alike. Each village had its altar of more or less pretentious design. Loyalty to the nation, the law, and the king were expressed in the same order throughout the country.  
33

The royalist press indicated that their cause was threatened. It was evident that the majority of the people looked upon the fete as the celebration of their victory over royalty. The ministry had no power to contest the acclamations of twenty million people.  
34

The fete of the Champ-de-Mars did not end the celebration, however. Paris was illuminated that night, and crowds thronged to the theatres to see the patriotic plays. Bailly had given secret orders that no incendiary plays were to be given in the theatres that night. The fédérés of Marseilles wanted especially to see a performance of that famous historical play, Charles IX by Chénier. Both they and a deputation from the district of Cordeliers besought the actors to present the play only to be assured that they had orders not to play it. However, a second deputation of Cordeliers and the fédérés of Marseilles called at the house of the principal actors and persuaded them to render it.  
35

The opera, Louis IX in Egypt by Lemoyne, royalist enough to please the narrowest partisans, was cheered by an enthusiastic audience much to the disgust of the patriotic journal,

Revolutions de Paris, which declared the sentiments of the play entirely opposed to the principles of the Constitution. The Theatre de la Nation showed Momus aux Champs-Élysées, a national heroic pageant, which ended with a fete at the altar of the country. The Theatre Italien had on its program Le chêne patriotique the plot of which centered in a fête of a frontier village similar to the fête of the federation in Paris and supposed to have taken place at the same time. Other theatres played Paris sauve, La fête du Grenadier, and La Fête de la Liberté. The Arque du Palais Royal announced a great national fête with pastoral and military entertainment, ballets, music, dances, and marches. They promised most brilliant lighting and elaborate interior decoration.

The most brilliant fetes continued in Paris for several days. On the 15th at the Mauxhall d'été the Captive of the Bastille was enacted by the French guards and the conquerors of 1789. The affair ended with illuminations and le Temple de la Liberté, erected on the ruins of the fort. Two fêtes were celebrated on the 18th, one on the Champs-Élysées with brilliant illuminations, the other a water fête on the Seine above the Pont Neuf.

The second anniversary of the day of liberty was celebrated in a manner less pretentious than on July 14, 1790. On the 13th, the Revolution was commemorated by the singing of a Te Deum followed by a patriotic oration by M. Hervier. The cantata Pris de la Bastille by Désaugiers met with great success in the theatre that night. The next day the municipal officers, deputies of the sections, the national guard of Paris, and a committee of twentyfour members of the National Assembly met at

the old site of the Bastille and marched to the Champ de la Federation where the bishop of Paris celebrated mass and a number of musicians played the Te Deum. That night by order of the municipality all the houses of Paris were lighted.<sup>39</sup>

The whole affair had gone off rather quietly. Buchez and Roux say of it: "Almost all of the patriotic journals maintain an absolute silence on the second anniversary of the capture of the Bastille."<sup>40</sup> With the burning question of the dethronement of the king before the people there was no such fraternity as in the celebration of the previous year. The Jacobins who most violently opposed the conservative attitude of the Assembly celebrated the day in their own way. Oelsner describes one of the Jacobin banquets. "...the face of liberty became smiling and roseate, it breathed confidence and love; from the Pyrennes to the Alps, from the Mediterranean to the ocean, duchess and seamstress danced, hand in hand. In the history of the world there had never been such a great spectacle of fraternity. ... Never had Europe seen such a republican banquet as that of the Jacobins. With each bottle they emptied a potentate fell from his throne, and they emptied many."<sup>41</sup>

After the fete the disgruntled patriotic societies assembled from day to day at the altar of the country in the Champ de la Federation to listen to the harangues of radical orators. Processions, red flags, and banners with patriotic inscriptions were common in the streets. The agitation became more heated till it ended in the affair of the Champ-de-Mars of July 17th.<sup>42</sup>

By the time of the third anniversary of the capture of the



Bastille the fêtes had taken a character very different from the purpose of the first federation. In the succeeding months of the year 1791 and the early part of 1792 the fêtes became an instrument of various political factions. The fête of the promulgation of the Constitution on September 18, 1791, was the highest achievement of political fêtes. The celebration continued for several days. The bishop of Paris ordered a Te Deum to be sung in every church and public prayers to be offered for the State. A decree of the Assembly provided for a national fête to be celebrated on September 18. In the morning of that day, the mayor and several officers called upon the king to congratulate him upon bringing this great happiness to France. The municipal officers accompanied by the national guards marched to the Champ de la Federation and deposited the book of the constitution on the altar of the country. The event of promulgation of the constitution was announced by the firing of thirty cannon and the prolonged cries of Vive la nation! The combined choruses of the Opera and of the Theatre de la Nation then sang an ode to France.<sup>43</sup> At four o'clock the ceremonies were continued at the Champs Élysées. A balloon with symbols of liberty rose over the city much to the delight of all the spectators. At night the city was illuminated and a fête was celebrated on the site of the Bastille. The king and the royal family attended the illuminations and were greeted everywhere with cries of Vive le roi! Vive la reine! Vive la nation!<sup>44</sup> Only royalist plays were to be seen in the Paris theatres that night, La Partie de chasse d'Henri IV by Rozoy, Grétry's opera Richard coeur-de-Lion, Henry IV a Paris, and

Le Siège de Calais were received with great applause by the Parisian audiences.

Two political fêtes of the year 1792, the Fête of Liberty, and, the Fête of the Law, deserve to be studied together by reason of their relation in time and character. Both were devised for partisan purposes, both seized upon chance martyrs for their central figures. The young Parisian radical, Collot-d'Herbois, called his celebration the Fête of Liberty in order to insure his obtaining the sanction of the Assembly for it. How the released galley-slaves became the heroes of this fête has already been related.<sup>44a</sup> A play appeared in the French theatre just when Collot-d'Herbois was making his greatest efforts to secure the release of the Chateaufieux mutineers.<sup>45</sup> This play La Marche de Bouillé was intended to excite sympathy for the condemned mutineers. The mayor went out to meet them and conduct them into the city. About a hundred of the national guards besides a great crowd of men, women and children carrying banners, pikes, caps and other emblems of liberty joined in the procession. The Declaration of the Rights of Man engraved on tablets was carried by four men; other citizens carried busts of Voltaire, Rousseau, Franklin, and Sidney; young women carried the chains of the Swiss of Chateaufieux; while a group of old men followed with the keys of the Bastille. A galley accompanied by forty virgins was taken in this procession to the Statue of Liberty where the flags and emblems of liberty were placed while the crowd and the Swiss soldiers joined in the popular dance, the Carmagnole. Spectators in the streets

and on the housetops had greeted the procession with the greatest enthusiasm and prolonged cries of Vive la Liberté! and Vive la nation!<sup>46</sup>

The Moniteur commented upon the happiness, good order, and fraternal feeling at the fête and suggested that it be celebrated every year as a means of education for the people.<sup>47</sup>

However opinion of this fête was not so uniformly favorable as the above accounts seem to imply. Even though they did not disturb the good feeling of that day, the opponents of the fête were at the same time determined upon what they considered a most effective retaliation in kind. Dupont de Nemours, who had most violently opposed the Fête of Liberty, was given charge of arranging a celebration that would dazzle the Parisian populace. The Legislative Assembly had already decreed that a monument should be erected to J.-G. Simonneau, mayor of Étampes, in recognition of his heroic defence of the law. It was to be a triangular pyramid, in the Egyptian style with the inscriptions: "My life is in your hands. You may kill me, but I will not fail my duty," and, "The French nation, to the memory of a magistrate of the people who died for the law."<sup>48</sup>

This law, passed by the Assembly on March 18, 1792, brought the martyr, Simonneau, to the attention of the conservatives as the most suitable hero of a fête of the law contrasting forcibly to the fête in honor of mutineers and assassins. Accordingly a law providing for the fête was passed May 12, 1792.<sup>49</sup>

It was to be a national fête attended by a deputation of seventy-two from the Assembly and magistrates and national guards chosen by the people. Roucher wrote the song, Le triomphe de

la Loi which Gossec set to music for the fête, and M.-J. Chenier wrote the Hymne a l'Egalite. The fête, however, was a dismal failure, attended for the most part by discontented and disappointed politicians. Gouverneur Morris, who was in Paris at the time and who usually attended the public fêtes, did not take the trouble to go to see this one. The Moniteur for the day scarcely takes any notice of the affair. <sup>50</sup>

June 20, 1793, was seized upon for the next partisan demonstration that was to pass under the name of a fête. An invitation was issued through the Moniteur to all friends of liberty to express their civic sentiments by joining in the ceremony of planting the tree of liberty on the third anniversary of the Oath of the Tennis Court. <sup>51</sup> The tree of liberty had already begun to take an important place in revolutionary symbolism. People expressed their civism in the planting of the mai, dancing, drinking, and singing the popular song Ça ira. <sup>52</sup> The appeal for an elaborate celebration of this popular ceremony was sure to meet with ready response from the mob, who did not object to joining in this fête, designed by the Girondin party to intimidate the king who just vetoed certain of their pet measures. On the 19th of June the Assembly granted permission for the fete. The next morning Roederer, the director of the department, came to warn the Assembly that, in violation of the law against carrying arms, a mob of armed petitioners were approaching. He said he had no doubt that the majority were coming to do homage to the Assembly and celebrate a civic fête but he warned them that public peace was threatened and order must be maintained against the enemies

of the Revolution. While the Assembly debated upon the course to be taken, the mob clamored at the doors and, during their long wait, by chance the tree was planted in the garden of the Capuchins. The planting of the tree of liberty was really a very small part of the day's events. The mob surged through the hall of the Assembly and then through the Tuileries where they heaped insult upon the king and queen but were not able to force Louis to recall his vetoes.

The situation intensified by this incident led all parties to look forward to the approaching Fête of the Federation in order to make of it a means of forwarding their partisan ends. There was a strong conservative party, who looked upon this as an occasion for quieting radical unrest and showing all France the harmony that existed between the king and the Assembly.

One of the strongest appeals to logic and reason is to be found in the Invitation à la Concorde written by the well known patriotic writer, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. It was printed and posted all over Paris on July 12th and afterwards distributed in the departments. Saint-Pierre opens and closes the address with the words: "The Nation, the Law, and the King." "It is for these that the French are fighting," he says. "Every man, woman, and child will rally around the altar to swear to support them." He hurls invectives at those who disturb the common purpose. "Citizens, listen," he says. "Your arms and your oaths will turn against you if the Constitution, which assembles your batallions, does not also unite your hearts. ...

Birth made you Provincals, Bretons, or Normans; but discord has made you Feuillants and Jacobins." He charges the people not to let posterity say that fanaticism had ruled the assemblies, and inspired revolt against the king and country. There are many admirable citizens in the clubs but "if the will of a club can offset the will of a nation, if a petition can abrogate a law, if a popular insurrection can overrule royal power, all is lost: for other clubs, other petitions, other insurrec-<sup>54</sup>tions will follow in succession till monarchy becomes anarchy."

But while the conservatives were thus trying to make this a patriotic celebration, the Girondins meant to seek opportunity for protesting against the dismissal of their ministry, and the Jacobins hoped by the added strength of the fédérés to be able to overthrow the monarchy completely.

A series of decrees passed early in July outlined the plan for the fête. The expense, not to exceed twenty-five thousand livres, was to be paid from the public treasury. Palloy's suggestion for laying the first stone for a column of liberty on the site of the Bastille was accepted and a<sup>55</sup> delegation of sixty men appointed to attend the ceremony.

At six o'clock in the morning the procession formed in the usual order. Six sections were headed and followed by military officers, drummers, and national guards. Each section carried a banner with such inscriptions as "Liberty won, July 14, 1789," "Liberty or death," and "National sovereignty." The Declaration of the Rights of Man, a model of the Bastille, and the Sword of the Law were carried in the procession.

Eighty-three tents for the eighty-three departments were arranged on the field, each floating a tricolor banner.

Eighty-three trees had been planted in the center of the field each with a tricolor ribbon, and cap of liberty. At some distance from the altar a tree was hung with all the symbols of feudalism. On the opposite side of the altar a memorial pyramid covered with cyprus and laurel was erected to the "citizens killed on the frontier." The incense on the altar burned in the national colors.

During the ceremony the orchestra played hymns to liberty, to the law, and to national sovereignty. Chénier and Gossec had again collaborated in preparing the music for the fête. The hopes in this fête were scarcely realized. While it was outwardly conducted in the best of order, there was a great deal of uneasiness about the whole affair. The early fédérés who had straggled into Paris were so disorderly that an order had to be issued to the departments to keep their federes at home. The queen had so feared assassination that she induced the king to wear a breast plate under his coat. This was the last public function Louis XVI attended. When he mounted the altar to take his oath Madame de Stael remarked that he went as if to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice. After his oath the king was asked to set fire to the tree of feudalism, but he refused with dignity, saying that in France feudalism was destroyed by law and not by fire.

Although this study is limited to the period of the "first" French Revolution, some mention must be made of the significant features of the fêtes of the Republic. Much larger sums were voted from the public treasury than the earlier assemblies had dreamed of. The element of mysticism, always found in the

Revolutionary fetes became more prominent during the years 1793 and 1794. Allegorical characters such as Equality, Liberty, civic Virtue, and Victory continued to have significant roles, as well as, Republic, Youth, Age, and Rights of Man. Every occasion was seized upon to inspire courage and patriotism.

The pageantry of the fêtes was well suited for many kinds of celebrations. It could be made solemn, gay, or patriotic. All classes of people could enjoy the brilliancy of the processions and ceremonies, and many could take part. Men played their civism in the fetes as upon a stage and thereby became imbued with the great lessons of political freedom.



Footnotes.

- 1.- Arch. Parl., vol.30, p.476.
- 2.- Ibid., vol.39, p.76.
- 3.- Ibid, vol.38, pp.375-394. Charles-Alexandre de Moy, Feb. 10, 1792.
- 4.- Ibid., vol.30, pp.526-533. On Sept. 10, 1791, Mirabeau set forth his arguments for the fetes in an elaborate report on public instruction.
- 5.- Ibid., vol.57, pp.541 ff. Chénier rendered a report on memorial fêtes on Jan. 23, 1793. To have men of talent, like Chénier, interested in the fetes insured their becoming truly artistic in dramatic form.  
Com. inst. pub. pp.188-246. Condorcet also approved of the fetes as a means of instruction in his report on education read before the Assembly on Apr.20 and 21,1792.
- 6.- Report on education. Sept. 10, 1791, Arch.Parl., vol.30, pp.526-533.
- 7.- Duvergier, vol.3, p.341.
- 8.- Com.inst.pub., p.91.
- 9.- Ibid., p.302.
- 10.- Jaurès, Histoire Socialiste, vol.2, p.1201.
- 11.- cf. Renouvier, vol.2, pp.392-400.
- 12.- Oelsner, in Revue Historique, vol.68, pp.71-72.
- 13.- Moniteur, vol.1, p.305. Duvergier, vol.1, p.264, law of Aug. 1, 1789 provided for the fete.
- 14.- Moniteur, vol.8, pp 24,26,42. Buchez et Roux, vol.9, pp 366-406. Vaissière, Lettres d'"Aristocrates" pp.283-284.
- 15.- Renouvier, vol.2, p.417.
- 16.- Bapst, Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre, p.504.
- 17.- Moniteur, vol.9, pp.107-108. Buchez et Roux, vol.10, pp.455-60. Lunel, Le Théâtre et la Revolution, p.76. Vaissiere, pp.297-298.
- 18.- Morris, Diary and Letters, vol.1, p.430.
- 19.- Moniteur, vol.13, p.573. The Moniteur places the blame for these disquieting rumors upon the aristocrats.

- 20.- Renouvier, vol.2, p.419. Henderson, pp.268-270.
- 21.- Buchez et Roux, vol.4, p.393.
- 22.- Ibid., vol.6, p.274, from the Courrier de Lyon. Aulard, in La Rev.fr., vol.68, p.518.
- 23.- Buchez et Roux, vol.6, pp.275-277. Arch. Parl., vol.16, pp.117-118.
- 24.- Duvergier, vol.1, p.209. Law of June 10, 1790.
- 25.- Aulard, in La Rev.fr., vol.68, p.510. Laws of May 15, and May 17, respectively.
- 26.- Duvergier, vol.1, p.338.
- 27.- Arch. Parl., vol.16, p.376. Buchez et Roux, vol.6, pp.290-291.
- 28.- Claretie, Camille Desmoulins and His Wife, p.95.
- 29.- Henderson, p. 135.
- 30.- Moniteur, vol.5, p.96.
- 31.- Pierre, Les hymnes et chansons de la Révolution, p.480.
- 32.- Moniteur, vol.5, pp.129-131. Morris, Diary and Letters, vol.1, p.337. Morris remarks upon the solemnity of the moment when the three hundred thousand spectators echoed Lafayette's oath.
- 33.- Aulard, in La Rev.fr., vol.69, p.36. Aulard says that he has never found a register of the deliberations of any municipality where a patriotic fete of July 14, 1790, was not mentioned.
- 34.- Buchez et Roux, vol.6, pp.383, 396, from Révolutions de France et de Brabant. This is the expression of one of the patriotic journals of the day. Madelin, a most recent writer on the French Revolution, is of the opinion that the Fete of the Federation was "on the whole favorable to the king" rather than to the Assembly. Madelin, Fr.Rev., pp.149-150.
- 35.- Buchez et Roux, vol.6, pp.400-401, from L'Anni du Peuple No.CXCII, p.3.
- 36.- Ibid., vol.6, pp.389-391, from Révolutions de Paris, No.53 and 54.
- 37.- Moniteur, vol.5, p.120. Program of Spectacles.
- 38.- Ibid., vol.5, p.188.

- 38a.- Boursin et Challamel, title, Camp de Jallés. In imitation of the patriotic federations certain counter revolutionary federations were formed in various sections of France. One of the most notable of these was a federation of nobles and refractory priests who formed a camp in September 1790, for the purpose of opposing the decrees of the Constituent. Under the pretext of celebrating a fete of federation they assembled twenty-two thousand men, besieged the chateau of Jalles and conducted a counter-revolutionary government. On September 7, the Assembly annulled the decrees they had issued and prohibited all federative camps. The national guards put down the insurrection in February 1791.
- 39.- Ibid., vol.9, p.129.
- 40.- Buchez et Roux, vol.10, pp.460-461.
- 41.- Oelsner, in Revue Historique, vol.70, p.70.
- 42.- Buchez et Roux. vol.10, p.447. Arch.Parl. vol.28,p.526.
- 43.- Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, p.212.  
Pierre is of the opinion that this was the Choeur patriotique which Gossec had composed for the funeral fête of Voltaire.
- 44.- Moniteur, vol.9, pp.693-695, 709-710.
- 44a.-See above, Chapter I, pp.16-17.
- 45.- Stephens, Fr.Rev., vol.II, pp.58-61.
- 46.- Buchez et Roux, vol.14, p.120, from the Journal universel No.878.
- 47.- Moniteur, vol.12, p.138.
- 48.- Com. inst. pub., p.153. Duvergier, vol.4, pp.86-101.
- 49.- Duvergier, vol.4, pp.149-150. Com. inst. pub., pp.278-279.
- 50.- Morris, vol.1, p.536. Moniteur, vol.12, p.602.
- 51.- Moniteur, vol.12, p.698.
- 52.- M. Lefebvre d'Acy to A.M.Vanlerberghe, June 17,1792. Vaissière, p.462.
- 53.- Arch.Parl., vol.45, pp.364 and 411-419.
- 54.- Revue Historique, vol.70, pp.319-323.

55.- Duvergier, vol.4, pp.246, 316, 247.

56.- Revue Historique, vol.70, pp.325-330.

## Chapter V

### THE CONTRIBUTION OF MUSIC AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS TO REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

While the fêtes of the Revolution were the distinctive type of propaganda, all the arts were made to contribute to them and were thereby given encouragement. Of all the arts, music was most essential to the celebrations and great impetus was given to musical composition. It is estimated that three thousand songs were composed during the period. In order to stimulate musical composition prizes were offered for patriotic songs. The Conservatory was established to train musicians to play the new patriotic songs<sup>1</sup> and to teach them to soldiers and students. It was urged that such an institution would create for France a national music and influence national character as music had done for the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> While musicians in all parts of France dedicated their talents to the Revolution, it was the musicians of the national guards of Paris who were most active in promoting interest in music and showing its value as a means of propaganda.<sup>3</sup>

The demand for music for special fêtes was met by a number of compositions offered by the most capable musicians and poets. In 1790 Gossec composed a chant with orchestra accompaniment, Te Deum<sup>4</sup> and Domine salvum.<sup>5</sup> Chénier urged that all the people should take part in the singing. For this purpose he composed Le chant du 14 juillet<sup>6</sup> which Gossec set to music. Though this was not sung at the first fête of the federation it became popular by reason of its use on many other occasions. Chénier also wrote the Hymne a la Liberté<sup>7</sup> for the celebration

of the Fête on July 14, 1792.

The return of the Swiss regiment of Châteauevieux and the anticipation of the Fete of Liberty, in April 1792, inspired the Ronde nationale and the Choeur à la Liberté. Here again Chenier wrote the words which were set to music by Gossec. The second of these especially illustrates the regard of the French for their new found deity, Liberty.

"Premier bein des mortels, ô Liberté chérie!  
 Liberté, que notre Patrie,  
 Reconnaisse à jamais tes lois!  
 Descends des cieux, Viens embellir ta fête!  
 Que les palmes couvrent ta tête,  
 Reine des peuples et des rois,  
 Ennemis des tyrans, commencez vos cantiques,  
 Brûlez l'encens sur son autel!  
 Et que vos mains patriotiques  
 Couronnent son front immortel!"<sup>8</sup>

The Fête of the Law, June 3, 1792, which followed the Fête of Liberty was the occasion for the composition of two songs by Roucher, one of which, Le Triomphe de la Loi, in honor of Simonneau, mayor of Étampes, was arranged for chorus and orchestra by Gossec.<sup>9</sup> It was a simple chant with the words

Salut et respect à la loi!  
 Honneur au citoyen qui lui reste fidèle!  
 Triomphe à tous français qui sait mourir pour elle!  
 Salut et respect à la loi!

Chénier's Hymne à l'Égalité, though it had been written a year before was set to music by Catel for the same occasion. It was

It was not always affairs as imposing as a national fête,<sup>87</sup> however, that inspired new compositions. Any chance gathering of patriots in cafés or in the streets might end in composing a new song or at least a parody. Street singers attracted great crowds with their songs in praise of men in public life, of the heroism of French soldiers, or of civic virtues.

Very early in the Revolution it was suggested that patriotic and revolutionary songs be taught to the men in the army.<sup>10</sup> Many of the songs had distinctly military themes. When war was declared French soldiers marched into battle, singing the songs that had been sung in the theatres, the streets, or at the fêtes. The Committee of Public Safety sent special Representatives on Mission to the camps to teach new patriotic songs. In the trying days of reverses the French soldiers never forgot to sing.

In a study of music as a means of propaganda it is significant to note that the most critical years of the Revolution produced the greatest number of songs. Not less than five hundred and ninety songs were written in 1793 and seven hundred in 1794. Besides these two years 1792 produced the greatest number of songs, a few more than three hundred and twenty-five, the year 1791 produced three hundred, 1790, two hundred and sixty and the opening year of the revolution only one hundred and sixteen. The decline of interest in the composition of songs after 1794 is as striking as the rapid increase in the number of compositions before that year. In 1799, ninety songs were written and in 1800 only twenty-five.<sup>11</sup>

While some of the songs were arranged for quartet or chorus, by far the larger number were composed to be sung in unison

to melodies simple enough for every one to sing. The variety of themes is no less remarkable than the number of compositions. Many events of the Revolution were celebrated in song. The election of the deputies from Metz to the States General on April 15, 1789 inspired a song, the union of the Three Orders in June 1789 several others, the Oath of the Tennis Court, the Royal Session, the formation of the national guards, and the abolition of privileges became the theme of not one but many songs.<sup>12</sup> A forecast of terror in the Revolution may be seen in the popularity of the songs La lanterne merveillense and La Guillotine as early as 1789. The Parisian mob were so intoxicated with their ideas of liberty that their only argument with opponents was to hang them on the nearest lamp bracket. The frequent cry À la lanterne probably suggested this song La lanterne merveillense. The guillotine song is to be accounted for in the suggestion of Dr. Guillotine before the National Assembly on December 1, 1789, for a simple and humane mode of ridding France of all her enemies. The Assembly received his vivid description of the instrument and his enthusiastic explanation of its advantages with such roars of laughter that the session had to be suspended. The debate on the guillotine in the Assembly was echoed in the streets in the songs "Guillotine, Médecin, Politique"--- and "Monsieur Guillotine, Ce grand médecin---"<sup>13</sup> The royalist journal, Les Actes des Apôtres, printed a number of counter-revolutionary songs, many of which were written in honor of some noble or bishop. Two of these "The Farewell of Favras to his children", and "Favras at the hour of his death" are of special interest.



The event of 1790 that was celebrated in the largest number of songs was the Fête of the Federation. Patriotic songs, songs to the Altar of the Country, and songs on the oath of fidelity make up this number. Lafayette was honored in several of the songs; others were directed against the clergy and the court. When the constitution was accepted in September 1791, many song writers made the praise of that instrument the theme of their songs while others honored the Constituent Assembly or the Rights of Man.<sup>14</sup> In the year, 1792, war songs and patriotic songs were most popular. Of these the Carmagnole and the Marseillaise deserve special study.

The story of the origin of the popular song Ça ira has already been told in connection with the description of the Fête of the Federation of July 14, 1790.<sup>15</sup> After the Federation everybody was singing Ça ira:

"Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!

Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse repète:

Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!

Malgré les mutins tout réussira.

Nos ennemis confus en restent la,

Et nous allons chanter Alleluia.

A ça ira, ça ira, ça ira.

Quand Boileau jadis du clergé parla,

Comme un prophète, Il a prédit cela;

En chantant ma chansonnette

Avec plaisir on dira:

A ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!<sup>16</sup>

The song became immensely popular. Many pamphleteers made Ça ira the title of their writings. A picture of the time shows Louis XVI with the words, Ça n'ira pas written beneath, but behind him is the young girl, Liberty, with the words Ça ira beneath her picture.<sup>17</sup> Innumerable parodies were written on the song, at one time it was,

"Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,  
Les démocrates à la lanterne----"

and at another, "Les patriotes à la lanterne----"<sup>18</sup>

But, ça ira was not sung in the streets alone. Couperin, organist to the king, composed variations for it which came to be played on even the most solemn occasions. It was sung at the Fete of Liberty, the Fête of the Law in 1792, at the Fêtes of the Federation until 1795, and at occasional fêtes until the Year VIII.<sup>19</sup>

The year 1792 gave to France the Hymn that has become the marching song of all her armies as well as the expression of the patriotism of her people. When the news of the declaration of war against Austria and Prussia reached Strassburg, there was greatest enthusiasm among the soldiers of the Rhine. The story goes that on the night of April twenty-fifth Dietrich the mayor of Strassburg entertained a number of guests at dinner following a patriotic ceremony of the afternoon. In the midst of the drinking the talk turned to the subject of the approaching conflict. Stirred with patriotic zeal the guests joined in the popular song Ça ira, which did not, after all, seem suitable to men of their musical education. Dietrich lamented the fact that France had no patriotic hymn and, turning

to Rouget de Lisle, a young army engineer in the party, he said, "Come, young patriot, you are a poet and a musician, make us a song that can be repeated on the march, in the barracks, in town and country". After the party broke up for the night, the young De Lisle returned to his room and pacing the floor all night composed the words and music with his violin. The result pleased Dietrich so well that he invited all his guests of the night before to hear the new hymn. Madame Dietrich copied it and sent it to all her friends. De Lisle called his composition the March of Luckner's Army. The phrase "Aux armes, citoyens", was probably suggested by the proclamation of the Society of Friends of the Constitution. "Aux armes, citoyens, l'étendard de la guerre est déployé--- Qu'ils tremblent, ces despotes couronnés--- Marchons! soyons libres jusqu'au dernier soupir et que nos vœux soient constamment pour la félicité de la Patrie et le bonheur de tout le genre humain."<sup>20</sup>

The hymn was sung frequently in Strassburg and copies were sent to Paris, Schlestadt, and Bale but it did not become popular until the Marseillaise made it their marching song on their way to the Federation at Paris in July. The Hymn is believed to have been first sung in Marseilles by a company of volunteers on the occasion of a military banquet June 22, 1792. With the arrival of the troops from Marseilles in Paris the Hymn sprang into immediate popularity. Ça ira gave place to the new hymn. Les Révolutions de Paris for September 20, tells how great crowds gather every evening around the statue of Liberty in the Tuileries to learn the song from the street singers. Grétry in a letter to De Lisle says that the song is popular

everywhere and has come to be demanded in all the theatres. At Valmy and Jemmapes it was the strains of the Marseillaise that won the victory for France. The Minister of War had the Te Deum replaced by the Marseillaise and by a law of 26 messidor III the Convention made it the national hymn.<sup>21</sup>

La Carmagnole which also appeared in 1793 was popular as a dance as well as a song. The origin is not clear though Pierre believes it to have originated in the village of Carmagnole in Piedmont and to have been learned there by the French regiments. It became very popular in the army, but it was not a distinctly military song. So many parodies, one of the most famous of which was Madame Veto, came to be written to the music that it was suited to every occasion.<sup>22</sup>

The cantata La prise de la Bastille by Désaugiers was composed to be sung on the occasion of a thanksgiving service in Notre Dame. It is in the classic Greek style with a leader and chorus. The overture is descriptive of the confidence of the people in their minister. The citizen, who has the place of leader in the cantata, announces that the minister is exiled, whereupon the chorus of people responds "Wretched that we are". The citizen continues: "Take courage and fight. You have been called unto liberty".<sup>23</sup> The chorus again responds with "To arms!", and "God help us!" The citizen continues: "The Lord rejects the counsel of princes. We will destroy that odious fortress. March on!" During the siege of the Bastille, the orchestra plays martial strains and upon indicating the fall of the drawbridge the people raise the chorus: "Victoire! Victoire! Long live the king and liberty". The cantata became extremely

popular and received high praise in the journals of the day.<sup>24</sup>

Most of the instrumental music comes later than 1792 but a few pieces of quality and popularity fall within this period. The Danse nationale composed by Deshayes was popular on the concert programs.<sup>25</sup> Lemièrre the author of Guillaume Tell composed Le Tombeau de Mirabeau, les Patriote, for the piano and dedicated it to the French people.<sup>26</sup> Medleys of national airs were popular. The outstanding achievement in musical composition was the March lugubre by Gossec, composed for a memorial fête to the citizens who fell at Nancy. It was one of Gossec's most remarkable compositions, rich and melancholy, with a variety of harmonies little used at that time.<sup>27</sup>

While the French Revolution gave great stimulus to musical composition, it was not as obviously for propagandist ends as was the encouragement of the graphic arts. The painting and engraving of the period were completely absorbed in Revolutionary subjects.<sup>28</sup> By the law of August 23, 1791 the Louvre was opened to all artists, whether French or Foreign, and consequently, there was the greatest rivalry in the annual exhibitions.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, special prizes or rewards for patriotic works were given from time to time. A law of September 17, 1791, provided that in order to encourage the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving a hundred thousand livres should be appropriated annually for prizes of which seventy thousand would be awarded for historical subjects.<sup>30</sup> The Assembly voted funds to the artist Rossel, by way of encouragement and reward for the engravings for his naval battles of the American Revolution and David was given funds from the Public Treasury for his Serment

du Jeu de Paume which had been the great triumph of the Salon of 1791.<sup>31</sup> The Assembly also gave orders for pictures to be distributed among the deputies and the departments. This became an important means of propaganda also under the Convention. When the women artists led by Mesdames Moitte and Pajou presented their jewels as a patriotic gift to their country, the Assembly ordered that this patriotic deed be transmitted to posterity by means of a physionotrace by Quenedry.<sup>32</sup>

Besides the encouragement to artists given by the Assembly there was great demand in the Paris shops for portraits and Revolutionary pictures. In the haste to supply the demand innumerable anonymous wood engravings were offered for sale in the shops or printed in journals, on placards, or auctioned in the streets.<sup>33</sup> The art of the Revolution produced a great number of portraits. Several artists devoted their entire time and talent to this work of propaganda. Levachez, De Laplace, Mercier, and Lambert produced numerous small portraits which became very popular for tapestries, to adorn buttons, or to be fashioned into jewels which women wore around their necks as a mark of civism.<sup>34</sup>

During the Revolution historic subjects were very popular. David's Brutus and Peyron's Death of Socrates won great success in the Salon of 1789.<sup>35</sup> Both classical and French History furnished subjects for artists. The Conspiracy of Catiline, The Battle of Calais, Horace, and Henry IV and Louis XVI appeared in the galleries.

But current history was making subjects so rapidly that many artists produced revolutionary as well as historical pic-

tures. In fact, this was one of the important ways of spreading the news of the day. Work was hastily done in such sketches. The praise of critics for the artists of the time is to be interpreted as praise of their patriotism rather than of their art.<sup>36</sup> With the opening of the States General many pictures began to appear and their number increased with the succeeding events. No one has been able to estimate how many sketches the first Fête of the Federation produced.<sup>37</sup>

Jean-Michel Moreau has a number of sketches of the early events of the Revolution. Among them are The Opening of the States General, The Oath of June 17, 1789, The Oath of the Tennis Court, and The Fall of the Bastille.<sup>38</sup> Helman, David and Duplessis-Bertaux also made sketches of these events. The events of July 1789 are celebrated in several pictures: Camille Desmoulins on the Table in the Garden of the Palais Royal, by Duplessis-Bertaux,<sup>39</sup> and Paris Guarded, by Prieur,<sup>40</sup> are the most interesting of these, besides the numerous sketches of the capture of the Bastille. Prieur's picture of Paris Guarded is a sketch of an agitated group making their way through the streets of Paris on the night of July 12-13, 1789. One of the Patriots carries a torch, another a drum, and others are armed with staves and guns.

There is in the Moniteur a remarkable picture of the group of men who assembled habitually in the Café Foy in the garden of the Palais Royal to get the news of the day. This day the word was brought from Versailles that the Assembly had abolished privileges on August 4. While the men receive the news with expressions of delight Siéyès, who, it will be remembered,

opposed the measure most strenuously, is seen turning away from the group in disgust.<sup>41</sup>

A number of pictures of the events of October 5-6, 1789, are to be found in the Moniteur.<sup>42</sup> One cannot help noticing that the artist has made no effort to idealize the character of the mob that marched to Versailles to ask for bread. In one of the pictures they are led by a banner with the words Du Pain.

The very elaborate representation of the ceremony of blessing the flags of the national guards, in a picture that fails to disclose the artist's identity, must have deeply affected the Parisian patriots who placed such confidence in their citizen soldiers, much more the ceremony itself in the cathedral of Notre Dame.<sup>43</sup>

Each of the fêtes of the Revolution produced a number of pictures. Among those of the Fête of the Federation of July 14, 1789, are several of the work on the field, views of the field, the triumphal arch, the altar of the country, costumes of the fédérés, and portraits of Bailly and Lafayette. Many artists assisted in planning and executing the funeral fete of Voltaire, and Prieur painted an elaborate picture of the procession. Pictures of the Fête of Liberty, the Fête of Law, the Third Federation, and the memorial fête of August 26, 1792, also appeared.<sup>45</sup>

But the true inspiration of Revolutionary art was not in the sketches of scenes and events but rather in the allegorical and mythological studies. In this form of art Prudhon excelled. His masterpiece represented Wisdom and Truth descended to earth.<sup>46</sup>



The allegorical characters that became popular in the fêtes and on the stage were also prominent in the pictures. The declaration of the country in danger July 11, 1792, inspired one of the most beautiful pictures of the period. It represents the people offering their most valuable possessions to France. Women are urging their husbands to go to war, or laying their jewels on the altar of the country.<sup>47</sup>

Political caricatures which had appeared throughout the Eighteenth century multiplied in the reign of Louis XVI and during the Revolution. They were aimed against the aristocrats, the clergy, the royal family, and men in public life.<sup>48</sup> Some account has already been taken of the cartoons of the three orders and the clergy. A number were also directed against the emigres. "The Return of an Emigre" pictures the despair of the nobles upon their return to France. This particular emigre is lean, hungry and ragged.<sup>49</sup> A very effective counter-revolutionary cartoon shows the kings of Europe and the Comte d'Artois at a game of nine pins. The Comte d'Artois at his first play throws over every one of the nine pins which have the heads of the Girondin leaders; Vergniand, Gaudet, Condorcet, Brissot, and others.<sup>50</sup>

On April 5, 1792, when the question of the declaration of war on Austria was uppermost in men's minds, there appeared a cartoon showing the dangers of war. The Constitution represented as a young woman is riding in a cart drawn by horses whose heads are figures of war. They are urged on toward a deep abyss by Famine, Rage, Despair and Injustice.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand we find a cartoon entitled "The Attack on the Constitution",

which shows how invincible France is. On one side of the Rhine is the great rock "Liberty" which the combined efforts of clergy, nobles, and foreign kings are not able to assail. They observe it in despair from across the river or in their attempt to scale it fall into the stream.<sup>52</sup>

One can readily understand from the number of pictures and cartoons that were sold in the shops and that appeared in such popular journals as Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant and the pamphlet entitled Le Almanach de Père Gerard that they must have had a most potent effect on public opinion. In this way art augmented its contribution which was always recognized as essential to conducting propaganda in the fêtes and pageants of the Revolution.

- 1- Lavissee et Ramband, Histoire general, vol. 8, p. 615.
- 2- Com. inst. pub., p. 70.
- 3- Pierre, Musique des fêtes et ceremonies de la Revolution francaise, p. VIII.
- 4- Ibid., p. 1.
- 5- Ibid., p. 13.
- 6- Ibid., p. 14.
- 7- Ibid., p. 17.
- 8- Ibid., p. 351.
- 9- Ibid., p. 357.
- 10- Moniteur, vol. I, August 9, 1789.
- 11- Pierre, Hymnes-et-chansons, p. 34.
- 12- Ibid., pp. 458-468.
- 13- Ibid., pp. 469. Pierre notes the speech of Dr. Guillotine on December 1, 1789. He read a report on the penal code on that day Arch. Parl., vol. 10, p. 346 but his sug-

gestion for the use of the instrument that came to bear his name was made Jan. 21, 1790. Arch. Parl., vol. 11, p. 279. Moniteur, vol. 3, p. 196.

14- Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, pp. 458-583.

15- Above, Chapter I, p.

16- Pierre, Musique des fêtes et ceremonies, p. 477.

17- Jaures, Histoire Socialiste, vol. I, p. 585.

18- Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, pp. 488-489.

19- Ibid., 477-491.

20- Bonnet, in La Rev. fr., vol. 69, pp. 60-61. Thiébauld, vol. I pp. 109-110. Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, pp. 223-274.

21- Bonnet, in La Rev. fr., vol. 69, p. 61.

22- Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, pp. 554-560.

23- Galatians 5; 13. The cantata is based on verses of Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Galatians.

24- Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, pp. 187-191.

25- Moniteur, vol. 4, p. 48.

26- Ibid., vol. 8, p. 148.

27- Pierre, Hymnes et chansons, p. 841.

28- Duplessis, Wonders of Engraving.

29- Duvergier, vol. 3, p. 231.

30- Arch. Parl., vol. 31, p. 58.

31- Duvergier, vol. 3, p. 402. Law of September 28, 1791.

32- Renouvier, vol. I, pp. 7-8. cf. Moniteur, vol. 3, p. 6.

33- Renouvier, vol. II, p. 381.

34- Ibid., vol. II, p. 451. Moniteur, vol. I, ad passim.

35- Renouvier, vol. I, p. 138.

36- Ibid., vol. II, p. 14.

37- Ibid., vol. II, p. 417.

- 38- Renouvier, vol. II, p. 313.
- 39- Moniteur, vol. I, p. 170. Renouvier, vol. I, p. 153.
- 40- Moniteur, vol. I, p. 173.
- 41- Ibid., vol. I, p. 299.
- 42- Ibid., vol. II, pp. 13, 26, 42.
- 43- Ibid., vol. I, p. 308.
- 44- Ibid., vol. 9, p. 107.
- 45- Renouvier, vol. II, pp. 417-419.
- 46- Renouvier, vol. I, pp. 91-101, vol. II, p. 112.
- 47- Henderson, pp. 244, 246.
- 48- Renouvier, vol. II, p. 481. Moniteur, vols. I and II  
ad passim.
- 49- Jaurès, Histoire Socialiste, vol. II, p. 809.
- 50- Moniteur, vol. II, p. 346.
- 51- Ibid., vol. 12, p. 38.
- 52- Ibid., vol. 10, p. 466.

## CONCLUSION

It was the purpose of this study to determine how far public opinion was influenced by propaganda in the French Revolution and to what extent events were affected thereby. From the evidence produced, it is fair to conclude that the course of the Revolution was at many times affected by public opinion acting in response to propaganda. It is true that much of the ardor displayed for the Revolution seemed spontaneous in its origin; but, as has been shown in this study, public opinion had been created long before the year of the Revolution by philosophy and literature, and in the clubs, theatres, and salons. The addresses of loyalty and patriotism to the Assembly, the voluntary contributions for the public debt, the federations which seemed spontaneous are all to be accounted for in the preparation of men's thought through a long period preceding the Revolution.

During the Revolution there was, to be sure, no definitely planned program, carried through a long period of time. Succeeding events brought new leaders and parties into power. Nevertheless at many of the most critical times, the course of events was turned by some well directed influence exerted upon the popular mind. Such an occasion were the "October days" of 1789. At a time when it seemed the Assembly was about to reject the liberal measures of the Constitution and put no limits upon royal prerogative, the journals of the day raised such a clamor that the people and the national guards brought the king and the Assembly to Paris where they would be removed from this influence of the extreme conservatives.

No less definite was the program that accomplished the declaration of war on April 20, 1792, or, better still, the drama of the Fifty Days which achieved the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792. Besides these great crises there were innumerable occasions when some well directed appeal at the decisive moment swayed public opinion and consequently, the course of events.

Although the period of the French Revolution furnished a most favorable source for the study of propoganda, such efforts of party leaders are by no means peculiar to that period. Neither is it always great crises that call forth such propoganda. Even the frequent recurrence of the election of the President in our own country is accompanied by great excitement and efforts to influence public opinion. The parties and candidates have their various symbols and emblems, which are played up in caricature, just as the emblems of the political clubs of the French Revolution were, in the contest of parties for power. Torch light processions were until recent years an essential demonstration of the political parties on the eve of presidential elections.

But great crises make the greatest demands for popular support. The Civil War was accompanied by great activity in producing the sort of literature that would stir public opinion from its indifference to social conditions and political doctrines of the South and crystallize northern opposition to slavery and secession. This found expression in the pamphlets, novels, poems, and sermons of the time. The war period itself

also poured out its emotions in popular music—marching songs for the soldiers, camp-fire, and patriotic songs.

No crisis in our history, however, has called forth such varied and elaborate propaganda as that instituted during the Great War. Instead of the Committees of Surveillance, of Public Safety, and of General Security, we had our Councils of National Defense. Our Committee of Public Information, which fostered the war spirit by sending innumerable pamphlets to all parts of the country, had its prototype in the Revolutionary Committees of Public Instruction. The "four minute men" were known in every American village. Returned officers and soldiers, and military officers from England, France, and Scotland travelled through the country making their appeal for the support of every citizen in the war. These were our deputies on mission.

Caricature, so potent a factor in the Revolution, also played a most important part in our war propaganda. This is evident from the popularity of the cartoons of the Dutch artist, Raemaekers, in America. The activity of American artists in producing caricature and especially posters rivals that of French artists in the period of the Revolution. In American posters allegory also had its important place, even as in French Revolutionary art. The call of the country, the figure of Columbia, and the use made of the Liberty bell were intended to make the same sort of appeal that the symbolism and allegorical characters were intended to make during the French Revolution.

Propaganda was conducted in the American theatres as well as in those of France in 1789. American audiences received the patriotic and war plays with the greatest enthusiasm. The government subsidized motion picture plays and news films for the deliberate purpose of creating and maintaining war sentiment.

Parades and pageants were encouraged in order to influence public opinion. Veterans of the Civil War marched at the head of the new companies about to leave for the European front. Paul Revere came again to warn the people of the danger of their country. Joan of Arc became a favorite character in such pageants by reason of the congenial relations between France and the United States.

In such times of great emotion it is possible to sway the thought of a whole nation by well directed propaganda. It was done in the French Revolution; it has been done again in the Great War. In both cases there was a ready response to the appeal. The propaganda instituted by great leaders directed public opinion through the crises. The pertinency of this parallel between the French Revolution and the Great War should surely lend unusual interest and special significance to-day, to the study of "Popular Propaganda in the French Revolution."



## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

### General Aids.

#### Bibliographies, encyclopedias, dictionaries.

Boursin, E. et Challamel, Augustin, Dictionnaire de la Révolution française. Paris: Jouvot et Cie. 1893.

La Grande Encyclopédie.

Robinet, Robert, A. et le Chaplain, J. Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Révolution et de l'Empire. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire. (1899?)

Tourneaux, Maurice, Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française. 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nouvelle. 1890.

I. Legal, diplomatic, legislative, and administrative.

Archives Parlementaires de 1787 a 1860, published under the direction of M. J. Mavidal. Series I, 82 vols. to date. Paris: Librairie administrative de Paul Dupont. 1875.

Buchez, B.-J.-B. et Roux, P.-C. Histoire parlementaire de la Revolution française ou Journal des Assemblies nationales depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815. 40 vols. Paris: Paulin. 1834-1838.

Camden Society Publication. vol.XIX. Despatches from Paris 1788-1790 edited by Oscar Browning. 2 vols. London. 1910.

Douvergier, J.-B. Collection Complète des Lois, Décrets, Ordonnances, Réglemens avis du Conseil-d'état. 69 vols. Paris: A. Guyot. 1834-1869.

Procès-verbaux du comité d'instruction publique de l'Assemblée législative, published by M.-J. Guillaume. Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1889.

Récueil des actes du Comité de salut public, published by F. A. Aulard. 24 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1889.

II. Correspondence, memoirs, and related documents.

Bacourt, ed. Correspondance entre Comte de Mirabeau et le Comte de la Marck. 3 vols. Paris: Librairie V<sup>e</sup> le Normant. 1851.

Bouille, Marquis de, Memoires annotated by Berville and Barrière. Paris: Baudouin Freres. 1823.

Desmoulins, Camille, Oeuvres, published by Jules Claretie. 2 vols. Paris: Charpentier et Cie. 1874.

Dumont, Etienne, The Great Frenchman and the Little Genevese, translated by Lady Seymour, London: Duckworth and Co. 1904.

Jefferson, Thomas, Writings. edited by Paul Leicester Ford. 10 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895.

Miles, William Augustus, Correspondence, on the French Revolution, edited by C. P. Miles. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1890.

- Morris, Gouverneur, Diary and Letters. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888.
- Oelsner, Charles Engelbert, Fragments de ses Mémoires, selected by Alfred Stern in Revue Historique. vols. 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 82, 84.
- Romilly, Sir Samuel, Memoirs. 3 vols. London: John Murray. 1840.
- Siéyès, Emmanuel, Qu'est-ce que le tiers état? edited by Edme Champion. Paris: Au Siège de la Société. 1888.
- Thiébault, Baron, Memoirs, translated by Arthur John Butler. 2 vols. New York: MacMillan Co. 1896.
- Vaissière, Pierre de, Lettres d'"Aristocrates." Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1907.
- Young, Arthur, Travels in France and Italy during the Years 1788 and 1789. edited by Thomas Okey. London: Dent and Sons. (1915?)
- Young, Arthur, Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789. Bohn's Standard Library edition. London: George Bell and Sons. 1890.

### III. Selected sources.

- Fling, F. M. Source Problems on the French Revolution. New York: Harper Brothers. 1913.
- Legg, L. G. W. Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the French Revolution. 2 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1905.
- Pierre, Constant, Musique des fêtes et ceremonies de la Révolution française. Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1899.

### IV. Current publications.

- Rempression de l'Ancien Moniteur. 31 vols. Paris: Henri Plon. 1859.

### Secondary Works.

#### I. General Histories.

- Acton, E. E. D., Lectures on the French Revolution. London: Macmillan Co. 1910.

Aulard, A. The French Revolution, translated from the French of the third edition by Bernard Miall. 4 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

Cambridge Modern History, The, planned by Lord Acton, edited by A. E. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes. 14 vols. vol. 8, The French Revolution, New York: Macmillan Co. 1904.

Jaurès, Jean, Histoire Socialiste. 13 vols. Paris: Jules Rouff et Cie. n.d.

Lavisse, E. and Rambaud, A., Histoire Générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours. 12 vols. vol. VIII. La Révolution française. Paris: Armand Colin and Cie. 1896.

Lowell, E. J. The Eve of the French Revolution, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1892.

Madelin, Louis, The French Revolution. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1916.

Rocquain, Felix, The Revolutionary Spirit Preceding the French Revolution, translated by J. D. Hunting. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1891.

Stephens, H. Morse, A. History of the French Revolution. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905.

Taine, H. A., The Ancient Régime, translated by John Durand. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1888.

Taine, H. A. The French Revolution, translated by John Durand. 3 vols. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1878.

## II. Special Studies.

### 1. Art

Duplessis, George, The Wonders of Engraving, New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1871.

Henderson, Ernest, F., Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912.

Renouvier, Jules, Histoire de l'Art pendant la Révolution. 2 vols. Paris: V<sup>ve</sup> Jules Renouard. 1863.

### 2. Fêtes.

Mathiez, A., Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires. Paris: Societe nouvelle. 1904.

### 3. Music.

109

Pierre, Constant, Les hymnes et chansons de la Révolution.  
Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1904.

### 4. The Press.

Avenel, Henri, Histoire de la Presse française depuis 1789 jusqu'a nos jours. Paris: Flammarion. 1900.

### 5. Theatre.

Bapst, Germain, Essai sur l'histoire du theatre. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1893.

Joannides, A. La Comédie-Française de 1680 a 1900.  
Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1901.

Lieby, A., Étude sur le Théâtre de Marie Joseph Chénier.  
Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie. 1901.

Lumière, Henry, Le Théâtre française pendant la Révolution.  
Paris: E. Dentu. n.d.

Lunel, Ernest, Le Théâtre et la Revolution. Paris: H. Daragon. 1909.

### 6. Biographical.

Claretie, Jules, Camille Desmoulins and His Wife, translated by Mrs. Cashel Hoey. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1876.

### III. Articles.

Aulard, A., La paix future, in La Révolution française, vol. 68.

\_\_\_\_\_ La Révolution et la guerre actuelle, in La Révolution française, vol. 68.

\_\_\_\_\_ Le patriotisme et la Révolution française. Les émigrés in La Révolution française. vol. 70.

\_\_\_\_\_ Patrie, patriotisme avant 1789, in La Revolution française, vol. 68, 69.

\_\_\_\_\_ Patriotisme au debut de la Revolution, in La Révolution française. vol. 68.

\_\_\_\_\_ Patriotisme sous Louis XVI et dans les cahiers, in La Révolution française, vol. 68.

Bonnet, Raoul, Rouget de Lisle et La "Marseillaise," in Revue Historique. vol. 69.

Buffenoir, H., L'Image de J.-J. Rousseau dans les sociétés de la Révolution a Paris, in La Révolution française. vol. 70.

Largemain, La Fête de la Federation du 14 juillet 1793 et L'invitation a la Concorde de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, in Revue Historique, vol. 70.

Mathiez, A., Étude critique sur les Journées des 5 et 6 octobre 1789, in Revue Historique, vols. 67, 68, 69.